



## MINNEAPOLIS SHOWS THE WAY

### Learn From Minneapolis!

TODAY the whole country looks to Minneapolis. Great things are happening there which reflect the influence of a strange new force in the labor movement, an influence widening and extending like a spiral wave. Out of the strike of the transport workers of Minneapolis a new voice speaks and a new method proclaims its challenge.

It was seen first in the strike of the Coal Yard Drivers which electrified the labor movement of the city a few months ago and firmly established the union after a brief, stormy battle of unprecedented militancy and efficiency. Now we see the same union moving out of this narrow groove and embracing truck drivers in other lines.

Behind this, as was the case with the Coal Drivers, there are months of hard, patient and systematic routine work of organization. Everything is prepared. Then an ultimatum to the bosses. A swift, sudden blow. A mass picket line that sweeps everything before it. The building trades come out in sympathy. The combined forces, riding with a mighty wave of moral support from the whole laboring population of the city, take the offensive and drive all the bosses' thugs and hirelings to cover in a memorable battle at the City Market.

The whole country listens to the echoes of the struggle. The exploiters hear them with fear and trepidation. Weaving the net around the automobile workers with the aid of treacherous labor leaders they ask themselves in alarm: "If this spirit spreads what will our schemes avail us?"

And the workers in basic industry, vaguely sensing the power of their numbers and strategic position, can hardly help asking themselves: "If we should go the Minneapolis way could anything or anybody stop us?" The striking transport workers are a mighty power in Minneapolis today. But that is only a small fraction of the power of their example for the cheated and betrayed workers in the big industries of the country.

#### THE MESSAGE OF MINNEAPOLIS

The message of Minneapolis is of first rate importance to the American working class. A careful examination of the method from all sides ought to be put as point one on the agenda of the labor movement, especially of its most advanced section. A study of this epic struggle, in its various aspects, can be an aid to their application in other fields, and, by that, a rapid change of the position of the American workers.

There is nothing new, of course, in a fight between strikers and police and gunmen. Every strike of any consequence tells the old familiar story of the hounding, beating and killing of strikers by the hired thugs of the exploiters, in and out of uniform. What is out of the ordinary in Minneapolis, what is most important in this respect, is that while the Minneapolis strike began with violent assaults on the strikers it didn't end there.

In pitched battles last Saturday and again on Monday the strikers fought back and held their own. And on Tuesday they took the offensive, with devastating results. "Business men" volunteering to put the workers in their place and college boys out for a lark—as special deputies—to say nothing of the uniformed cops—handed over their badges and fled in terror before the mass fury of the aroused workers. And many of them carried away unwelcome souvenirs of the engagement. Here was a demonstration that the American workers are willing and able to fight in their own interests. Nothing is more important than this, for, in the last analysis, everything depends on it.

Here was a stern warning to the bosses and their hirelings, and not only those in Minneapolis. Transfer the example and the spirit of the Minneapolis strikers to the steel and automobile workers, for example, with their mass numbers and power. Let the rulers of America tremble at the prospect. They will see it! That is what the message of Minneapolis means first of all.

#### MASS ACTION

A second feature of the fight at the City Market which deserves special attention is the fact that it was not the ordinary encounter between individual strikers and individual scabs or thugs. On the contrary—take note—the whole union went into action on the picket line in mass formation; thousands of other union men went with them; they took along the necessary means to protect themselves against the murderous thugs, as they had every right to do. This was an example of mass action which points the way for the future victorious struggles of the American workers.

It is not a strike of the men alone, but of the women also. The Minneapolis Drivers' Union proceeds on the theory that the women have a vital interest in the struggle, no less than the men, and draws them into action through a special organiza-

tion. This policy, employed so effectively by the Progressive Miners, is bringing rich results also in Minneapolis. To involve the women in the labor struggle is to double the strength of the workers and to infuse it with a spirit and solidarity it could not otherwise have. This applies not only to a single union and a single strike; it holds good for every phase of the struggle up to its revolutionary conclusion. The grand spectacle of labor solidarity in Minneapolis is what it is because it includes also the solidarity of the working class women.

#### THE SYMPATHETIC STRIKE

The strike of the transport workers took an enormous leap forward and underwent a transformation when the building trades union declared a sympathetic strike last Monday. In this action one of the most progressive and significant features of the entire movement is to be seen. When unions begin to call strikes, not for immediate craft gains of their own but for the sake of solidarity with their struggling brothers in other trades, and when this spirit and attitude becomes general and taken for granted as the proper thing, then the paralyzing divisions in the trade union movement will be near an end and trade unionism will begin to mean unity.

The union of the truck drivers and the building trades workers is an inspiring sight. It represents a dynamic idea of incalculable power. Let the example spread, let the idea take hold in other cities and other trades, let the idea of sympathetic strike action be combined with militancy and the mass method of the Minneapolis fighters—and American labor will be a head taller and immeasurably stronger.

Those who characterize the A. F. of L. unions as "company unions" and want to build new unions at any price will derive very little consolation from the Minneapolis strike. We have always maintained that the form of a labor organization, while important, is not decisive. Minneapolis provides another confirmation, and a most convincing one, of this conception. Here is the most militant and, in many respects, the most progressively directed labor struggle that has been seen for a long time. Nevertheless it is all conducted within the framework of the A. F. of L.

The Drivers' Union is a local of one of the most conservative A. F. of L. internationals, the Teamsters; the building trades, out in sympathy with the drivers, are all A. F. of L. unions, and the Central Labor Union backing the drivers' strike and the possible organizing medium of a general strike, is a subordinate unit of the A. F. of L. The local unions of the A. F. of L. provide a wide field for the work of revolutionary militants if they know how to work intelligently. This is especially true when, as in the Minneapolis example, the militants actually initiate the organization and take a leading part in developing it at every stage.

#### THE BOLSHEVIK MILITANTS

Further development of the union, and perhaps even of the present strike, on the path of militancy may bring the local leadership into conflict with the reactionary bureaucracy of the International and also with conservative forces in the Central Labor Union. This will be all the less apt to take the local leaders of the militant union by surprise, since most of them have already gone through the school of that experience. In spite of that they did not turn their backs on the trade unions and seek to set up new ones artificially.

Even when it came to organizing a large group of workers, hitherto outside the labor movement, they selected an A. F. of L. union as the medium. The results of the Minneapolis experience provide some highly important lessons on this tactical question. The miserable role of the Stalinists in the present situation, and their complete isolation from the great mass struggle, is the logical outcome of their policies in general and their trade union policy in particular.

The General Drivers' Union, as must be the case with every genuine mass organization, has a broad and representative leadership, freely selected by democratic methods. Among the leaders of the union are a number of bolshevik militants who never concealed or denied their opinions and never changed them at anybody's order, whether the order came from Green or from Stalin.

The presence of this nucleus in the mass movement is a feature of the exceptional situation in Minneapolis which, in a sense, affects and colors all the other aspects of it. The most important of all prerequisites for the development of a militant labor movement is the leaven of principled communists. When they enter the labor movement and apply their ideas intelligently they are invincible. The labor movement grows as a result of this fusion and their influence grows with it. In this question, also, Minneapolis is showing the way.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

### Militant Mass Picket Line Routs Scabs, Cops, Special Deputies and Thugs and Stops All Commercial Transport

### Building Trades in Sympathy Strike; Womens Auxiliary Active in Fight; General Strike Sentiment Growing; Workers' Spirit Soars

(TELEGRAM TO THE MILITANT)

MINNEAPOLIS, May 22.—In the most imposing display of labor solidarity and militancy Minneapolis has ever seen, a mighty picket line of the General Drivers' Union, five thousand strong, swept through the Wholesale Market today, clearing the place of every scab, cop and deputy and putting a complete stop to every attempt to move commercial trucks except those authorized by special permission of the union.

Today's action followed daily pitched battles on Saturday and Monday in which the cops and special deputies slugged and arrested men, women and children on the picket line. With the entire labor movement roused to fury by these attacks the striking drivers, reinforced by other unionists, returned to the scene of conflict today and took back to union headquarters the badges of all the rats serving as special deputies who failed to get out of the market in time.

Tonight the strike is one hundred percent complete. Not a truck is to be seen on the streets that does not carry the special authorization of the union.

On Monday 33,000 building trades workers declared a strike in sympathy with the drivers. The Communist League has raised the slogan of general strike throughout the twin cities and sentiment for it is spreading like wildfire.

After today's battle a 24-hour truce was accepted by the union under the terms of which the employers agreed "that all transportation in so far as it concerns those represented by the employers' committee shall cease." Meanwhile negotiations are under way. The union is demanding recognition and wage increases. If the negotiations fail a general strike of sympathy with the drivers may result.

Class lines are tightly drawn. Over two hundred pickets have been arrested. The union is organized for all emergencies, even to the extent of removing injured pickets and providing medical attention for them away from the hospitals where pickets previously taken for treatment were arrested. "Cruising squads" of militant pickets cover every strategic point. The appearance of a truck on any street brings immediate action.

A great feature of the strike is the militant participation of the strikers' women on a mass scale. On Monday seven hundred women, members of the Drivers' Union Auxiliary, marched on the mayor's office demanding the withdrawal of the special police. They carried banners reading "Take away your hired thugs" and similar slogans. Mrs. Grant Dunne, president of the auxiliary and Mrs. Farrell Dobbs, secretary, led the demonstration.

In a move to head off the general strike the Regional Labor Board, on direct orders from Washington, is attempting to bring about a settlement. Dunne, Skoglund and other militant leaders of the union have consistently explained the strike-breaking role of this agency and are warning the strikers now to watch out for any trap it may set for them.

Everything the union has gained, since its inception with a small nucleus of Coal Yard Drivers, has been the result of its own strength and militancy and the direct mass action of its members. These workers have been steeled in heroic battles for their rights. They have learned some lessons. It will not be easy to fool them. It can be said with assurance that the "Automobile settlement" cannot be put over here.

### Youth Demonstration Against War And Fascism on May 30th

New York City.—Challenging the bosses' "Memorial Day", imperialist war preparations and the growing wave of Fascism, the United Youth Committee Against War and Fascism calls upon the young workers and students of the city to demonstrate under its banner on May 30th. Despite efforts to achieve a common demonstration with the youth conference called by the Youth Section of the American League Against Fascism, there will be two demonstrations in the city. The Stalinists have rejected the most elementary conditions for such a united front: a common acceptable name for the demonstration, a common leaflet, a joint committee representing both conferences.

#### Stalinists Force Split

Every possible concession was made by the United Youth Committee to achieve this common action. To no avail! The Young Communist League in essence proposed that this Committee either join their National Youth Day or no united front would be achieved. Even while the United Youth Committee was still considering, with the knowledge of the Stalinist committee, ways of overcoming the obstacle in the road toward unity, the Daily Worker already contained an attack

on the Committee as splitting the united front.

Notwithstanding this attack the United Youth Committee continued to approach the American League conference for common action. The letter of the Committee was "answered" by the Youth Section of the American League addressing itself, through the Daily Worker, not to the Committee itself, but to the members of the Y.P.S.L., Young Circle League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy!

The terms stated in this letter omit any mention of the decisive questions—a common leaflet and a common name other than National Youth Day—N.Y.D. is not even referred to—although it is clear from representatives of the Stalinists that they will not retreat from this position.

#### Mobilize for May 30

This unscrupulous attempt to place the responsibility of the split on the United Youth Committee is a piece of arrogance that must be exposed. The Committee will issue a public statement on the negotiations. (The next issue of the Militant will contain the statement of the Spartacus Youth Clubs.) All militant youth must be mobilized in full force for May 30th. Under the slogans of: Against Im-

(By Mail—Special to the Militant)

Minneapolis, Sunday, May 20th.—Against the combined forces of the bosses, their legal thugs in the police department, augmented by thousands of deputies and imported gunmen, together with the American Legion and the yellow press, the General Drivers' Union, Local No. 574 is heroically defending the very right of the workers to organize. This struggle is the result of the intolerable conditions forced upon the workers by the truck-owners, produce companies and all commercial delivery bosses. The issue of unionization of Labor has been so sharply raised that the fate of the entire trade-union movement hangs on the balance. Never before has Minneapolis seen such a battle. The members of the Communist League are in the vanguard of the fight, in the union and its leadership, on the picket line, in the militant Women's Auxiliary—they are everywhere, permeating every aspect of the struggle with the spirit of Bolshevism.

The strike was called Tuesday, May 15th at 11:30 P.M. It came as a result of the failure of the bosses to grant recognition of the union and an increase in wages. The strikers massed five thousand strong at the large garage that served as a strike Headquarters and dispatched pickets to strategic points throughout the city and brought all trucking to a stand-still, with the exception of the milk, ice and beer drivers who are organized and have permission to operate. Flying squads of pickets, toured the city pulling out all gas station attendants.

#### All Transport Stopped

The city was isolated from all truck traffic, in an out, by mass picketing on all highways. The market was closed like a tomb. Like-wise the oil tank yards, truck terminals and ware-houses. Over-shadowing this all was a constant threat of the street-car men going out to get the reinstatement of men discharged for union membership. The strike was so effective that workers in the factories gave it a hearty cheer and began to talk organization and strike in the most practical manner. The frightened small middle class people began to deplete the shelves of the retailers by stocking up with supplies. The bosses and bankers and all reactionary forces began to scream at the strikers in their yellow press.

Under the leadership of their central class organization, the Citizens' Alliance, the leading business men of the City called a mass gathering in a huge hotel, at which they cornered the small independent business men for a frenzied struggle against the labor movement, beginning with the General Drivers' union. This meeting elected a committee to conduct this struggle. It was composed of the largest bankers, industrialists, utility and commercial leaders of the city. This move was made because they were confident that they had the support of the Mayor's Office and the Police Department. The trump card they decided to play was to be the farmers and truck gardeners' use of the City Market, together with the movement of bread from the bakeries. Bread trucks were loaded and lined up to go out on Wednesday

perialist War and Fascism, Protest the May 31st Naval Maneuvers in N. Y., Defend Thaelman and Torgler, Defend the Four Deported German Youth, Protest the Murder of the Cuban Masses by the Agents of American Imperialism, Remember the Reactionary Attack on the 6 Yipfels last Memorial Day, Smash Fascism by forging a United Front of Workers and Students' Organizations, the demonstration will be a great step toward genuine united front. The young Socialist, Communist and Student groups represented in the United Youth Committee are determined to begin the united struggle against capitalist reaction, imperialist war and Fascism.

Assemble at 136th St. and St. Nicholas Ave. at 12:30 P. M. March in solid ranks to 110th St. and 5th Avenue for the mass meeting! All out on May 30th!

night. But the least move to go out on the street would cause fifteen or more picket "cruisers" and trucks to be at the doors with hundreds of pickets. Each bakery boss decided individually, despite the "instructions" of his "Committee of 25", not to let his trucks out.

#### Battle at the Market

The Farmers' angle was different. The County Sheriff swore in seventy deputies. They were to convoy the "poor" farmers into market. Big business was going to use the small farmers to pull their chesnuts out of the fire for them by using them as pawns to open up the market. They wanted the farmers to do something that the big produce importers and distributors, the packing trust, the fruit trust, and the milling trust did not dare do themselves. In a running battle that lasted over an hour, the Sheriff's men were defeated, partly by being stopped, and partly because the farmers left them and went back home. Only three farmers' trucks got to market on Saturday morning.

#### Bosses Try Terror

When these two tactics of the bosses failed they turned to the only tactics left—brutal terror. The Mayor doubled the police force, then tripled it. Gunmen were imported to get after the leaders of the strike. Determined attempts were made to break through the picket lines on Friday night and Saturday. Two hundred arrests were made. A heavy clash occurred in the City Market before three wholesale vans got through. Twenty pickets and police were sent to the hospital. Saturday night the "regulars" and "special" police rushed a truck load of women pickets on the "newspaper row" and beat them unmercifully, sending five to the hospital. It is these tactics of the police that inspired the striking drivers to fight all the harder and puts to shame any workers that stand on the side lines.

Floyd B. Olsen, the Farmer-Labor Governor, attempted to bring the bosses and the strikers together to negotiate for a settlement. The bosses refused to make any concessions whatsoever and demanded that Governor Olsen call out the Militia. The Strikers' committee declared their willingness to negotiate and demanded that the police be called off if negotiations were to be taken up again. This has resulted in a deadlock, with each side massing for the big attempt of the bosses to settle their point on Monday morning. The swift developments of the strike are putting the Governor on the spot. Whether or not to call out the Militia—he can't decide. No reliance can be put upon the Governor or the Labor Board to settle anything favorably for the workers. This is tirelessly explained by the militant leadership of the strike. All energy and all hope is directed to the mass picket line, the largest and most militant Minneapolis has ever seen. A new type of labor struggle is unfolding here. The bosses and their hirelings

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### Non-Partisan Labor Defense Protests Police Attack on Workers

(Press Service of Non-Partisan Labor Defense)

New York—Charges against the New York police will shortly be laid before Police Commissioner O'Ryan as a result of incidents which occurred Thursday night in the West Side Night Court. Spokesmen for the Socialist Party, the Communist League of America, the Young Peoples Socialist League, and the Spartacus Youth Club which led Thursday night's counter-demonstration against the pro-Hitter Madison Square Garden Meeting

and the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense which represents several individual complainants, announced today that they have sent a letter to the Police Commissioner requesting an appointment.

The letter charges that police on duty in the court attacked spectators and bystanders without provocation, beat them with weapons and fists, restrained them illegally from leaving the court, and in one case drew a pistol on Dave Schwartz of 1463 Ocean Avenue,

Brooklyn, a member of the Y.P.S.L.

The attacks occurred in the lobby of the courtroom presided over by Magistrate Burke, where a number of persons were to be tried for participating in an anti-Nazi street meeting in Times Square. When the cases came up, some fellow-demonstrators in the courtroom incurred the wrath of the Magistrate by voicing their objection to proceedings. A number of skirmishes between the police and spectators ensued.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Gigolos and Kings

The falling off in the custom of American and British dowagers hit the French gigolos hard. One of the best at the trade whose service fee had been \$32.50 per hour was driven to suicide. Competition from royalty and other titled gentry was too much for him. Let no one think, however, that the slump in the gigolo business means the end of this trade. Quite the contrary. The success of the season's first court reception held by King George in Buckingham Palace shows that the drop in the Paris gigolo market was a shifting of the consumer demand to the higher priced lines. This reception, according to press reports, was a scene of unequalled splendor. Diamond diadems, banks of flowers, concealed orchestra music, glittering uniforms, trailing gowns with 12-foot trains, were some of the features. Bejewelled American daughters of "rugged individualism" were ready to exchange some of papa's millions for titled gigolos. And the titles were on display like bananas in the First Avenue market.

In some resorts in Paris gigolos are given as prizes in lotteries. The wealthy harlots, usually English and American dowagers whose husbands are too busy skinning the workers, buy as many as fifty to one hundred tickets. Once won as a prize, the gigolo must spend the next twenty-four hours with the pillar of society who won him. In court receptions, no raffish, but auctions, are held, bidding being carried on secretly. Once bought the titled male remains with the purchaser until divorced. He is then again in the market just like a used car. In King George's market, which is somewhat exclusive, such "second hand models" are not allowed on display.

The New York Times reports that, following the King's reception, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales left to visit the unemployed. How long will the British workers put up with such insults?

May 1st and May 17th

The Daily Worker report of May 1st told of anything from 150,000 to Mike Gold's 400,000 as taking part in a "united front against fascism under the leadership of the C. P." The Daily Worker report of the anti-Nazi demonstration against the Hitlerite rally in Madison Square Garden, May 17th, stated that a demonstration of 1,000 Y.C.L.'ers and Y.P.S.L.'ers took place. A few questions are in order. 1. Where were the paper 400,000-150,000, or even the actual 25,000 who took part in the May 1st Stalinist parade? 2. If the C. P. decided to do nothing on May 17th, then how come the reported Y.C.L. participation? 3. As the actual fact is that the Anti-Nazi demonstration was organized by the Communist League (counter-revolutionary Trotskyites) and the Y.P.S.L. (Social-Fascists) how come that the Daily Worker, instead of denouncing this "Unholy Alliance" gave credit to the Y.C.L. for it? And last, why those who so effectively broke up the Anti-Fascist Madison Square Garden meeting of the S. P. and the trade unions didn't do a damn thing against the Nazi rally? Or do they consider a miserable meeting in Cooper Union to listen to Rabbi Goldstein the way to defeat Fascism in America?

The Crisis and the Socialist Party Speaking on votes lost to the Communist Party in Germany in 1931, Tarnau, a leader of the German Social Democrats said at the Leipzig Congress, "If the spectre of unemployment had not hovered over the ballot box, this day would have been written differently in the pages of German history."

The Socialist New Leader of May 12, 1934, writes: "Since the Danish Socialist Labor Party took over the government in 1929 and since the five past years were years of depression and unemployment, one had the right to expect that the Socialist Party would lose some support among the workers."

What manner of "revolutionary" party is there that expects to lose support as capitalism breaks down. "If the atrophy of capitalism produces the atrophy of the Social Democracy, then the approaching death of capitalism cannot but denote the early death of social democracy. The party that leans upon the workers but serves the bourgeoisie, in the period of the greatest sharpening of the class struggle, cannot but sense the smells wafted from the waiting grave."—(Leon Trotsky—"What Next?")

Olgin on Browder's Masterly Report "There was a spell over the audience as one chapter of the report after another was unfolded by Comrade Browder"—writes Olgin, Daily Worker, May 21st.

Does Olgin mean that the audience had gone to sleep? Or is it a typographical error and "spell" should read "smell"? —BILL.

The Foreign Policy of Japan

Probably the most interesting statement of foreign policy was issued by the representative of Japanese imperialism, Yosuke Matsuoka. Abandoning the customary casuistic language of diplomacy he stated categorically that Japan "regards with disfavor any activities of Western nations in China. . . ."

He cynically portrays the role of white imperialism as played in the exploitation of backward China, and makes a strong plea for the right of yellow imperialism to a "legitimate" share of the loot. In this connection, he raises the race question and attempts to conjure up a white peril with which to frighten both the Chinese and the Japanese.

He would have us believe that the white capitalist robbers have been unfair in the distribution of the surplus value sweated from the backs of the Chinese workers and peasants, not because of the greater strength of white imperialism itself, but solely because the Japanese are of the yellow race. This deception is at the bottom of his cry for a united front from below of the Chinese and Japanese peoples under the leadership of the capitalist class of Japan against "a return of the white peril to the East."

Japan's Claim to Hegemony

Matsuoka invokes the Lansing-Ishii Agreement as an example of the diplomatic means Japanese imperialism would prefer to use in "obtaining the recognition of our pre-eminent rights and interests" in China. But under no conditions, he continues, not even short of war, would Japan abandon her imperialist hegemony over prostrate China.

He goes on to explain that China needs help to save it from chaos and Bolshevism. But this help, he explains, cannot be supplied by the imperialist powers through the League of Nations, because the League utilizes methods inapplicable to a weakly capitalist nation.

"The attempt at making China a republic has been disastrous. Corrupt and incompetent as the old Manchu dynasty was, it was understood by the Chinese; the republic is not."

This protest against the attempt to create a republic—a bourgeois-democratic—political form expresses the aim of Japanese imperialism to thwart the formation of a united capitalist China. For it sees in a bourgeois-democratic China a rival for the internal market of China itself and a military menace to her imperialist ambitions in the East in general.

From this angle the protest of the Japanese Foreign Office to the white imperialist powers against political loans, that is, loans for military purposes, will not fall on deaf ears. For the white imperialists themselves stand to lose nearly as much as Japan from a strong bourgeois-democratic China. As long as the Open Door is respected Japan need fear little opposition to her imperialism in the East. England already is insisting that her economic difficulties with Japan can and will be amicably settled. Also her tacit agreement to Japan's seizure of Manchuria shows which way the wind is blowing. It is inconceivable that England would so restrain herself regarding Japan, who has made such drastic inroads on her foreign trade, if some more important need of British imperialism was not involved in the matter at issue.

British Policy

British imperialism recognizes Bolshevism as to the central danger to its colonial rule. The menace to its far-flung empire looms so large that compromise with Japanese imperialism proves absolutely essential. On no other basis could Japanese capitalism venture to hear American capitalism and the Soviet Union. For the natural resources of Japan are completely inadequate for the prosecution of a large-scale war. Her recent activities indicate a secret agreement with England for a struggle against the Soviet Union as a way out of the crisis in which Japanese capitalism finds itself. In the meantime, Japan takes advantage of her strategic political position by asserting her rights in China to the disadvantage of capitalist America.

The manoeuvring of the imperialist powers in China cannot be understood if taken as a separate problem. It cannot be abstracted from the world situation as a whole. It must be viewed in connection with the Drang nach Osten policy of Hitler. (This policy was first enunciated by Bismarck, and later was presented by Eugenberg as a solution of the chief contradictions of European capitalism.)

Anti-Soviet Policy

That there is such an anti-Soviet policy is proved by the recent refusal of Hitler to sign a treaty guaranteeing the sovereignty of the Baltic States. Recalling that at the same time Hitler has assured England that he seeks neither colonies nor naval power, it would seem that the Drang nach Osten policy is real enough. The destruction of all po-

litical opposition within Germany, and the "co-ordination" of the trade-unions on a Nazi basis, signifies preparation within for warfare without.

England's friendship for Japan and Germany spells defeat for any attempt at reconciling the differences between Japan and Soviet Russia and Germany and Soviet Russia. It can safely be predicted that secret agreements exist between England, Germany and Japan, for the solution of their imperialist contradictions at the expense of the U.S.S.R. This view is reinforced by the fact that the defeat of the Soviet Power would restore one-sixth of the world to the capitalist market and at the same time solve world-contradictions in a comparatively inexpensive form.

Strike of Los Angeles Longshoremen

Los Angeles—After being held back over a period of several months longshoremen over the entire Pacific coast and gulf states finally walked out under the leadership of the International Longshoremen's Association.

In San Pedro, the walkout was nearly 100%, and succeeded in almost paralyzing shipping in the area. In all there are about 2,500 involved in the local strike; but the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association of Los Angeles is determined that the strike shall be broken. All machinery of the city and county have been drafted for that end. Workers who are receiving county aid are being sent down to scab. The Universities of Southern California and of California are supplying scabs. Football men of U. S. C. amongst them the "great" Homer Griffith and Clifford Probst, who have hitherto only learned how to play football are receiving another lesson, and that is how to break a strike.

To combat this use of students as scabs, the N.S.L.'s of the Los Angeles Junior College, U.S.C. and the University of California at L. A., sent a delegation to the strikers to aid on the picket lines; and has also promised its support in attempting to arouse campus opinion against the scabbing students through the distribution of handbills.

Militant Builders

SECOND CLUB PLAN DRIVE ENDS AUGUST 1st

Not One Club Will Be Sold After That Date. Get Your Cards Now

The Club Plan sub drive for 1,000 new subs met with success, bringing a total of 1014 new readers for The Militant. Upon the request of several branches and individuals participating in that drive, a second drive was started. To date we have received 175 new subs.

The Club Plan idea was originated in order to enable workers who cannot afford the full rates to get The Militant at the low price of 25c for six months. Four sub cards for \$1 paid in advance, constitute a Club. This plan cannot be continued indefinitely as the cost of production does not permit of such a low rate.

The Second Club Plan drive will terminate August 1st.

NO CARDS WILL BE SOLD AFTER THAT DATE. GET YOUR CLUBS NOW!

NEW SUBS

New York City Committee 4; Cleveland Branch 14; Newark Br. 4; Los Angeles Br. 4; Philadelphia Br. 8. Total 34.

COMPLETE RECORD

Table listing branch names and subscriber counts: Boston Branch 8, Cleveland Br. 18, Chicago Br. 20, Minneapolis Br. 40, New Castle Br. 4, San Francisco Br. 4, St. Louis Br. 4, Toronto Youth Club 4, Toronto Br. 4, Local New York 12, City Office 8, Harlem Br. 4, Newark Br. 4, Los Angeles Br. 12, Los Angeles (Doughty) 8, Philadelphia Br. 8, Davenport Br. 4, Oakland Br. 4, Berkeley (Kogan) 4, I. Borsook 4, P. Leeser 4, J. Osborn 5. Total to Date 175.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

An "Underground Union"

One of the innovations of the Stalinists is the creation of the only underground trade union organization in the country, the Education Workers League. It was designed early in 1931 by the architects of the third-period trade union strategy to organize the workers in the field of education—principally the public school teachers—into revolutionary unions. It goes without saying that it drew organizational and ideological inspiration from the T.U.U.L. to which it is affiliated. And not alone the T.U.U.L. The E.W.L. is the American section of the Education Workers International, which is affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions.

In the three years of its existence, the conditions of the teachers in the U. S. have been worsened. Pay cuts have been universal. Every one is familiar with the plight of the Chicago teachers who at one time were not paid for nearly a year and whose pay is still many months in arrears. Curricula have been cut. School terms and the school day have been shortened. In many states hundreds of schools have been closed. It is estimated that 2,000,000 children have been thrown out of school in this way; and that this economy cost 200,000 teachers their jobs. This entire economy program is going forward under the whip of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

No Influence on Teachers' Movement The teachers have offered very little resistance. There have been scattered protests, small and ineffective strikes, and other spontaneous manifestations of discontent. Most significant of all these struggles were the Chicago demonstrations which won a small measure of temporary relief. But the E. W. L. has not played any role in these isolated struggles. In so far as a national trade union center is concerned it is as non-existent as the other paper organizations created by the Stalinists.

Only in one place has the E.W.L. any existence. It made its debut in New York City where the conditions were guaranteed to demonstrate the utter absurdity of the attempt to build a "revolutionary" trade union of teachers. The 36,000 New York City teachers in 1931 were secure in their positions and were as yet unaffected by wage cuts and the other means by which capitalist economy was lowering the

standard of living of the teachers throughout the nation. On the contrary, the teachers' wages, fixed by law, were appreciating with the fall of the price level.

Moreover the teachers were subjected to the notoriously reactionary regime of the Board of Education. Activity in the revolutionary or Left wing labor movement constituted grounds for dismissal from the school system. Teachers are persecuted for protesting against unsanitary conditions in the schools or for criticizing their superiors or the administration of the system.

"Union" Goes Underground

Even the Stalinists realized that to call upon the teachers openly to join a "revolutionary union" would cost some of those who responded their jobs, persecution for others and a general reign of terror and rebelling against all progressive elements. The Stalinists boldly seized both horns of the dilemma and solved the problem by going underground. From the depths of its underground the E.W.L. built legal covers for its "revolutionary" activity. It has not built a union—although it still entertains fond visions of doing so—but succeeded in adding several organizations to the more than seventy that cluttered up the local movement.

Fights Teachers' Union

In all of these organizations its central aim has been to discredit the Teachers Union and develop the others as bases for its new union. In a word the E.W.L. aped the policy of the T.U.U.L. If it has not built a union it can point with pride to a great achievement: its policy has been instrumental in diverting hundreds of employed and unemployed teachers awakening to the necessity of resistance into organizational channels separate from the union and hostile to it. It can inscribe on its banner at least half the responsibility for the perpetuation of the division between the organized employed and unemployed, and also for the division among the advanced teachers in the organized employed movement.

The experience of three years demonstrates that there is neither a need nor a basis for this caricature of a union. On the contrary, it is an obstacle to the growth and unity of the teachers movement. It is a reactionary influence.

—T. STAMM.

MARCH OF EVENTS

British Imperialism in Retreat

The great inroads into the export trade of Great Britain incurred in the Japanese drive for world markets are a source of profound disquiet to English diplomats. The fierce impact of Japanese competition exposes to full view the weakness of British capitalism in decay while revealing simultaneously the intensity of exploitation of Japanese labor. England's efforts at retaliation are thus far puny and impotent. The establishing of quotas in the Crown colonies can affect at best some five percent of Japan's textile exports. This economic weakness in meeting the present situation makes it all the easier for Japanese imperialism to wring political concessions from the English government.

In the game of imperialist politics it is Japan's aim either to woo America away from an alliance with the Soviet Union, or failing this—and simultaneously—to checkmate America by balancing the U.S. with England. Given a fair price the English statesmen will not be averse to a trade. The first concession made to Japan is contained in Simon's statement that Great Britain is not pledged to preserve the integrity of China. This establishes the first open serious rift between America and England. For America for its own good purposes views the Nine Power Treaty as precisely such a pledge. British diplomacy tells Japan that it may safely proceed to seize and subdue by force of arms more of the Chinese mainland without English opposition.

Threat of Japanese Bonapartism

Capitalism is everywhere a system held together by a mortar of fraud and corruption. Japanese capitalism is if anything more permeated with thievery than its Western models. The scandal just uncovered in the Treasury Ministry in connection with the Bank of Taiwan and the Imperial Rayon Co. is but one of a long series. Coming however at a time of great internal stress, when the interrelationships of classes are shifting perceptibly, due to the swifter flow of the undercurrents of social upheaval, the Japanese bank scandal is having an effect similar to that of the Stavisky affair in France.

The reactionary militarists in control of the army are setting their forces in motion to stifle the rebellion of the oppressed masses of workers and peasants.

The Soviet Union Slowly Encircled

Since the last war and its outcome in the creation of the Soviet Union,—the greatest step forward in the history of humanity and the greatest menace to world capitalism—the capitalist governments are somewhat fearful of precipitating a new war. Their fear is not so much of defeat by the enemy abroad as it is of the revolutionary working class at home. Thus to prepare for the inevitable next war the ruling class is impelled to safeguard its rear, to protect the base at home.

Capitalism in decay thus resorts, for this as for other reasons, to fascism, a system of governing by armed force and brutal suppression directed openly against the working class, a system of terrorizing the masses and destroying their independent organizations, a system designed to assure "civil peace" in the rear.

The process of fascization of one country after the other is slowly bringing about the encirclement of the Soviet Union by fascist states. With the help of Germany Latvia has established its form of violent anti-working class dictatorship. Now Bulgaria, probably with the encouragement of France, has experienced a palace revolution, a Bonapartist coup d'etat by the monarchy supported by the Junker class, the aim here too being to rid the capitalist state of all revolutionary opposition. Despite the fact that the fascist states assume their own inner alignments in imperialist rivalry, on all sides events sweep steadily, irrevocably, to the outbreak of the next terrible imperialist war with its central aim the destruction of the Soviet Union.

Litvinov and the League of Nations

It is this desperate plight of the Soviet Union, no longer able through the Comintern and mass Communist Parties in the capitalist countries to mobilize the working class of Europe in defense of the Soviet Union, that Litvinov attempts to substitute for such a mass movement by playing off one imperialist group against another. The less Litvinov can rely on the international revolutionary forces of the workers, the more closely he feels bound to the League of Nations under French domination. We cannot wait for events to prove the emptiness of this defense, we must build the Fourth International to defend the workers' fatherland.

—JACK WEBER.

The Railroad Wage Settlement

The recent compromise wage-cut settlement between the railroads and the leadership of the 21 unions, which include all the organized railroad workers offers the latter a new opportunity to see the stuff of which their leaders are made. A review of the role which this treacherous bureaucracy played in the 1932 negotiations, when the 10 percent wage-cut was first proposed, will help round out the picture.

In the opinion of the union officials at that time (N. Y. Times, Feb. 1, 1932): The 10 percent wage-cut proposed by the railroads was not a "matter of pure right and justice", "nor are wage reductions to be regarded ordinarily as the appropriate means to promote prosperity", nor could they "believe that the public welfare is advanced by reducing the purchasing power of labor".

Was the pay-cut therefore refused? No! It was accepted "in the hope that our action may improve the health of our industry . . . may stimulate a revival of business, and may advance the general welfare".

Labor Leaders and Capitalists in Mutual Appreciation

This sounds almost like a burlesque. However, it was left to Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, speaking on behalf of the railroad managements, to add the grand finale to the negotiations comedy. In his speech Willard reminded the union officialdom of one of the methods they might have used to look after the interests of the men they represented: "You might have delayed this agreement for months (during which time, of course, no pay-cut—W.) and forced us to take a long and tedious course which would have left bitterness where now (ahem) there is friendship and harmony. Even so you would have been following the law set down by Congress . . ." At the conclusion of this speech during which he praised the labor skates for their "cooperation, patience, tactfulness, and patriotism", he added, "I am going to ask them (his colleagues) to rise in token of their esteem for you, and together we say to you we thank you". Whereupon, according to the N. Y. Times correspondent, "The other presidents arose and bowed as the audience of union executives and the union chiefs broke into applause".

Wages are cut and union leaders applaud. One must need search far to find a more brazen betrayal by workers' representatives.

On March 17 of this year, the same union heads, after having permitted the wage-cut agreement, to stretch into its third, suddenly demanded that it be ended.

Workers' Pressure Forces a Change

Why the sudden change in heart on the part of these gentlemen? The answer lies in the pressure which the workers are beginning to exert, either through wholesale desertion from the unions or through the formation of opposition groupings; expressions of dissatisfaction which begin to endanger the large salaries of the union bureaucracy and their privilege of sitting down at the same dinner table with the railroad presidents. The smoldering fires of discontent are fanned by the fact that the roads are beginning to earn more money. (Loadings for this year are about 20 percent higher than for corresponding periods of last year and the net earnings of 64 class I roads for February of this year is \$28,700,000 compared to \$9,854,000 for February of last year.)

There can hardly be any wonder as to the reasons for the discontent on the part of the railroad workers. A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, gives us an inkling as to how the "general welfare" of the workers was advanced by the pay-cut: (N. Y. Times, March 18, 1934): ". . . railway employees of long service have been turned out to accept charity or starve; hundreds of thousands have gone on part time . . . track and roadway section men received as little as 25c an hour and worked only three days a week in February. From this weekly wage of six dollars the management deducted 60c under the 10% arrangement. . . . On the Atlantic coastline men are paid \$1.70 a day. On the New York Central, section men receive a basic wage of 43c an hour and are working as little as ten days a month. This gives them \$8.60 a week, from which 10% is deducted leaving \$7.74 a week in a territory where the P.W.A. minimum is \$15. . . . The Florida East Coast pays a basic wage of 20c an hour to section men. . . . The Illinois Central pays section men as little as 25c an hour, works them as little as 2 days a week enabling them to make \$4 a week. . . . For the year 1932 there were 140,000 railway employees whose earnings were approximately \$50 a month or less. This number embraces about 13% of all railway employees. Approximately 266,000 railway employees, over 25%

of the total, earned \$75 a month or less".

How did the railroad coupon-clippers fare during this period? The pressure upon the union bureaucracy was so great that they were forced to reveal why the capitalists thanked them in 1932 for their "cooperation, patience, tactfulness, and patriotism". According to Whitney the railroad bondholders were paid as follows: 1929, \$511,000,000; 1930, \$500,000,000; 1931, \$518,000,000; 1932, \$525,000,000; and in 1933, \$533,000,000. During 1932 and 1933, however, the roads reported deficits in order to strengthen their arguments for continuing the pay-cut. Whitney explains that this is accomplished by charging interest on bonds to "fixed charges" so that what is actually a profit appears as an expense.

The recent negotiations, during which the above-quoted information leaked out, found the union heads frantically hunting for a formula which would not injure their standing with the capitalists (heaven forbid) and with which they could face their men. To the request for an end to the cut the roads countered with a demand for a further cut. The union chiefs countered with a demand for a ten percent raise above the basic wage from which the original cut was made. President Roosevelt, consistent with his policy to "raise" wages, proposed that the existing cut stay in effect until Jan. 1, 1935; the same proposal as originally advanced by the railroad presidents. This the union heads refused. After much bickering and even talk of a strike ballot, a "compromise" was reached, literally speaking, in whispers. The workers are to get back 2 1/2% on July 1, 1934, 2 1/2% on Jan. 1, 1935 and 5% on April 1, 1935; the roads agreeing not to ask for another change (read cut) until May 1935, that is, one month later. The unorganized workers are of course not benefited in any way.

Another Sell-Out Accomplished

This juggling of percentages gave the union chiefs the needed formula. Actually they accepted Roosevelt's proposal or as stated by the New York Times: "Restoration of the wage reduction in 'three bites' instead of one worked out in dollars and cents exactly as if the employees had agreed to the employers' original proposal". It is obvious that the needs of the railroad workers are not going to be helped much by this sell-out.

These negotiations are merely symptomatic of a new chapter which is being opened in the railway in-

dustry from whose every pore oozes the pus of the decaying capitalist system. The basic capital has been absorbed by the capitalists in profits of some form. The roads are loaded with "fixed charges" in the form of bonded indebtedness or as loans. Their national and rolling stock has deteriorated necessitating large scale capital expenditures. An increase in business sufficient to solve these contradictions is out of the question under present day conditions. The capitalists will certainly not make the much-needed new capital expenditures unless the basis for a profit exists.

One way out, which they will seek before anything else, if circumstances permit, is to climb out of the contradictions on the basis of a further lowering of the wages and living standards of the workers. "If circumstances permit" means if the workers permit. From this it follows that the not distant future will find the railroads the scene of gigantic class battles.

Who Will Lead the Workers?

Can or will the present union leadership lead the workers in such struggles? Obviously not. If no other evidence were available their treacherous conduct in the wage cut question above described reveals that they are too closely tied up with the capitalists and their viewpoint to be concerned with the workers unless the latter endanger their sinecures. The union bureaucracy reeks with corruption. For example, Alanvery Johnston, the Grand Chief Engineer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and one of the signers of the original wage-cut agreement in 1932, was recently sent to jail for fraudulent dealings in a bank, in which he and other union officials had an active interest, and through which many union members had their savings lifted. According to James Steele (New Republic, March 14, 1934) the bank president, a friend of Johnston "had declared in a letter to the Chase National Bank that Johnston was actively working for a reduction in railroad workers' wages before the railroads asked for such a reduction."

Nothing can be expected from such people except corruption. What is required is a strong left wing. The pessimism of the workers and their exodus from the unions must be stopped; they must be given new heart and morale; the corrupt and reactionary leadership must be driven out and all the craft unions consolidated into one industrial union capable of and willing to fight for the workers' interests. Under present day circumstances a struggle on the railroads means a political struggle of very high order. All the more reason for a left wing.

—WEAVER.



# The Left Face of the Socialist Party

Hitler's victory in Germany was a blow which should have brought the official communists back to consciousness and sobered them up. The bureaucratic apparatus had lost the power to think straight and had consequently taken that power away from most of the members. If the "theories" of social-fascism, united front from below, and dual revolutionary unionism had been a result merely from a state of temporary derangement the Nazis should have succeeded in bringing the Stalinists back to their senses.

But it became apparent after the German catastrophe that the insane tactics of the bureaucracy of the Communist International were not due at all to anything temporary but were part of the bureaucratic organism and, since Hitler's terrific blow did not destroy that apparatus, these theories and tactics remained in all their purity.

What is more, the fascist juggernaut deepened the confusion and senselessness of the official communists. The German working-class was not defeated; the tactics of the Communist Party were, and ever will be correct; the victory of fascism indicated not the weakness but the strength of the workers. Such was and continues today to be the burden of the Stalinist song celebrating Hitler's ascent to power. Every word of protest, even of doubt, was denied the light of day and persistence on the part of any member determined to keep quiet no longer meant inevitable expulsion.

**Impetus to Revolutionary Elements**

The socialist bureaucracy has not the coercive power of the apparatus of the Comintern. It has no Soviet Union giving it the tremendous prestige and power that the workers' state lends to the communist bureaucracy. It controls no purse strings. As a consequence the members of the various socialist parties are freer to think as they please and the German situation caused a great many of them to do some hard thinking and set them into motion towards the left. The struggle of the socialists in Austria, though utilized by the socialist leaders for showing how brave they were and what a militant organization the Socialist party of Austria was, gave a further impetus to the revolutionary elements within the socialist parties. The result has been that all over the world socialists have entered into discussion of socialist theories and tactics and a definite drift to the left is apparent. As against the fatalistic, religious acceptance of the dogma of infallibility by the communist priesthood and its followers the ferment in the socialist ranks is like a fresh breeze and has great revolutionary significance.

It must be said clearly that insofar as members of the socialist parties have shown that they can think independently of the leadership they are more important for the building of a new revolutionary party than the docile, unthinking followers of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

**No Attraction in Comintern**

That the Comintern has practically no attraction for the leftward-moving socialists speaks volumes for the present character of that organization. The fact that the left socialists, instead of going over to the Communist International, are attempting to reform the Socialist International shows conclusively that revolutionary currents in the labor movement do not and cannot flow in the direction of Moscow. The failure of the Third International to attract the socialist workers is both cause and effect of the German catastrophe.

The Socialist party of America like its brother parties the world over finds itself in the throes of a serious discussion. Left-wing groups are challenging its fundamental principles of bourgeois democracy and gradualness; some of the left-wingers are making a determined bid to obtain control of the organization. It is necessary for those of us who are interested in the formation of a new revolutionary party and a new international to study the tendencies of the various groupings, to differentiate between them and to enter into very close relationship with those left-wing elements most likely to come all the way over to our position and thus play an important role in the coming political readjustments in the labor movement.

**Heterogeneous Elements**

Nothing is more necessary than to understand clearly that the left wing in the Socialist party is composed of heterogeneous elements united only in their opposition to the old reactionary guard now in control. There is a world of difference between the "left winger" Norman Thomas, a really sincere individual who has faint academic doubts about bourgeois democracy and the fighting rank and file coal miners of southern Illinois who are in reality communists who were driven away from communism by the Communist party and are recruited by reliable persons to hate everything connected with the Com-

unist party. Thomas has a powerful influence in the Socialist party, especially over the petty-bourgeois liberal elements in it. Essentially a Christian pacifist, having less than a superficial acquaintance with revolutionary Marxism, his being counted a left-winger merely indicates the depths to which the old guard has fallen. He is a sincere reformer overthrusting with a desire to help the downtrodden. His honesty leads him in some questions—as in the united front and in the struggle against the racketeering leadership of the American Federation of Labor—to take a position to the left of the official leadership of the Socialist party. All his writing, however, show conclusively that he could be correctly characterized as a "left-winger" only if he were in the Democratic party. As far as the revolutionary movement is concerned his very sincerity and ability constitute dangers because of the influence they give him over the rank and file socialists.

**The Middle-West Group**

The group that is making a real bid for the leadership of the Socialist party is the one now in control of Illinois and led by Maynard C. Krueger, professor of economics at the University of Chicago, and Clarence Senior, national secretary of the Socialist party. Biemiller of Milwaukee is part of this group, known as a left-wing group and wanting everyone to recognize that it is left.

But it is difficult indeed to discover the platform upon which it lays claim to being left. It has taken great care to conceal its principles from everybody, even from itself. What is its program? Not a soul knows! At the state convention of the Socialist party not a single theoretical question was discussed. To all intents and purposes the delegates were not concerned with any of the problems agitating the minds of the membership.

The theory of Krueger and Senior seems to be that to struggle for the basis of theory, on the basis of a theoretical program with definite principles and tactics is inadvisable. They lead one to infer that what they want is first to obtain control of the organization and then to show their left color.

False to the very core! No principled left-winger would dare permit himself such an opportunistic course. Unless a group is composed of simple careerists, the first necessity is to formulate a program and the second, to make it public and try to win over members upon the basis of the program. A real left-wing group must attract to itself the more advanced elements in the party and must educate the backward elements.

**A Typical Centrist Group**

How can that be done without a clear-cut program? Where is the group going? What does it want to do? Krueger and his followers must answer these questions. Else the accusation that all they are interested in is the getting of power will have more than a semblance of justification.

Simply pointing to the fact that Krueger and Senior supported the minority resolutions at the International Socialist Conference held in August 1933 is not at all sufficient. Vaguely intimating that one is in favor of revolutionary principles and tactics is still less satisfactory. The whole attitude of the Illinois group is typically centrist. It stresses action and tends to ignore theory. And above all it is impatient with the demand for exactness in theory and for a struggle on the basis of theoretical formulations.

The Illinois group will probably point to articles by Biemiller and Kantorovitch in the American Socialist Quarterly dealing with the problem of socialism and democracy as proof of their interest in theory. Aside from the fact that what is necessary is a well-rounded program of a group and not isolated articles by individuals, the articles themselves leave much to be desired. One must admit that both Biemiller and Kantorovitch take a step forward—but a very hesitating one.

**Reformist Theories**

When Kantorovitch asserts that "the way to political power in democratic countries will, in all probability, be the way of an electoral victory, if fascism will not intervene and make an end to democracy" (American Socialist Quarterly, Autumn 1933) he is very close to pure reformism. The reformists also threaten to gain power in fascist countries by revolutionary means. It is one's attitude toward the use of revolutionary means to gain political power in bourgeois-democratic countries and not in fascist countries that distinguishes a reformist from a revolutionist.

And to say, as Kantorovitch does in the same article, that "the problem is not so much how to get power as how to hold it, how to use it" is almost putting the cart before the horse. One must presume that power must be gotten first before it can be used and to emphasize the latter in contradistinction to the

former might leave the working class in a position of never struggling to obtain power. Both problems are of tremendous importance and must be tackled diligently and solved without hems and haws.

Biemiller repeats almost the same idea in his article in the American Socialist Quarterly (Spring 1934) when he says "under such conditions . . . it is probable that socialists can be voted into control in those countries where bourgeois democracy exists". The use of force is limited only to the end of retaining control. We repeat: It is a step forward but it is by no means a revolutionary Marxist position.

**Revolutionary Policy Committee**

The only group that assumed the obligation of putting its ideas publicly before the membership of the Socialist party and gaining adherents for those ideas is the Revolutionary Policy Committee. Its appeal to the Socialist Party membership is a serious though not quite adequate document. To the extent that everyone knows its principles, it is miles ahead of the Illinois left-wingers.

An effective critique of the program of the Revolutionary Policy Committee was made by Comrade Cannon in the Militant of May 5th and 12th, 1934. It may be pointed out that on the problem of the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist class the minority resolution proposed by Ronald Deval (New Leader, National Convention Agenda, April 21, 1934) is more specific than the section dealing with the same problem in the Appeal of the Revolutionary Policy Committee. In its position on the Labor party, trade-union policy and the Soviet Union the influence of Lovestone is visible. But it is hardly likely that leftward moving socialists capable of independent thinking should get off on a track leading nowhere.

**Struggle for Leadership**

At the national convention of the Socialist party to be held in June in Detroit there will undoubtedly be a struggle against the present reactionary leadership. That struggle will in all probability not be led by the left-centrist elements represented by the Revolutionary Policy Committee but by the right-centrist elements represented by the Illinois leadership, helped by Norman Thomas and his followers. The general tendency of the working class elements and the youth is to the left. Consequently it is not at all unlikely that the Illinois group with its left-front will ride into power. The greater likelihood, however, is a compromise involving the present leadership, the Thomas following and the Illinois group.

The agenda for the convention gives promise of a highly interesting ideological struggle provided the sponsors of the revolutionary resolutions are represented. The agenda clearly mirrors the existence of the irreconcilable groupings in the Socialist party. How can a group announcing the fact that "the Socialist party seeks to attain its end by orderly methods" and a group insisting that "we must be prepared for violence if necessary" remain in the same party? How can a group clinging to bourgeois democracy remain in the same party with a group openly advocating the dictatorship of the proletariat? The answer is that the two groups cannot remain in the same party and in the same international if those who see the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat mean what they say and are ready to draw the inevitable conclusions.

**Gist of the Question**

And therein lies the whole gist of the matter. The revolutionary socialists must think things through to the very end. Even if they do not openly state it, they must ask themselves some very pertinent questions: What if the party does not accept our principles? (And we can assure them that it won't!) How long shall we remain and keep on trying to transform the party? Many of the left-wingers point to the degeneration of the Independent Labor Party in England as a warning not to leave the parent organization. But that degeneration is not due to the fact that the I.L.P. left the Labor Party, but that after leaving, it did not resolutely take the road of building a new party and a new international.

No matter what happens at the convention the real socialist left-wingers who are inarticulate, the miners of southern Illinois, the revolutionary youth who are in the Socialist party by virtue of the stupidities of the Communist party will, and not in the very distant future, find their rightful place under the banner of international communism.

—ALBERT GOLDMAN.

**Manhattan Spartacus Youth Club Educational Meetings**

MAY 31—L. Bord: The Minneapolis Strike.

JUNE 7—Fascism in America

Thursday evenings at 8:15 P.M. at 126 E. 16th Street, N.Y.C.

# The Minneapolis Battle

(Continued from page 1)

are in a panic before this avalanche of labor militancy. The spirit of the workers soars to the heights. League Calls for General Strike

While many labor organizations in the city are actively supporting the strike, the Central Labor Union with a more conservative leadership has yet taken but little action. Pressure must be brought to bear upon them to get that body to call a general strike. This is the central slogan raised by the Communist League. The rank and file of the unions are ready for this action and it is possible that they may go out in a day or two. (Since the above was written 35,000 building trades workers have gone out—Ed.) Mass meetings all over the city have been arranged. The St. Paul drivers voted to go out but failed to do so at the last minute and agreed to arbitrate a point or two. However, they can not hope to gain a thing and will have to struggle in the end for what they want. The street-car-men made a similar decision. The labor movement seethes with indignation against the leaders responsible for these actions in the face of the situation created by the Drivers' strike.

**Miserable Role of Stalinists**

The Stalinists fumbled again, due to their wrong policies and outlook. In a leaflet issued to the union men, just as they were about to take a strike vote, they denounced the leadership of the union, especially C. Skoglund and M. Dunne as "traitors" and "agents of the bosses". The men knew full well that these and other leaders in the union have worked loyally to build the union to the fine fighting organization it is today. They tore up the leaflets in anger and declared that these "Communists" are in the pay of the bosses, for what their leaflet said was too far from the truth. Another example: "Have a 'rank and file' leadership", said the official C. P. leaflet. This is advice to unionists who have a strike committee of seventy-five composed of only workers on trucks!

At this writing the tide of the struggle is rapidly rising. The crest of the wave has not yet been reached. The organization is solid. The strike was well prepared. The coal drivers strike a few months ago—a battle which electrified the city by its stormy militancy and firmly established the union—is seen now as the preliminary skirmish of the present battle. And behind that is the long period of patient systematic work which went into the pioneer work of building the union and inspiring it with the spirit of determined struggle. The trade union policy of the Communist League was our guide in everything we did and in all our activity in the thick of the fight today.

**Attend the First P I C N I C of the season given by Chicago Local, Communist League SUNDAY, JUNE 3rd at Forest Glen GOOD TIME ASSURED.**

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**Brownsville Lecture "THE CRISIS IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY" Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN SATURDAY, May 26, 8 P.M. at 1776 Pitkin Avenue, near Stone**

Auspices: Spartacus Youth Club and Communist League of America. Admission 15c

# Darrow Speaks For the Middle Class

The Darrow Review Board's findings on the NRA has resulted in a bitter fight on Capitol Hill between the spokesmen for the different sections of the exploiters. Although the Review Board was only appointed March 7th by Executive Order, it has already received its death sentence, to take place next month. The hundred-thousand word report is to be followed in a week, before the expiration of its short life, by another report which promises to reveal more of the NRA doings.

The National Recovery Review Board report says that the NRA is helping the trusts, that the NRA tends toward monopoly, that the little fellows under the codes are stifled. It sharply assails the codes reviewed; especially the steel code where the monopolistic practices are exposed.

The report reveals with facts and figures that the NRA is helping the large concerns and is systematically freezing out small business under all of the codes reviewed. To the readers of the Militant this is nothing new. From the very first day of the NRA we have clearly pointed out this phase of its functioning. What is important in the Darrow review is the fact that the antagonisms and conflicts inside the camp of the exploiters are sharpening. The report is one of its expressions. It will be used by a large section of the middle class.

**Darrow Speaks for Middle Class**

More significant than what is said in the Darrow report is what is left unsaid. The report gives a little attention to the problems of the working class. But it does not deal with the fundamental problems confronting the working class under the codes. This is not an accident. Darrow speaks for the middle class and not for the working class. The committee and those that back the committee, such as Borah and Nye, are fighting for the little business man and a large section of the middle class. In such a fight they come into conflict with the working class, even though they hope to involve large sections of the

**Wolinsky-- Bosses' Agent**

The Wolinsky administration called a meeting of the Pocketbook Makers on Monday, May 21st at the Stuyvesant High School. At this meeting the Joint Council gave a report of the demands to be presented to the employers. When the secretary read off the demands which consisted: 1. A 36 hour week, 2. A ten percent increase in wages, 3. The employers should be kind enough to increase employment 10%. These demands were worked out by the legal "advisor", the agent of the bosses, the faker Wolinsky.

When the notorious traitor, Wolinsky, was introduced to defend these demands the workers gave him a reception that he will not soon forget. In a demagogic speech Wolinsky spoke about Roosevelt's NRA, Frances Perkins, and what good things he is doing for the pocket-book makers to make a national agreement with the employers.

A heated discussion followed on the question of the 36-hour week. An amendment was made by David Meyer of the Socialists and one of the progressives that our demands should be a 35-hour week instead of 36. Diamond of the Rank and File Committee made a substitute motion for the 30-hour week. In the discussion Matlin, Diamond, David Meyer, Block, Galick spoke for the 30-hour week, and condemned Wolinsky as an agent of the bosses. Maltzer and Lubliner supported Wolinsky for the 36-hour week. It is interesting that the speaker gang interrupted every one who spoke against Wolinsky's proposals.

The climax came when Wolinsky was again introduced to defend the 36-hour week. A tumult which lasted over an hour prevented Wolinsky from speaking, as yells of "betrayer", "traitor", "sell-out" were heard over the hall. The audience was in an uproar, protesting against the Wolinsky proposals, and his sluggers were busy provoking fights all over the hall in order to cow and break the morale of the protesters. This meeting and the attitude of the workers present demonstrated clearly that Wolinsky's task of selling out the interests of the pocket-book makers would not go uncontested by the rank and file workers in the union. After the audience was quieted down, a vote was taken on the question of the 36-hour or 30-hour week. In spite of terrorism, the Wolinsky proposal for the 36-hour week received 444 votes, and the 30-hour proposal received 304 votes, giving the Wolinsky gang the majority of 124 votes.

The crying need of the pocket-book makers is a solid unity of all the progressive forces in a single block to fight the Wolinsky machine and its infamous policies.

—A POCKET-BOOK MAKER.

working class in their fight against big capital. It is true that Darrow and Tompson, in a supplementary report, call for the socialization of industry as an alternative to the NRA. This does not represent a left position. It signifies a position in which left phrases cover the worst kind of social reformist and reactionary ideas. Johnson, in his reply, correctly pointed out that the Darrow position leads either to Communism or Fascism. And correctly so. We do not expect Darrow in his report to specify which road he desires after the NRA—Fascism or Communism. We only point out that these two roads are open. The sloppy middle class report of the Darrow committee which cannot find space for the working class in a hundred-thousand word criticism of the NRA in no sense throws a favorable light upon the committee. A committee's report which criticizes the NRA, which is against big business and for the "little fellow" and which, at the same time, speaks of socialization as an alternative but leaves out any reference to the problems of the working class—such a report can become a basis for the worst kind of a middle class movement to rally the workers "against the trusts"

**Pressure on the Workers**

How any one can write a hundred-thousand word document and criticism and say so little about the working class is a surprise to us. For every ounce of monopolistic pressure against the little fellow under the codes there is a ton of pressure against the working class. The fact that the Roosevelt New Deal was so capable of putting over its big business measures in the name of the workers calls all the more for an exposure of the clever methods used under the NRA to lower the standard of living of the American workers, and to hold it in check.

The expression of class antagonisms through the NRA has simplified the previously complicated problem of the relation of economics to politics and class interests. In the past the ruling class had the simple task of issuing every measure in the name of the "people". They still do this, but before the ink is dry on the new measures the "people" split up into struggling classes.

**Who is the NRA For?**

The NRA is detrimental to the working class. The NRA is also detrimental to the middle class, as Darrow points out. And, according to some of the big fellows of the Chamber of Commerce, the Manufacturers Association, the Steel Association, etc., the NRA is also detrimental to them. If this is the case who is the NRA for?

Under the NRA the working class received crumbs in order to restrain them from taking more in strike struggles and organization. Also, the little fellow is being driven out of business through the operation of the codes. This much of the problem is not so difficult to understand. What confuses many is the fact that monopolists also criticize the NRA. Marx pointed out the significance of such phenomena in the last century. Here we have a striking confirmation of his analysis. The conflict within the national ruling class is sharpening. There is not only a conflict between imperialist nations. There is, likewise, a struggle between groups of imperialists within the nation. The Roosevelt group is in sharp conflict with the Hoover group. Besides this, other groups are struggling for sectional control of the country and of industries.

**Finance Capital and the New Deal**

The bitterest attacks on the NRA have come from the groups of financial capitalists, who are not on the inside of the New Deal. They have more foresight for their own interests. This does not account for the whole of their criticism. Much of their criticism against the NRA has only been leveled at Section 7a. They know that the precedents established at the start will, to a large extent, govern the whole unless labor can demand a change. Therefore, they hammer away against labor. They want to give as few crumbs as possible and, at the same time, make a lot of noise to cover up the increase of profits rolling into them.

The Darrow report is speaking for a section of the middle class and small industrialists. The working class must use their criticism to further expose the NRA. But the workers must steer clear of Darrow, Nye and all of the other liberals and social reformers.

—HUGO OEHLER.

# Anti-Nazi Demonstration in N.Y.

A militant, shouting column of workers and anti-Fascists, organized by the Communist League of America and the Young People's Socialist League, paraded for four hours through the White Way district of New York City Thursday night, giving a militant answer to the "Friends of New Germany" meeting called in Madison Square Garden to praise Hitlerism. Within the Garden were 20,000 Nazis and their sympathizers; outside 1,000 police of the "democratic" state guarded the doors and streets. But more than 1,200 New York workers answered the threat implied in that meeting by a fine demonstration of militancy.

A few days before the Nazi meeting the Stalinist press produced its latest orientation on Fascism. Having declared, on May 2, that Trotskyites are not an opposition to be argued with but "class enemies to be destroyed," the Stalinist Party now ordered its followers to discuss matters patiently with honest Fascist rank-and-file in order to win them from their leaders. With this notion as a basis, the Stalinists made no counter-demonstration to Thursday's Nazi meeting. Instead it mobilized for a meeting at Cooper Union to listen to "Comrade" Goldstein, one of the "honest, rank-and-file" rabbits.

**United Front in Action**

Efforts made by the Communist League to arrange a formal united front counter-demonstration through the May Day arrangements committee fell through. The League therefore mobilized about 100 members and sympathizers, including Spartacus Youth Club members, at 8 o'clock on the evening of the Nazi rally. A block from the Garden they joined with a group of about 100 Yipsels. The steering committee of both groups merged, the united front of organizations thus being forged in action on the street.

At a signal from the joint steering committee, the groups formed a column, shouting "Down with Hitler!" "Down with Fascist Terror!" The effect was instantaneous: before the column began to march hundreds of workers on the sidewalk joined the line. Thus began the four-hour march. The column wound up and down Broadway, west to the Garden and east again, looping back and forth. The streets were lined with sympathetic crowds including knots of Jewish Minute Men whose leaders had to restrain them from answering calls to join the demonstration. Before the evening was over the column had grown to more than 1,200.

Efforts to reach the sidewalk just outside the Garden failed. There

were enough cops on hand to block off all approaches. The Stalinists were active in disorganization work. An hour or so after the march began a few of them drifted into the column. The steering committee, however, had made up its mind to go into Times Square for a meeting, and they managed to prevent the Stalinists from precipitating confusion and disruption.

**Meeting in Times Square**

The meeting in Times Square lasted about 40 minutes. Two Yipsels and one representative of the A.W.P. spoke, as well as Carl Cowl for the C.L.A. and Joseph Carter for the Spartacus Youth Clubs. The keywords of all the speakers were the same: denunciations of Fascism, condemnation of the Garden meeting and of the police attitude toward anti-Fascists, and promulgation of the idea of the united front of all workers' organizations against Fascism. Carter was loudly cheered when he voiced a protest against the persecution of German revolutionists and the deportation from Holland to Germany of the four German youth delegates at the Laren Conference.

After having failed to disrupt the demonstration a Y.C.L. leader, Larkin, asked for the floor at the meeting. The steering committee gave it to him. He began to yell at the top of his voice about the Communist Party of Germany "which fights bravely against Fascism and against all Social-Fascist misleaders of the workers". The crowd— which was now several thousand strong standing on a traffic island in the midst of Times Square—gave him about the loudest boo heard on the White Way in years. It was so sharp and loud that Larkin lost some of his impudence. The workers put him in his place very nicely. The chairman, a Yipser, wound up by calling for the International.

—HARRY STRANG.

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