

WORKERS
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UNITE

THE MILITANT



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Issues Of The Day At The A. F. of L. Convention

In his keynote speech to the Fifty-Fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, now in session in San Francisco, president William Green hailed the strike truce proposal made in President Roosevelt's broadcast the night before. In an interview later he said: "I know it will meet with a warm reception from labor."

Simultaneously the National Association of Manufacturers welcomed the strike truce proposal and referred to a memorandum it had previously submitted recommending the issuance by the President of a proclamation similar to the doctrine laid down by the National Council of defense during the World War and subscribed to by Samuel Gompers.

Strike Truce of the Past

And why should not Green and his worthy cronies be ready to subscribe to such a truce? They have done it before. We recall the beginning of the crisis when President Hoover summoned the captains of industry and the leaders of the trade unions and, in view of "the national emergency", obtained a no-strike pledge from the latter. So here we have it; a no-strike pledge in time of war; a no-strike pledge in time of crisis, and now a prospective no-strike pledge in the time of the attempted recovery. It is not difficult to find the grounds or the motivations for it; but we venture to say that it will be much more difficult actually to maintain a no-strike pledge now and take away this most powerful means of workers resistance of the American masses against the increasing intensity of exploitation.

In this warm greeting to the strike truce proposal by the labor lieutenants of capitalism we see manifested one side of government and "labor" relations under the NRA. The increasing governmental supervision of relations between labor and the barons of industry and finance, that is the class relations, attempts to make class collaboration a permanent institution to be founded on a much broader basis than heretofore, with the labor lieutenants as the guardians, not of the interests of the workers, but of their hopes for docile acquiescence to continued exploitation. The trade union officials sit on the labor relations and mediation boards. They engage in truce agreements and sell-out settlements of strikes

with representatives of the administration. The trade union officials rely on this sort of an equilibrium. No doubt, President Roosevelt's broadcast fitted admirably with the A. F. of L. convention, both from the point of view of purpose and time of delivery.

But there is also another side of government and labor relations, and this is a far more important one. It was particularly and glaringly manifested in the recent textile strike. In every strike, in practically every city where textile mills are located, the strikers' picket lines met the government in its real expression, in the form of the mailed fist. Gunmen and sheriffs; policemen; steel-helmeted soldiers; tear gas, machine guns and concentration camps; the imprisonment and killing and maiming of strikers—this is what the workers met in their conflict with the government of their masters. The full significance of this experience may not yet be clear to the textile workers who fought so heroically. But, taken together with the empty promises by which they were cajoled to return to work and, for the time being, give up their strike weapon, the lesson will become increasingly clear. At the same time we will witness the upsetting of the equilibrium that the trade union officials rely on today.

Real Issues to the Fore

No doubt the consideration of the proposed strike truce will dominate the A. F. of L. convention. But beneath it the real issues will press to the fore. Certain rumblings of disagreements and difficulties in the official family have already appeared in the split between those officials who are inside the Building Trades Department and those of the carpenters, bricklayers and electricians who are outside. Of course, this split does not reflect any of the real issues. It merely expresses the quandary of the official family and the attempt to lead the issues into channels where they can be blurred and obscured. But this will not help. The problem of the right to union organization remains and this right can be won only by fighting for it: the question of policy and method in the face of an arrogant class of employers begins to call for a solution: the question of forms of or-

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Read the Crime News and Forget Your Troubles

First it was the dashing bandit Dillinger, now the sullen Bruno Hauptmann, reputed kidnapper of the Lindbergh baby, latest bourgeois contribution to a Roman holiday, crowding off the front pages of the capitalist press such minor items as the textile strike, arms inquiry, NRA steel sell-out, and similar stuff calculated only to disturb the working class.

Accordingly, the Hauptmann mess has been served up to the public in all its sordid details, the bewitching Anita Luxemburg, Mrs. Hauptmann crowning a cradle song to her tiny baby, Hauptmann as Don Juan, Hauptmann the monster, Hauptmann snarling at his captors.

Newspapermen are snatched from off their routine prosaic tasks, and converted into the dashing sleuths we see in moving pictures. No expense is spared; not a crank, not a drunken panhandler with a Hauptmann story to tell, but is given an eager hearing. A howling mob dashes through the corridors of the Bronx County courthouse, trampling innocent victims, making mince-meat of youthful assistant D.A.'s, pouncing menacingly upon the witnesses. They are reporters hunting interviews, with anyone, about anything, so long as it connects with the Lindbergh case.

All this lunacy, all the slobbering details, the sob and sex angles, the general hysteria, is carefully prepared, well in advance of its release, anticipated and even manufactured.

First, because it sells papers; second, because it is part of a deeper purpose.

Sensation Made to Order

Flatly, the capitalist press prints news—is forced to—but welcomes sensation with open arms; in fact, with obvious and almost comical

relief. How gratefully it turns to the Hauptmanns, and the latest American Tragedy! The crimes of Sir Basil Zaharoff are exciting and dramatic enough, but Prexy Boy Floyd furnishes less dangerous copy.

Who, in sober fact, is the world's To Make the Workers Forget

Never mind the alibis: The boys only want to sell their papers; they'd printed news but the public isn't interested. The interest in the Hauptmann case is genuine enough, but still not to a degree to satisfy the press. They must magnify this interest a thousand times, dining the public ear until it can hear nothing else. Strikers must abandon the picket lines to discuss the Hauptmann clues; workers must forget that they are hungry in their dangerous work? Who is your real monster, thirsting for human blood, greedy, insatiable? Hauptmann? Even if he is guilty of a dozen such crimes, horrifying the world, he is a petty amateur in crime as compared to any church-going, philanthropist arms manufacturer. Set the newspaper hounds truly on the Du Pont trail, and they will uncover as choice a mess as ever the late lamented Graphic or the Mirror printed. And the boys have the talent to dramatize the stuff, too, if they so desired, examining every inch of wood in the Hauptmann garage.

It is not true that there is only one thought in the public mind; that nothing else is discussed in the home and public places; that there is only one issue before the world, that the world has stopped and the Depression suspended, merely to see Hauptmann go to the electric chair. The newspaper are merely trying to give you that impression. —HENRY CAPE.

Cannon, Muste Address Paterson Silk Workers

Paterson, N. J.—A crowd of 300 silk workers, constituting the largest local meeting brought together by any left-wing organization in some years, packed Oakley Hall Sunday night and received with warm applause the addresses of James P. Cannon and A. J. Muste. This was the first public meeting held under the joint auspices of the Communist League and the American Workers Party, and references made by both speakers to the probability of unity on a revolutionary program in the near future were greeted enthusiastically.

Muste Scores "Settlement"

Comrade Muste, the first speaker, analyzed the recent textile strike, and characterized the settlement as a flagrant betrayal. Muste pointed out that the workers must not regard the strike as altogether a wasted effort, especially in view of the moral effect of the militant activities of textile workers all over the country. He went on to show that nothing had been won of the original demands of the U. T. W., and that in a way something had been lost since Paterson bosses, who had formerly signed large-scale joint agreements could now point to the Winant Report as favoring shop-by-shop settlement.

"This worthless report was endorsed by the leaders of the U. T. W.," said Muste, "at a moment when the strike was still on the upswing. They did not even require the bosses to accept the report. Without a single guarantee, not even a paper one, they called off the high-and-dry thousands of workers strike-leaving without their jobs. To produce such a result, it was necessary to have the type of leaders now in control of the U. T. W. and the A. F. of L. in general,

that is, men who combine with stupidity, a lack of courage and disloyalty to the working class."

Cannon Analyzes Strike Wave

Comrade Cannon discussed the general background of the textile strike, analyzed the militant mood which has become more and more characteristic of labor in all important industries in the past year, and took up in some detail the manner in which the textile strike was run in Paterson. His criticism of the Lovestoneite local chief of the silk Federation, Eli Keller, was greeted with vociferously-expressed approval by the workers present. During the same afternoon, a group numbering about 700 had gathered at union headquarters to complain about the fact that the strike had been called off without a membership meeting and that Keller, in order to maintain power, was violating the union constitution in a dozen ways.

Comrade Cannon said that it was not surprising that Southern mill workers, holding a union card for the first time in their lives, should be unable to offer resistance to the sell-out perpetrated by Green, McMahon and Gorman.

"Paterson, however," he continued, "is the bearer of the great tradition of militant struggle in the industry. Here every militant union current has found full expression in its time. Here the I. W. W. had its stamping ground in its halcyon days. Here the workers are always ready for struggle; they have been through the mill, they know the meaning of that. How come that in such a town this rotten 'settlement' could be perpetrated by a pint-sized Gorman without a single obstacle being put in his

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Youth Demonstrate Against Italian Fascism Friday

A monster united front demonstration will be the reply to the New York workers, on October 12, to the Yankee Stadium pageant in greeting of 300 Italian Fascist students. A United Youth Committee has been set up including the Y.P.S.L., the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Communist Youth Opposition and the Spartacus Youth League. Both the Young Communist League and the National Student League refused to participate in this arrangement committee on the grounds that the Lovestoneites and Trotskyites were in it. All youth organizations have been invited by the United Youth Committee to join the united front.

The Yankee Stadium pageant for the 300 Italian Fascist students is part of a systematic campaign of Mussolini's to popularize Italian Fascism in this country. The students are to tour the important cities and universities of the country. In addition Mussolini's "Favorite Band" is touring the country. Already they have been "greeted" by demonstrations of New York workers when they appeared at a theater in this city.

All anti-Fascist organizations must be rallied to protest this arrogant provocation. Wherever they appear the working class organizations should stage a counter-demonstration. A united front of these forces must be consummated. It can become the starting point of

genuine common action against Fascism and all forms of capitalist reaction.

Assemble before Yankee Stadium on Oct. 12th! Protest the provocations of Mussolini! Forge the united front against Fascism!

Members and sympathizers of the Communist League and the Spartacus Youth League will meet at their central headquarters, 144 second Avenue, on Friday, Oct. 12, at 11:00 A.M.

The Stalinists, through the American League Against War and Fascism, held a rival conference on Thursday for a demonstration for the same purpose, on the same day and place. Hardly twenty-four hours intervened between the call and the meeting of the conference.

The Y.P.S.L., the S.L.I.D., and the United Youth Committee sent observers to the conference, the first two organizations having been invited. Ben Fischer and Joe Carter representing the Committee and Aaron Levenstein of the Y.P.S.L. and Hal Draper of the S.L.I.D. protested the holding of a dual conference. They scored the refusal of the Y.C.L. and the N.S.L. to join the united front. The invitation extended to the Youth Section of the American League Against War and Fascism, they stated, had not been answered.

A representative of the American League Against War and Fascism

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BUILD THE LEAGUE

The Stalinists disagree with us once again. They object to the unification of the Communist League and the American Workers Party into a revolutionary party in America. They are issuing advice to the membership of both organizations. They even warn the leaders of the two organizations against the fusion on the ground that it will not do Stalinism any good.

They realize that a new revolutionary party will be able to challenge them on every front. While they fear the new militancy of the Socialists, they nevertheless figure they can handle them. The prospect of a new revolutionary Marx-

ist party, however, throws them into a panic.

But we still think the new party is necessary. Let us not delay this important step. You can help. Build the foundation of the new party by helping now to build the Communist League. We have issued one-dollar and five-dollar certificates. Every reader should buy one. Send in your contribution at once. You will receive a NEW PARTY CERTIFICATE by return mail. Every member of the League and every sympathizer should buy one of these certificates. Each branch is organizing a special drive to recruit members and collect the new party fund.

ARMED CLASHES IN SPAIN AS CIVIL WAR BEGINS

Spanish Workers Destiny Hinges on Militant Action

The Spanish Revolution began in the spring of 1931 with the overthrow of the monarchy and was carried to great heights by the mass action of the workers and peasants. Its further progress was checked by the betrayal of the Socialist party leaders, who at the time shared power with the Republicans and the sectarian putschism of the anarchists. Between them they objectively prepared the way for the present rightist regime.

With the setting in of reaction in 1933, the political forces of the nation gravitated to both extremes. The Socialist party, in an attempt to rectify its past, has pushed its more conservative leaders to the background and forged ahead under a new banner—that of the Proletarian dictatorship. Important sections of the anarcho-syndicalist movement have oriented towards political action. On the other extreme the Catholic Popular Agrarian (Fascist) Party of Gil Robles has come to the fore, anxious to fulfill its historic role in Spain as has been done by the Fascist parties of Italy and Germany.

Political Crisis in Spain

The last few weeks have witnessed the development of a serious political crisis in Spain. The right-centrist government of Samper on the verge of complete collapse. Representing a minority of the Cortes, it has been unable to solve any of the pressing economic and political problems of the day. The Fascists are demanding the formation of a "majority" government which means that they would have to be included. Gil Robles openly announces that this would be only a temporary arrangement, and that the time when the Fascists will make a bid for complete power, is not far distant.

Faced with this situation, the Socialist Party, claiming to speak for the majority of the proletariat of Spain issued a manifesto in El Socialista on Sept. 28 in which it is predicted that the decisive showdown with Fascism will take place during October. This manifesto, reads in part as follows:

Socialist Party Manifesto

"Next month may well be our October. The maneuvers of the reactionaries should catch no one in the proletarian camp off his guard. We must be prepared for anything. . . . The great army of workers of field and city should from this moment consider themselves mobilized, so that at the proper moment, everyone will know his post and his mission and carry forward his task without any wavering or doubt."

Declaring that the Socialist Party does not pretend to foresee the events of October, the manifesto adds, "But we do know that the rights will attempt to get far as they can. Days of difficult trial for us are ahead. Our preparations must not fail. Everything must be completely organized, no longer must anything be left for the morrow. We must have every detail prepared for our victory. Thus there will be no risk of awakening one day to find ourselves under a Fascist dictatorship."

After stating that the party will not back out of the most costly sacrifices, El Socialista goes on to say, "Our responsibilities before the Spanish proletariat are enormous because there does not exist in Spain any other organized force with as concrete objectives as the S. P. The now weakened bourgeois parties will have to seek difficult twisting bypaths if they are to win; but, on the other hand, the working class knows what it wants to achieve, and how to accomplish its ends."

Aim to Conquer Power

The manifesto goes on to state the efficiency with which the Spanish workers even today are collectively and successfully working the land, mines and enterprises of many industries that the capitalists were forced to abandon because of their inability to make profits. These enterprises are now functioning under the direction of the Socialist Union, which is pointed

Workers Conduct Militant Struggle Against Fascism

The Spanish working class has answered a threat of fascist rule by the declaration of a revolutionary general strike.

The political crisis, long developing, came to a climax this week when the Samper government presented its resignation at the opening session of the Cortes. A new government has been formed under the "radical republican" Lerroux, representing a coalition of the blackest reactionary elements of the country, with the inclusion of Fascists (Popular Action) in three ministries.

Armed Clashes

Everything is tied up throughout Spain, armed clashes have taken place, the country is being placed under martial law. As this issue of the Militant goes to press, the death toll has reached 50. The National Army and the Assault Guards are mobilized for suppression of the strike, which is already being carried over into insurrectionary action in several provinces. The miners of Asturias are in open revolt in a body, and appear to be well supplied with rifles, ammunition and even with machine guns.

Workers of every tendency in the labor movement are fighting side by side in the streets against the fascist danger now clothed in the vestments of governmental authority. It is reported that the Socialist Party has seized one of the country's largest munition plants. With their backs to the wall and the lessons of Germany and Austria still fresh in their minds, Socialists, Syndicalists and Communists of Spain are fighting with a determination that cannot but inspire every class conscious worker throughout the world.

Socialist Party Appeal

In its issue of October 4, El Socialista, central organ of the Socialist Party, says editorially: "All who, as workers, are in our ranks, must add their strength to the common cause. The gravity of the moment requires absolute subordination. Victory is closely linked to discipline." However, in spite of the Socialist Party's assumption of the right to undisputed leadership, its own criminal negligence and conscious sabotage of the building of the National Workers' Alliance as a united front movement of all organizations and tendencies, as well as their refusal to give full support to partial struggles during recent months, will be the principal source of weakness in the present movement. It will be necessary to translate the unity of action of the workers, as expressed in the present revolt, into a well-knit united front between the different organizations and tendencies, if the class is to realize its opportunity and not waste its energies. As the only existing united front of this character, the provincial Workers' Alliances must strive to become the national center of the class war.

World Labor Must Aid

Meanwhile it will be the duty of all workers and all working class organizations to give their whole hearted support in action, to the efforts of the Socialist Party, while not failing at the same time to point out its political and tactical errors, in an effort to correct them. Ex-premier Manuel Azana, left petty bourgeois republican, has broken with the national government and now maintains himself in readiness, according to current rumors in Spain, to head a liberal regime to be proclaimed in Catalonia. It will be the task of the Workers' Alliance of Catalonia at this juncture to raise the issue of national autonomy against the semi-fascist central authority, at the same time tying up the struggle for national emancipation with the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants of all Spain.

In this life and death struggle, the fate of Western Europe and, in a sense, of the entire world, will be vitally affected. Workers of all countries should organize united front movements in support and defense of the Spanish revolution.

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REVIEWING THE NEWS

STALINISM ON PARADE

Some Lighter Touches of the Chicago "Anti-War" Congress
Chicago, Oct. 3.—The Stalinists running this spectacle tell us that there are more than 3,300 delegates at the 2nd Congress of the League Against War and Fascism.

Chairman Ward gives high praise to the editor of Fight, the League's official organ. Credit, he announces, "we must place on the brilliant shoulders of Joe Pass."

Some Socialists attending this fiesta have signed a statement in favor of the "united front". Somebody here told me there were fifty of them.

In any case it's a grand turnout. There are Methodists, Republicans, Victor Berger's relic, vegetarians, Quakers, the 57 varieties of Stalinist "front" organizations wearing different color beards, and Roger Baldwin (representing himself, as usual).

Well, if that's all that's wrong...

As a matter of fact, this little deficiency is going to be solved right smart. Somebody has discovered "a feasible and simple" scheme for getting into the A. F. of L., not to speak of "other important trade union bodies (the T.U.U.L. maybe)."

The League is printing hundreds of thousands—millions if necessary—of questionnaires for reference to union locals and for distribution in the shops.

Now we know why Hitler came to power! The German C. P. omitted this questionnaire. True, there were 5,000,000 C. P. voters, and 8,000,000 S. P. voters, and an enormous union movement.

Here the Stalinists ("League Against War and Fascism," if you please) can't get into the unions; the C. P. and the S. P. have only about 50,000 members between them.

Everybody here is telling me that it is "highly significant" that Louis Perrigaud, editor of Le Populaire, official organ of the French S. P. (Section of the Second International, by the way), is participating in this masquerade.

I started to ask one Stalinist ecologist whether it signified that the honest rank-and-file editors of the official organ of the French S. P. were not Social Fascists any longer, but he ran away, leaving me in the middle of the sentence.

I wonder whether I will ever get the floor or whether this variety show is only going to have trained seal and tight-rope acts? Greetings.—A Left Social-Fascist Rank and File Renegade Dishonest Worker

CLASSES

Announcing the opening of classes of the International Workers School on Monday, October 15, 1934.

Registration now going on for classes on ABC of Communism, economics, State and Revolution and Principles and History of the Left Opposition.

Young Socialists Give Young Stalinists an A.B.C. Lesson on the United Front

(Ed. Note: We publish below a document of historical importance on the question of the United Front. It is the reply of the Young Peoples Socialist League of New York City to the demand of the Young Communist League (Stalinists) that the "Trotskyites and Lovestonites" be excluded from the united front demonstration against the Italian fascist student manifestation scheduled for the Yankee Stadium on October 12.

The Y.P.S.L. Letter

September 28, 1934
New York City Committee
Young Communist League
35 East 12th St.
N. Y. C.

Dear Comrades:
The Young People's Socialist League has always looked forward to the time when the working class, now unhappily divided, would march forward to the attack on capitalism and reaction in unified ranks.

Realizing that basic differences in tactics and philosophy existed, we have felt that at least a united front on certain questions could be carried through. The united front agreements between Socialists and Communists by various sections of the Labor and Socialist International and actually effected in France and Belgium led us to the hope that similar efforts in the United States between the Y.P.S.L. and other working class groups might also prove fruitful.

We therefore invited your organization and several others to confer with us on Thursday, September 26, for the purpose of demonstrating against the Italian fascist student manifestation scheduled for the Yankee Stadium on October 12. We are disappointed by your reply.

In your letter of September 25th, you state your reasons for refusing to enter our proposed united front. The summary of your argument is that you would rather prevent a united front than sit at a united front meeting with Trotskyites and Lovestonites. The Y.P.S.L. disagrees entirely with your attitude on this question.

For all our differences with them, we look upon the Trotskyite and Lovestonite, as well as the Stalinite, Communist groups as working class organizations. They are such in aim and class orientation. To exclude the Trotskyites and Lovestonites from this demonstration would be to raise these

very sectarian barriers which stand in the way of a true united front. The Y.P.S.L. does not imply that all working class organizations, at all times, at all places, in all circumstances, must be included in every united front. Certain organizations may be so entirely without influence as to make it unnecessary to include them.

The question before us is not whether it is wise to include an organization because of the numerical advantages it may offer to the demonstration, but whether we should EXCLUDE A WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATION BECAUSE OF ITS POLITICAL ATTITUDE. According to your letter the Y.C.L. insists upon the exclusion of the Trotskyites and Lovestonites, not on tactical premises but as a MATTER OF PRINCIPLE. We maintain that it would be nothing less than sectarian opportunism if the Y.C.L. were to make a broad united front impossible for the reasons you have advanced.

The arguments which you raise to exclude the two groups might just as easily be used to exclude us. In fact, the very language you use to characterize them has been and is being addressed by you even at the present time to us. You maintain in your letter that the Trotskyites and the Lovestonites are "the worst enemies of the working class". Have you not on many occasions said the same of us?

You go further and maintain in your letter that it is their sole aim and purpose to "slander the Soviet Union". This too has a familiar ring. Are we now to imply from this that the Young People's Socialist League and the Socialist Party do not "slander the Soviet Union"? We are gratified that we have at last convinced you.

You say that these "renegades" are intent upon carrying out "a violent struggle against the Communist Party. But do you not also accuse the International Socialist movement of fomenting and supporting armed intervention against the Soviet Union, a policy which certainly would constitute a "violent struggle against the Communist Party". Or do you now imply that you no longer believe that we Socialists are guilty of this crime? Again we are glad to learn of your conversion.

Finally, you accuse the Trotskyites of being "the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie". This charge is hardly worse than the one you level at us frequently, namely, that we are fascists. Surely the quotation from Stalin which you cite concerning the Trotskyites is not harsher than his statement that "Fascism and Social-Democracy are not antipodes, they are twins." Or—do you believe that we are not the twins of Fascism?

All these charges, right down to the very wording, have been also leveled against us by your movement. In the Thesis of the 13th Plenum of the E.C.C.I., under the heading, "Social Democracy in Support of Imperialism", we are charged with giving "service to international capital against the U. S.S.R. and of trying to "ensure that the main blow will be directed at the U.S.S.R." In the "Program of the Communist International", under the heading, "The Revolutionary Crisis and Counter-Revolutionary Social Democracy", we are referred to as "a powerful counter-revolutionary force". There are any number of such statements that we could recall to you, but we assume that you are as familiar with your own literature as we. However, we cannot refrain from pointing out the fact that even today's Daily Worker (September 28, 1934) carries an article by Alex Bittelman with the heading: "Why a United Front with Social Fascists? ... Workers are honest but deceived by Leaders' Social Fascism." Why does the Y.C.L. overlook these charges against us, but raise them as obstacles against other groups in the united front we have proposed?

We raise these questions not for the purpose of opening old sores but to determine how serious or how frivolous is your objection to the united front offer we have made. You have rejected our proposal—temporarily, we hope—on the ground that you cannot tolerate the presence of certain working class youth organizations with which you disagree. Since you hold the same disagreements toward us and bring the same charges against our movement, we cannot take your objections seriously. If the Y.C.L. can overlook their accusations against us, why not against these others? Only one explanation is possible: your complaints are not made in good faith.

This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that we have observed the Y.C.L. on previous occasions in united fronts that did include these other groups. You tell us that we are placing obstacles in the way of a successful united front by making the united front broad enough to include the various political tendencies with which radical youth is familiar today. To shut the door to them would be to affirm the very sectarianism which we hope by our united front to destroy. You insist that we are placing obstacles in the way of united action by including these organizations which you describe as insignificant. If they are indeed as you describe them, you are admitting that you reject the united front because of obstacles that are insignificant, that you are willing to let small things stand in the way of unity.

We had frankly not expected such a state of mind on your part. When we sent out our letter inviting you and these other organizations to confer with us in order to achieve this united front, we hardly suspected that you would in any way whatsoever object to the presence of the Lovestonites and the Trotskyites. You must surely realize

that this is the FIRST TIME in the history of our united front negotiations that you have ever raised this "obstacle"—though negotiations have been frequent between us. You sat with us, for example, in a committee for the arrangement of a united front for May 30th together with the Trotskyites and Lovestonites. You did not raise their presence then as an "obstacle", but insisted at that time that all organizations join under the banner of the National Youth Day committee to celebrate a distinctly Communist holiday.

You did not think at that time that common action between such organizations was impossible. In the American Youth Congress, your representatives co-operated with the group which included Trotskyites and Lovestonites. We could not therefore visualize that you would raise such objections on this occasion. Your decision comes to us as a complete surprise.

You imply that we should have known that you would not treat with these "renegades" from the general attitude of the Communist International towards them. Surely, you do not seriously offer this argument. You call them "counter-revolutionary" and you call us "counter-revolutionary". If we are supposed to conclude from your hostile attitude toward them, that you cannot sincerely join with them in anti-Fascist struggle, we would be forced to conclude, on the same premises, that you do not really want to enter into a united front with us.

As a matter of fact, a study of your own literature will reveal that the Y.C.L. does not consider it beyond its principles to enter into united front activity with organizations of the clearest anti-working class character. The Ninth Plenum of your own Communist Youth International calls upon you to "struggle for the masses of the toiling youth who are in Socialist Youth, reformist, fascist, syndicalist, church, militarist and other organizations, drawing the members of these organizations into the class struggle on the basis of the united front from below. . . . Certainly, if your organization can find it in its heart to enter a united front with fascist youth groups you should be able at least to tolerate the presence of the Trotskyites and Lovestonites. After the many indiscriminate, and rather promiscuous, united fronts your organization has been advising and participating in, like that with Father Divine, the religious quack, your present strictures against the "renegade" Communists come as a surprise.

It comes not only as a surprise but as a disappointment. As you know, the united front has in the past been left unrealized because of a mutual suspicion on the part of our organizations as to each other's sincerity. Recent events, especially in Europe, seemed to be the dawning of a new era. Of particular effect in awakening the hope for unity was the pact concluded by our comrades and your comrades, together with the Trotskyites of Belgium. We hastened to follow their example. Much to our

dismay and disappointment we were informed on meeting with your representative, John Little, that the Belgium pact, which had brought together tens of thousands of radical youth in that country, was a serious "mistake" which was already "repudiated" by the Communist International and the Young Communist League of Belgium.

Certainly you cannot accuse us of raising the issue of Trotskyism and Lovestonism just to create obstacles. In Belgium it proved no obstacle, until—the Young Communists, after the pact had been concluded and signed, decided to break the united front. Our crime, if any, is that we want a united front which will not exclude other radical youth organizations BECAUSE OF THEIR POLITICAL IDEAS, BUT WILL INCLUDE ALL IN SPITE OF THEIR POLITICAL DIFFERENCES.

We are certain that you will see that the reasons you offer against coming into this broad united front are entirely specious. The chief argument, that your former comrades are "counter-revolutionary" would apply, according to you, with equal weight to us. Yet in our case it is no obstacle although you make one in their case.

You will also understand that if we are to accept your proposal to exclude the Trotskyites at present we could only do it on one ground; namely, that we accept your characterization of the Trotskyites and Lovestonites and omit them from the joint action which we plan for October 12th. We must, however, refuse to act as your tools in the sectarian war that you are waging with other Communist factions.

If your argument would be that these former comrades of yours are renegades who are at present outside the ranks of the Comintern and are therefore especially despicable, may we point out that your organization is, by the same token, a "renegade" party from the Socialist International.

In the interests of unity, however, we feel it possible to forget these political differences and to leave old wounds untouched. It is hardly too much to urge you to abandon your present illogical and inconsistent position. We urge you not to make the animosities and rivalries between working-class organizations a "principle" question which stands in the way of united front. No matter what differences exist between us and the organizations we have invited, we are convinced that they are all opposed to fascism. On that we agree. Why should we not all unite on this occasion to demonstrate against the Italian Fascist manifestation to be held on October 12th. We want unity of action regardless of our momentary disagreements and, therefore, have determined to forget those differences. We sincerely hope that you will be able to do likewise, smash the gates of sectarian division, join us on the road to working class unity.

Fraternally yours,
N. Y. City Executive Committee
Young Peoples Socialist League
BEN FISCHER,
Executive Secretary

Domergue prepares the next stage in the laying of the road to fascism in France. Just as Hitler worked under the forms of legality until these could be cast aside as of no further use, so Domergue proposes in the present situation to cloak his designs under the Constitution. To achieve his real aim of destroying the parliamentary system and bourgeois democracy, he intends first to weaken and discredit this system sufficiently from within so that the forces of fascism that are meantime arming and drilling with the direct connivance of the army generals, will have their later tasks facilitated and their road made smoother. As the new sessions of parliament begin, Domergue is attempting to force through certain "reforms" of the Constitution which would give greater power to the President (a figurehead under the control of the reactionaries) and to himself as Premier. Entire control of the budget is to be taken over by the cabinet. The right to dissolve the house of deputies is to be given to the premier, who would naturally become the sole authority in the period intervening between dissolution and the following elections—if any. Although the parliamentary struggle against these fascist reforms will be an indication of political forces and where they stand, yet the question has become one that can no longer be solved in this arena. Events in France are heading at tremendous speed towards an armed struggle between the working class and the fascists.

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The Jews must by all means reject this reactionary role. There is only one course for them: to throw in their lot with the oppressed, to act at once, without delay, to unite forces with the workers and poor peasants of Arabia and the Near East for the purpose of overthrowing both British imperialism and the native exploiters, including their own treacherous Jewish bourgeoisie.

trade unionism, were curbing capitalism, that crises were growing fewer, that war was unprofitable, have been proved false at every turn. Their reformism has helped brew the catastrophe of world war, of more devastating economic crises, of fascism. The capitalist class refuses to be dispossessed by the formality of the ballot—it resorts to force. The workers cannot afford to be lulled by constitutional illusions. The workers have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to gain. Communism is the road to freedom in the true sense, freedom from blind dependence on the forces of nature and the market, freedom which is the conscious and willed direction of human destiny. The Workers' Party declares that the only way to end the misery of capitalist peace and the butchery of imperialist war is by the Revolution in Permanence. Workers of the World, Unite!

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Manifesto of the Workers Party of Canada

(Continued from last issue)

At this momentous time, the Workers' Party, based on the needs and struggles of the working class, guided by the scientific principles of Marxism and the strategy of Leninism (first four Congresses of the Comintern and subsequent development of the International Left Opposition) organizes for leadership of the class in the struggle to realize its historic mission, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Workers' State.

The party of social reformism, the C.C.F., definitely constitutionalist, parliamentary and anti-revolutionary, is in reality a third party of the bourgeoisie. It is founded in the same "gradualism", opportunism and national reformism, the same hostility to mass action which governed the European Social Democracy and paved the way for the victory of Fascism. But neither is the official Communist (Stalinist) Party capable of fulfilling the role of a party of working class emancipation. Under the impetus of the crisis in response to the clearly felt need of the unorganized, the Stalinist party has registered successes in the virtually uncontested field of industrial organization. But this party is bound hand and foot to the regime of the bankrupt Comintern. As a party of bureaucratic centrism, wavering between the positions of social-democracy and communism, zig-zagging between spells of cheap opportunism and ultra-left adventurism, it shares responsibility for the treacherous doctrine of "socialism-in-one-country", and the criminal policies of "the third period", "social-fascism", "red trade unions", spurious Amsterdam anti-war congresses, Lord Marley methods of "fighting" fascism. The Workers' Party recognizes that there are valuable elements of the rank and file in both the C.C.F. and the Stalinist

Parties and will bend every effort to win them; the principal reservoir of its recruitment lies, however, in the still politically and industrially unorganized masses.

The United Front

At the same time the Workers' Party is prepared to cooperate with all political and industrial organizations of the working class in a united front on all specific issues of common interests in the struggle against capitalism—reaction, fascism and the war danger. The failure to set up such a united front contributed heavily to the tragic capitulation of the German proletariat. Our Party decidedly rejects the Stalinist theory of "social-fascism" to the effect that the "twins" and that fascism cannot be resisted without first destroying the social-democracy. The fact is that victorious fascism smashes the socialists along with the communists. The United Front is a means of mobilizing the masses for struggle, regardless of their party differences of principle. We reject equally the conception of the United Front "from above" (parliamentary deals; the Anglo-Russian Committee; Stalinist alliance with the Kromintang) and the "united front only from below"—the refusal to enter into negotiations or conclude practical working agreements with the leaderships, in addition to the direct appeal to the masses. The united front recently set up between the French Socialist and Communist Parties evidences the further bankruptcy of the Stalinist theory of "social-fascism"

competition, large-scale production, employers' associations, interlocking directorates, and military intervention of the capitalist state in strikes, the trade unions can only counter the capitalist offensive for the reduction of the value of labor power, by resisting all forms of compulsory arbitration and conciliation, and adopting instead methods of the class struggle, direct action against the employers and the state. The trade unions must change their structure and their policies. The antiquated craft organization must be replaced by industrial unionism, one union for all the workers in one industry. The division of the ranks in rival trade union centres must be replaced by the maximum trade union unity in a single trade union centre, and immediately by joint action committees of the workers of different affiliations, for the every day struggle against the employers. To promote the further unity of the workers against the employers, the activity of the trade unions must be supplemented by the formation of factory or shop committees on a non-partisan basis. The processes of capitalist rationalization, the continual displacement of living labor by machinery, the growing industrial reserve army of the unemployed, the increase of women and youth labor, demand a policy of the closest cooperation of the employed and unemployed, and the organization of the unorganized. Such policies will not be adopted without an unceasing struggle to purge the trade unions of the class-collaborationist bureaucracy and to establish real trade union democracy and rank and file control. There is no royal road to the radicalization of the masses by the "short cut" of building pure "red" trade unions which only isolate the militants. Work in the conservative trade unions is

essential. The Workers' Party cannot be "neutral" to the policies of the trade unions. The extent of its influence in the trade unions will be an important measure of its progress in winning over the majority of the working class. To promote the realization of these tasks, the Workers' Party will lend its efforts to organize the left wing and progressive forces in the trade unions as a militant minority.

Program of Action

The aim of the Workers' Party of Canada is the nationalization without compensation of the means of wealth production, distribution and exchange, (industry, banking, natural resources, wholesale trade and departmental stores), by the dictatorship of the proletariat (Workers' Councils) in economic and political solidarity with all existing Workers Republics.

Not as a minimum program for the reform of capitalism, but for the purpose of mobilizing the masses in the struggle for control of production and conquest of power, the Workers' Party sets up the following Program of Action.

1. Standard of Living.—Struggle for wage increases without regard for the profit system—maximum six-hour working day—five-day week—opposition to piece-work and other forms of the speed-up—equal pay for equal work—abolition of child labor.

2. Social Insurance.—Non-contributory unemployment insurance—health and accident insurance—reduction of old age pension age—Mothers' Allowances for one or more dependent children.

3. Civil Liberties.—Abrogation of all restrictions on freedom of speech, assemblage and press (repeal of sedition and censorship provisions of Criminal Code, Naturalization and Immigration Acts, Customs Act, etc.)—liberation of all class-war prisoners.

4. Trade Union Rights.—Abrogation of all restrictions on freedom of association—the right to picket and to boycott—prohibition of injunctions in industrial disputes—repeal of legislation for compulsory conciliation and arbitration.

5. Taxation of Capital.—Abolition of all forms of direct and indirect taxation and tariffs on articles of mass consumption—tax-exemption and cancellation of mortgage and other indebtedness of small impoverished non-exploiting farmers—cumulative income, corporation and inheritance taxes—taxation of ecclesiastical institutions.

6. Struggle Against Unemployment.—Maintenance of the unemployed or relief work at full trade union rates—tax-exemption and cancellation of debt and mortgage indebtedness of unemployed—no evictions.

7. The War Danger.—Imperialist war is inherent in capitalism and can be abolished only by the overthrow of the profit-system—Capitalist self-disarmament and bourgeois pacifism are an illusion to dupe the masses—The League of Nations is the instrument of an imperialist bloc based on preserving the status quo—The W. P. pledges itself to use the situation created by the imperialist war to mobilize the forces of the workers for a revolutionary struggle against capitalism—The W. P. supports the armed struggle of the colonial people to liberate themselves from imperialism.

Join the Workers' Party! The road ahead of the Canadian working class is one of great battles calling for serious sacrifices. But there is no other way out. The apostles of "continuity" and "gradualism" who ridiculed the idea of revolution, and who taught that democracy, public ownership and

MARCH OF EVENTS

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QUESTION BOX

HARVARD STUDENT, Cambridge—

Question: What is the basis upon which an appeal can be made to the petty-bourgeoisie without the making of concessions?

Answer: A revolutionary party would be tying itself hand and foot if it approached problems this way. "There are compromises and compromises." The question of whether or not "concessions" are to be made depends upon the relationship of forces, and this may particularly apply where the petty bourgeoisie is concerned. There may be no other road. An example of such a "concession" was the division of land among the peasantry by the Bolsheviks. In his "History of the Russian Revolution," Trotsky comments on this as follows: "The equal distribution of the land—objected Rosa Luxembourg... has nothing in common with socialism. The Bolsheviks, it goes without saying, had no illusions upon this point..."

"It would be possible to speak of socialist perspectives only after the establishment and successful preservation of the proletarian power. And this power could preserve itself only by giving determined co-operation to the peasant in carrying out his revolution. If the distribution of the land would strengthen the socialist government politically, it was then wholly justified as an immediate measure. The peasant had to be taken as the revolution found him..."

To return to the rest of your question. In appealing to the middle class the proletariat has two levers. 1. It must constitute itself as a force capable of inspiring confidence in its ability to realize its program. This is the long lever and it is precisely because of its failure to do this that the German proletariat lost the middle class of that country to Hitler. 2. The support of certain sections of the middle class may be mobilized on the basis of immediate demands. This is the short lever for which no general formula can, a priori, be written.

The latter condition flows from the heterogeneity of the class itself, which contains within it all kinds of farmers, shopkeepers, professional people, business agents, etc., with roots extending into finance-capital above and the proletariat below. Certain reactionary strata will have to be fought, some can be neutralized, and others won over.

For that section, who are, or are rapidly becoming, declassed, the slogan of "social insurance" applies. For certain sections of the middle class no immediate demand can have any value and even amelioration of their lot can be found only through the proletarian revolution. To the farmers, the most important section of the class, slogans around the question of evictions from farms and around the matter of mortgages and taxes, would, no doubt, find a response. These demands must, of course, be properly connected up with the struggles of the workers and with the general propaganda and agitation for a final revolutionary solution.

It is necessary to emphasize here that we are treating on historically unexplored, or little known, territory. Only a revolutionary party testing its slogans in the actual events, can find the correct road to winning the middle class. The primary task, therefore, is to build such a party.

JAMES SH., New York—

Question: Can you give me quotations from Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky where the "law of uneven development" is dealt with?

Answer: Your editor knows of no work of Marx in which the expression, "law of uneven development" is used as such, but his economic and political writings are permeated with the conception. His remark that the advanced nations hold up to the backward ones the mirror of their future is an expression of his concept that the evolution of society proceeds unevenly in different countries.

Here are two quotations from Lenin: "Uneven economic and political development is an unconditional law of capitalism." (Quoted by Trotsky from Lenin's collected works, "The Draft Program of the C. I.", p. 29).

"... there cannot be, under capitalism, an EQUAL development of different undertakings, trusts, branches of industries or countries." ("Imperialism", Vanguard Press edition, p. 99, emphasis in original.)

Here is one by Trotsky: "... the whole history of mankind is governed by the law of uneven development." ("The Draft Program of the C. I.", p. 21.)

Question: Where does Stalin say that the "law of uneven development was unknown to Marx and Engels?

Answer: In the "Draft Program of the C. I." (p. 20) Stalin wrote as follows: "On September 15, 1925, Stalin wrote that Trotsky has no reason to refer to Engels, who wrote at a time 'when THERE COULD BE NO QUESTION of the law of uneven development of capitalist countries.'" (Emphasis in "Draft Program.")

Stalin's absurd statement was made in a speech at the Plenum of the E.C.C.C.I. which preceded the expulsion of the Left Opposition. It was published in English in the *Imprecor*. We will dig up the exact quotation.

Question: Who first referred to the "law of uneven development" as such?

Answer: As far as this editor knows Lenin was the first to describe the phenomenon in these words.

Question: Can you give a definition of "the law of uneven development"?

Answer: The definition is contained in the very words themselves. The following, using as illustration only a few of the advanced countries, may help you to understand what is meant: Germany came to capitalism later than England or France. Then it outstripped the latter in its economic development and was passing the former when the world war broke. France came to capitalism later than England and continues to this day to lag behind her in economic development. The United States lagged behind England in economic development only to later outstrip the world. Russia, one of the last of the countries to be seized by capitalism, remained behind most of the advanced countries up to the time of the revolution. Nevertheless it produced the most politically developed proletariat who were able to seize power. The proletariat of the most advanced country, the United States, is yet in an early stage of its political development. A disproportion between the political development in other countries is also to be observed. The starting point of capitalism for the various countries is uneven, the rate of economic development is uneven, the political development is uneven.

P.S. The rest of your questions will be dealt with in a subsequent issue.

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A Reformed 2nd or a 4th International?

A Discussion of the International Left Socialist Declaration

(Note: The following critique of the new international declaration of the Socialist left wing appears in the latest issue of *Verite*, organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist group of the French Socialist party (S.F.I.O.). This is the first number of *Verite* to appear since the members of the former Communist League of France joined the French Socialist party as a step in the building of a new revolutionary movement in France. The declaration under criticism is signed by Spaak (Belgium), Zyromski (France), Alter (Poland), Pivert (France) and David Felix of Local Philadelphia of the American S. P.; Felix was one of the American delegates to the 1933 session of the 2nd International and a member of the Revolutionary Policy Committee which made such a poor showing at the 1934 Detroit Convention of the S.P. Since the Detroit Convention he has rejoined the "Militants" group—Tr.)

The bankruptcy of the German Social Democracy and of the Stalinist Party, reinforced by the crushing of Austro-Marxism, not only encouraged the development of centrist movements apart from the two internationals, but also lies at the bottom of strong centrist currents within the 2nd International (France, Belgium, Spain, Austria, U.S.A., etc.).

The declaration of the international left wing published in the *Bataille Socialiste* of July-August 1934, is the first effort since the memorandum of the 1933 international conference toward concerted action of the left centrists evolving inside the 2nd International.

Taking this declaration along with the conflict respecting the united front, which recently broke out at the session of the executive of the Socialist Youth International, one may record the first indication of a sharp crisis in the L.S.I. The successive collapses of all aspects of reformism (parliamentary, trade union, municipal), and the 180 degree turn executed by Moscow, have their inevitable consequences on the international scene. It is quite clear that the crisis, marked by successive regroupings which are developing in France, has and will have still more profound repercussions on an international scale. In Belgium, Spain and the U. S., the conflicts between the centrist tendencies and the majority groups of self-confessed reformists will sharpen rapidly from now on. The recent decision of the General Council of the Belgian Labor Party (S. P.)—which declares as irreconcilable membership in the Party and collaboration in the *Action Socialiste* (a left centrist periodical—Tr.), gives high significance to the Belgian crisis.

The Left Socialist Declaration

The declaration of the international left wing must be studied as a part of this struggle. Unlike all the right wing statements, whether open or concealed, it poses sharply the current dilemma: fascist dictatorship or dictatorship of the proletariat. The few lines on Fascism indicate considerable progress in the political analysis made by the left wing. It finally abandons the shop-worn argument constantly resorted to by opportunists, that "it is enough to have some big meetings, to have great masses in order to conquer power," an argument of parliamentary traders gone mad under the pressure of the masses. This is rejected by means of a clear declaration that, on the one hand, Fascism has never conquered power but that the bourgeoisie have al-

ways handed it over, and that, on the other hand, force is essential. It is indispensable that the comrades of the left wing become more precise on this point, and express themselves concretely on the question of the soviets, the absolutely essential question of this period.

But the declaration seems to be dangerously akin to right wing opportunist policy on a whole series of points. It does not say a word on the subject of national defense. It is impossible at the present moment to build a revolutionary movement without clearly condemning national defense and thereby the 2nd International as the typical exponent of this treasonable policy.

On this second point, too, the declaration seems to be tied to that of the right wingers. It calls for a reform of the international, and assumes collaboration with the reformist right. Here is the knot which still closely binds this left movement, not only to such lackeys of the King and the bourgeoisie as Vandervelde, but through them to the bourgeoisie itself. The left wing must sharply cut itself off from such policies under pain of being irretrievably dragged along into bankruptcy with the opportunists of every shade.

Bolshevik-Leninists in the French S.P.

The extraordinary international importance of the step taken by our French comrades in their decision to join the Socialist party of France demands the closest attention of all the International Communists. To facilitate acquaintance with the progress and the methods of work employed by the Bolshevik-Leninists under the drastically changed conditions imposed by the march of events, we print below a review of the latest issue of *La Verite*, the central organ of our French comrades:

La Verite No. 220 is a special issue dedicated to the new tasks of the French Bolshevik-Leninists. Appearing under the old masthead, with the Soviet emblem, it bears the new legend: "Organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group in the S.F.I.O. (French Section of the Labor and Socialist International)". Alongside the masthead appears the following slogan: "Tardieu is appealing to the 'moral forces'..."

"It is high time to form the People's Militia."

The front page is devoted to the Declaration and the account of the Third Conference of the Ligue (both reprinted in the last issue of the *Militant*) and to a stirring editorial entitled: "Substitute the GENERAL STRIKE FOR THE OVERTHROW OF DOUMERGUE for the ballot-box united front between the C. P. and the S. P.: Anti-Fascist Militia—The Need of the Hour." On page 1 also a meeting of the Parisian District of the Bolshevik-Leninists is announced for September 17, and there is a letter from a group of soldiers hailing the united front, protesting against the Stalinist withdrawal from the united front in Belgium and against L'Humanite's attack against comrade Trotsky and the Bolshevik-Leninists.

On page 2, under the rubric "The International Polemic," we find an article which polemicalizes sharply against Spaak, Zyromski, Alter, Pivert and other Left wingers for their advocacy of the reform of the Second International. The article attacks the latest declaration of the Lefts in *La Bataille Socialiste* for its opportunist failure to take a position on the question of national defense, it takes them to task on the point of their collaboration with the right wing and their tendency to capitulate to the demand of the Belgian reformists for the dissolution of the Left wing *Action Socialiste*. The polemic is concluded with a call upon all genuine Left wingers to join with the Bolshevik-Leninists in the preparation of the Fourth International. Under the same rubric there are news accounts and comments on labor struggles in North Africa, the Saar, U.S.A., Spain, Bulgaria, etc.

An editorial on the adherence of the U.S.S.R. to the League of Nations, drawing the conclusions from ten years of Stalinist foreign policy and casting historical light on the National Socialist degeneration of the C. I. sections, starts off the third page. In reply to the boosters of "organic unity" as a panacea, we find on that page the famous Liebknecht article "Against the Unity of Fire and Water—for REVOLUTIONARY UNITY". A profound analysis of the problem of unity in the trade union movement appears on page 4. It occupies itself chiefly with the question of preparations for the general strike in connection with this question. Trade union correspondence fills the rest of the page.

Letters from militants and a penetrating account of fascist activities headed "More than Ever—We Need the People's Militia", are featured on page five. The last page contains a programmatic statement by the Central Committee of the French socialist and communist parties. A translation of this important document will appear in the forthcoming issue of the *New International*.

All in all, one gets the impression from a perusal of the contents, of the extreme tenseness of the situation prevailing in the country and of the earnest determination of our French comrades to fuse the great capital of Leninist Bolshevism with the stirring mass of French workers.

forces of labor; on the contrary, it is to work for an international reorganization on the revolutionary path. In order to build a united front in France, to make progress towards the left, it was necessary to expel the Deats and Renaudels; similarly, on an international scale, in order to create a genuine revolutionary current, it is necessary to break with all movements linked to the policy of Vandervelde and Co.

The international left wing is today confronted by a concrete problem which it can not ignore in any way. The decision of the General Council of the Belgian Party is a direct blow at the *Action Socialiste*. Here the dilemma is posed: either the abolition of the *Action* or its expulsion. Are its international representatives, who are allied with Spaak (Belgian signer of the Declaration and editor of the *Action*, who is threatened by Vandervelde with expulsion—Tr.), going to give the right wingers an open road? This is not simply a "Belgian problem"; it is a question which faces all the working masses evolving toward the left.

It is essential to let loose in the French party and in all the other national sections a forceful campaign against the reformist and reactionary leadership of the Belgian party, and in support of the left wing current. If the representatives of the left wing keep silent, it will mean that all their declarations are mere words and phrases. It is necessary to join battle, and in this battle to raise all the political problems and to cut off internationally by a break, all those currents supporting the "democratic", reformist and patriotic policy.

If the 2nd International, charged with treason, is dead, the 3rd International has lost the confidence of the masses by its policy of liquidation, written in a series of defeats running from Germany in 1923, passing through the Anglo-Russian Committee and the smashing of the Chinese Revolution, and coming down to 1933. Since the decisive defeat of 1933, the internal regime of bureaucratic repression has only grown, stifling every serious discussion of the political line and forbidding thereby any possible correction. An International, which, after the German catastrophe, has not known how to grasp any of the facts, which has purely and simply covered up its past policy in a bureaucratic fashion, is a dead International.

In the daily struggle the question of the Fourth International is posed more than ever before. This is not, as comrades of the center and left wing may think, simply a little gronplet of "Trotskyites" isolated from the masses. It is the organic expression, the revolutionary regrouping on an international scale. The Fourth International will build itself by the movement of the centrist masses to a revolutionary position through their daily struggles. It is up to you, left Socialist workers, who have already fought for a revolutionary policy of expelling the neo-Socialists (Deat, Marquet, Renaudel—Tr.), who have made the united front, to build the Fourth International by fighting side by side with us for a break with all defenders of "the Fatherland", for the preparation of an insurrectionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. It is in this struggle that the New International, the only instrument capable of smashing the bourgeoisie and Fascism, will build itself.

—ROUS.

INTERNATIONAL

TENSE SITUATION IN COSTA RICA

The tense situation created by the governmental attempts to smash the general strike of Atlantic Coast workers threatens to get out of hand. It is the object of the Costa Rican reactionaries in their role as lackeys of the United Fruit Company, to provoke armed clashes in order that the workers' organizations can be destroyed under pretext of "putting down an insurrection."

A demonstration of several thousand students and workers was held last week in San Jose to protest against the action of the Guatemala government which recently summarily executed several army officers and students who had been charged with communist activities. This demonstration of solidarity with their Guatemalan comrades was broken up by the police after a fierce clash in the streets of the capital, in which many were injured.

It is becoming increasingly evident that the banana workers are waging an unequal battle against the United Fruit Company. This imperialist monopoly is international in scope, controlling the banana industry of all the Caribbean countries. The imperialists realize that a victory for the workers in Costa Rica would be the beginning of a general movement of all plantation workers of the Caribbean area, for joint organization and joint action. Wall Street intends to prevent this at all costs.

MENIDIETA REGIME IN CRISIS

The reactionary regime of Menidieta-Batista, in spite of the very definite political and practical support rendered to it by American imperialism—annulment of the Platt Amendment and the Reciprocal Trade Treaty—is today in the greatest crisis since it came to power last January. The forces opposed to the regime have intensified their activities in recent periods and the Government has cracked down on them with violent repressive measures.

A strike wave is rising in Havana and throughout the provinces where transportation workers are tying up the bus, tramway and taxi lines. Attempts are being made to pull out the stevedores and railway workers, and a general strike throughout the island such as that which overthrew General Machado, now threatens Menidieta and his would-be Bonapartist colleague, Batista. The latter is losing no time in mobilizing the army against the workers of city and plantation against the peasants of Realengo 18 (Oriente Province) who are defying the government that threatens to evict them from their lands which are claimed by the Royal Bank of Canada, and against ex-president Grau San Martin's "Autenticos", who are said to be preparing another revolution.

Many Communists and other labor leaders have been arrested, and the National Revolutionary Party ("Autentico") is being persecuted by the authorities. Several of the leaders of the latter have already been imprisoned and Grau himself has fled to the United States. Constitutional guarantees have been suspended and martial law proclaimed in the provinces of Havana and Oriente: the army is held in readiness to put down the threatened uprising. Events point to a new turn in the evolution of the Cuban revolution. It is doubtful whether Menidieta can hold out much longer. The contradictions facing his regime are too great and he has been unable to really solve any of them.

For the immediate period the most probable perspectives are either for a military dictatorship under Batista or else a new edition of the petty bourgeoisie "authentic Revolution."

BOLIVIAN COMMUNISTS REORGANIZE

The Bolivian Communist Group has recently declared its adhesion to the idea of the Fourth International, according to *Izquierda*, organ of the Chilean section of the International Communist League. At the beginning of the Chaco War the Communist Party of Bolivia, which was even then not very strong and influential, disintegrated and disappeared from the scene. During the whole course of the war, only isolated individuals have dared oppose the imperialist conflict and the working class has been without even the semblance of a revolutionary vanguard.

The orientation now of this small newly formed group towards the Fourth International, is a hopeful sign for the future of the Communist movement in that country.

CHACO WAR THREATENS OTHER COUNTRIES

The years-old see saw war between Bolivia and Paraguay, continues with unabated fury in the Chaco region, where the lackey regimes in the service of American and British oil interests, continue to hurl thousands of workers and peasants into the slaughter. Right now it is the Bolivian army that is covering itself with "immortal glory" by three important victories over the Paraguayan forces. The artillery roars, several forts have been taken and the "peace" chorus composed of the members of the League of Nations commission, sings all the louder its hymn of international goodwill, in an effort to drown out the sounds of war.

However, all of the intrigue and activity is not being carried on by the "peace makers". Other forces are at work just as actively, if more silently. An independence movement has been set under way in the Tarija and Santa Cruz provinces of Bolivia, a region that borders on Argentina and on the war zone. It is quite evident that this agitation is inspired from Argentine sources, in an effort to weaken the position of Bolivia in the war and to either establish a new buffer state, tributary economically to Argentina, such as is the case with Paraguay today, or else to bring about the eventual annexation of the region to Argentina.

It should also be noted that within the territory of Argentina itself, the Standard Oil Company, which has quite extensive holdings in the Salta region bordering on Tarija and the Gran Chaco, is engaged at present in a furious struggle with the Argentine government. Many miles of pipeline were laid by the company in defiance of a governmental order. Having discovered that Standard Oil was using its private radio station in Salta, for the sending of military communications to the Bolivian Army, the Argentine authorities have closed down the station.

While Argentina backs Paraguay in the interests of the Royal Dutch Shell Oil Co., Chile on the other hand, is supporting Bolivia in every possible manner. Recruiting for the Bolivian Army is being conducted openly in Chilean cities and many Chilean army officers are already serving with the Bolivian forces at the front. In spite of the "embargo" Bolivia has been importing armaments through Chilean ports. Of great importance also are the aids that the Chilean authorities are rendering Bolivia to keep the economic and industrial structure of the latter from cracking under the strain of the protracted war. Indications are that if the present negotiations fail to contribute anything to the solution of the Chaco deadlock, both Argentina and Chile may become directly involved in open warfare. An old, unsettled territorial dispute between Argentina and Chile, over several small islands in the Beagle Channel (near Cape Horn) is being revived and cannot but contribute more fuel to the conflagration.

The History of the Frisco General Strike

By JIM OSBORN and DICK ETLINGER

(Continued from last week)

A short time previous to the appointment of the strategy committee of the Labor Council, the joint strike committee of the Marine Workers which had been set up following the rejection of the June 16 agreement had made plans for the calling of a mass meeting of trade unionists. A circular letter was sent out to all local unions requesting them to send delegates to a meeting to be held on July 7. It was the intention of the strike committee to have delegates selected from this meeting to act as a general strike committee for the calling of the general strike. But since on the previous day the Labor Council had appointed the strategy committee they decided it would be better to leave the situation in their hands. If a general strike committee had been formed at this meeting there would have been grave danger of a split in the labor movement as most of the unions at that time had not as yet acted on the question of the general strike. Twenty-five unions, however, reported at this meeting that they had taken favorable action on the strike but were awaiting the action of the strategy committee before going out.

The strategy committee made no recommendation to the unions between July 6 and July 13. On July 13 the committee at a meeting of the Labor Council stated that they, the strategy committee, had no power to call the general strike

but that five delegates from each union should meet the next day, July 14 and act on the general strike. By this move the bureaucrats succeeded in maintaining control, for due to the shortness of time, the delegates from the local unions, which met the next day in most instances consisted of the business agents and other officials of these unions. In spite of the reactionary composition of these delegates, the pressure of the rank and file was so powerful that the meeting overwhelmingly voted for a general strike to begin Monday morning, July 16, 1934.

The calling of a general strike in San Francisco, a city noted for its conservative labor movement reveals clearly the tremendous pressure of the rank and file on their officials and the solidarity they felt with the striking marine workers. For once they clearly realized that the battle of one section of the labor movement was the concern of the entire labor movement. In fact, the calling of the general strike was an uprising of the rank and file of the labor movement against the craft ideology of their reactionary leadership. This uprising, however, due to the lack of an organized militant leadership and the naive belief that by merely calling the general strike the waterfront workers would win, enabled the bureaucracy to quickly and effectively liquidate the strike.

From the very first the reactionaries were in control. A general

strike committee of twenty-five, overwhelmingly reactionary in outlook, was appointed by Vandervelde, the president of the labor council. Even on the first day of the general strike, when the city was completely tied up and the overwhelming majority of the masses were in sympathy with the general strike, they forced back to work, under pressure from the city administration, the Municipal Carmen who had walked out with the other strikers. This first treacherous act of the strike committee reveals clearly their future activities. They were not out to win the general strike but to call it off as quickly as possible.

While the capitalist press was conducting a furious campaign against the strike, calling it unlawful, and predicting its collapse, filling its columns with a vicious propaganda that the strike was inspired by the "reds", the strike committee countered with no publicity of any kind to undermine this attack which was bound to cause demoralization in the ranks of the strikers. In this connection the contrast between the Minneapolis truck drivers' strike and the general strike in San Francisco is very illuminating. In the former city, the publishing of the *Organizer* as a daily strike paper was a tremendously effective weapon in the hands of the strikers. Just the reverse was true in San Francisco. The only available news was the capitalist papers whose only con-

tribution naturally was a vicious campaign of slander. In addition, no attempts were made to mobilize the strikers by means of mass meetings or parades. Nor was any attempt made to call out the printers. The strikers were left leaderless, most of them remaining apathetically at home, and the rest congregating at the headquarters of the various unions.

Following its action of ordering the municipal carmen back to work, the strike committee on the second day of the strike in violation of its pledges that the demands of the maritime workers were just and could not be arbitrated, presented a resolution calling for the arbitration of all issues in the waterfront strike. Such an open betrayal naturally precipitated a bitter fight but the machine succeeded in passing this resolution by a vote of 213-180 by a show of hands but refused the demand for a roll call vote on this important question. The employers, acting through the city and state officials, were now out for complete surrender, and demanded the unconditional calling off of the general strike. At a secret meeting held on Wednesday evening, July 18, between General Johnson, city officials and "labor leaders", the latter agreed to call off the general strike, and presented such a resolution to the union delegates the following day which motion passed by the narrow margin of 191 to 174.

(Concluded in next issue)

EDITORIAL

Trade Union Perspectives

(One year ago, on the occasion of the A. F. of L. Convention at Washington, we analyzed the trade union situation from the Marxist point of view and outlined the perspectives in an editorial in the *Militant*. It appears to us that the events of the past year have confirmed our prognosis in the most striking manner. What we wrote a year ago can stand today without alteration. Herewith we reprint extracts from this editorial as a statement of our opinion today. The editorial, entitled "The A. F. of L. Convention, the Strike Wave and Trade Union Perspectives", appeared in the *Militant*, October 14, 1933.)

"... The attempt of the Roosevelt administration to 'plan' industry on a basis of capitalist private ownership is inevitably doomed to a resounding collapse, and that very probably in the near future. With that, and with the failure also to satisfy the expectations of the workers which were aroused by the ballyhoo campaigns of the NRA, will come a tremendous disillusionment of the workers and a rapidly increasing tendency on their part to resort to more aggressive struggles; to rely on their own strength and organization. Trade unionism which was held out to them in the first stages of the NRA as a device to restrain their independent movement, will become for the workers the medium for its expression on a colossal scale. The workers will turn to trade unionism in real earnest, and they will be bent on making the unions serve as instruments of struggle against the exploiters.

"Then, as has already been clearly intimated in the speeches of Roosevelt and Johnson at the Washington convention, the benevolent mask of the Roosevelt administration will be taken off. The unions they encouraged, and even coddled, as long as they thought they could serve as 'harness' will meet open opposition from the government. All the forces at its command, from systematic anti-union and anti-strike propaganda, to police and military force, will be brought to bear. The unions, insofar as they really fight—and that is the function which the conditions of the times impose upon them—will have to fight for their existence against the government itself.

"The capitalist attack against the trade unions as organs of struggle will be carried inside the unions. Green, Lewis & Co. will be called upon to purge the organizations of their militant elements and restore the union to conservative and respectable docility. The prompt response of these treacherous agents of capital to this demand is assured in advance. . . .

"The trade unions, swelling into larger proportions by the influx of new members on one side, will witness wholesale expulsions and splits, engineered by the reactionary bureaucracy, on the other. Insurgent workers who insist on striking—the 'horses that refuse to work in harness'—will meet the condemnation of the labor bureaucracy. Their strikes will be outlawed and denounced as communist plots. A campaign of red baiting will be inaugurated against revolutionaries and Communists. Where these do not exist they will be invented. Every worker who wants to fight for his rights and wants to make the union fight for him will be branded as a 'red'. The next developments of the trade union movement will unfold in a seething tide of labor rebellion—of 'outlaw' strikes, clashes with the authorities, fierce internal struggles in the unions, expulsions and splits.

The movement of the masses into the trade unions can be seriously influenced only from within. From this it follows: Get into the unions. Stay there. Work within.

"Before any serious development of a revolutionary organization can be expected in America this penetration must be begun in earnest. The militants who undertake this task now, after all the discredit brought to the name of Communism by the Stalinists, will labor under a double handicap. The complete and unchallenged supremacy of the reactionaries in the trade union leadership; the weight of the government and of all capitalist propaganda and repressive forces on their side; the popular hostility to Communism and the relationship of forces in general—these circumstances will constitute huge obstacles at the beginning. Besides that, the new left wing movement will have to pay for the sins and failures of the old.

"The labor fakery will start new expulsions against the radicals the moment their influence is felt again in the mass movement. It is folly to think that the task of penetrating the mass unions, under the given conditions, and of reconstituting a vigorous Left wing within them, can be accomplished with brass bands playing and banners flying. Quiet and persistent work, loyal cooperation with all progressive workers who want to build fighting unions—this simple prescription stands firm in order. The rest will follow.

"We give no pledge to refrain from revolutionary activity in the unions or to turn our back on 'outlaw' strikes. We leave such trade union tactics to opportunists and traitors. It is our aim, on the contrary, to be with the masses, especially at the moment of their sharpest collisions with the capitalists, whatever form these collisions may take. In order that this association with the revolting masses can have a fruitful revolutionary influence, it has to begin now by the entrenchment of the militant and class conscious elements in the A. F. of L. unions and the formation of a left wing within them."

FALL TERM OF INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL TO OPEN OCTOBER 1st

The International Workers School will open at its new headquarters, 144 Second Avenue, on October 1st, with the following courses:

1. ABC of Marxism Carl Cowl, Instructor Every Friday at 8:00 P.M.
2. Organization Principles Instructor to be Announced Every Thursday at 8:00 P.M.
3. History and Principles of the International Communists Max Shachtman Every Wednesday at 8:00 P.M.
4. State and Revolution Jack Weber Every Monday at 8:00 P.M.
5. American History Felix Morrow Every Wednesday at 8:00 P.M.
6. Elementary Marxian Economics Alfred Weaver Every Friday at 8:00 P.M.

You are urged to register now for whatever courses you are interested in. Registrations are accepted daily at the office of the school. Each course is \$1.50 for the complete term. Further information may be obtained by telephoning Gramercy 5-9524.

BOOKS

BOUGHT AND SOLD SPECIAL

- "Left Wing" Communism—by Lenin. \$ 25
- Lenin on Britain—316 pages 2.50
- Development of Agriculture in the U. S.—by Lenin. 30
- History of the Russian Revolution—by Leon Trotsky 3 vol. (Publishers Price \$10.00) 8.50*
- Whither England?—by Trotsky 1.00
- Minutes of the 3rd Congress of the C. I. In German—1086 pages—cloth 3.00*
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PHILADELPHIA CLASSES
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Held Every Thursday 8:15 P.M.
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Instructors:
R. CAREY and T. HOLMES
(To enroll, get in touch with one of the instructors at above address.)

Drug Clerks Union Calls Bronx Strike

The deadline in the general strike of Bronx drug clerks was set for Thursday night at midnight. At the date of this writing, more than 40 per cent of chain and independent stores in the Bronx have already settled with the Union. Picketing of those stores that have refused to settle is well under way.

The Pharmacists Union is more than 90 per cent organized in the Bronx, and expects quick victory. Thereafter, the Union will concentrate on other sections of the City where it is strongly entrenched, until union conditions prevail throughout Greater New York.

The settlement terms obtained by the Union in nearly half of the employing stores is hailed by Union leaders as a signal victory. Under these terms licensed pharmacists will receive a minimum of \$32.50 for a 54-hour week, with proportionate increases for junior pharmacists and sales help. The contract includes the closed shop.

Inasmuch as licensed pharmacists have been working 75 and 80 hours a week, for \$15 and \$20, these terms obviously will attract new members into the Union, and greatly expedite the city-wide fight. The Pharmacists Union, organized less than a year, already boasts of 1,600 members in Greater New York. In a statement to the press, Chairman Dreyer, of the strike committee, announced that pledges of support had been received from New Jersey and Pennsylvania pharmacists.

"We have the men and the resources to fight this thing to a finish," he said. "Drug clerks everywhere are in revolt against sweatshop conditions, and they mean business. The Bronx is only the beginning."

Workers must patronize only those stores in the Bronx that have signed with the Union, and lend every possible support to the strike.

Anti Fascists to Rally on Oct. 12

(Continued from Page 1) denied having received the invitation, which had been delivered by messenger, and proposed a joint committee elected by its conference and the United Youth Committee. The spokesman for the Communist party, who also spoke for the Y. C. L., stated that his organization cannot have a united front with the "enemies of the working class", etc., etc. If the Yipsels wanted a united front with the C. P. and Y. C. L., he added, they would "not have to recognize them (Lovestonettes and Trotskyites) as enemies of the working class" but would have to throw them off the United Youth Committee. When asked whether the C. P. would accept the proposal of the American League delegate for a joint committee with the United Youth Committee, he replied in the same vein: only if the Lovestonettes and Trotskyites were barred.

The Y.P.S.L. repeated its position on the united front. (See its letter to the Y.C.L. printed elsewhere in this issue). Another American League representative replied by stating that the "American League cannot exclude every or any group from united front action", despite differences that the C. P. has with the United Youth Committee. The Communist party and the Y.C.L. have helped build the League and he hoped that they will support this action. He again proposed that a joint committee be set up.

The United Youth Committee reiterated its desire for common action. It proposed that the American League conference elect a committee which would work with the United Youth Committee for one mass demonstration. The delegation then took leave.

The United Youth Committee will have a delegation at the conference called by the Italian Socialist Anti-Fascist paper, *La Stampa Libera*, to organize a demonstration on October 12. The organizations which participated in the May 1st united front demonstration have been invited. This includes the Communist League of America. Proposals will be made by the United Youth Committee for a common demonstration of all anti-Fascist youth and adult organizations.

HOT SPOTS IN THE WORLD SITUATION

The Need for the 4th International

- FRANCE—October 7, 1934, 8 P.M. Speaker: ARNE SWABECK
- SPAIN—October 14, 1934, 8 P.M. Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN
- UNITED STATES—Oct. 21, 8 P.M. Speaker: HUGO OEHLER
- IRVING PLAZA
Irving Place & 15th St., N. Y. C. Admission: 15 Cents per Lecture. Auspices: Communist League of America, New York Local

Robins-Gras Appeal

With impressive backing from the labor movement, the appeal of Harold Robins and Andre Gras, imprisoned strikers, will be heard in the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, on Oct. 9.

Convicted of assaulting a scab during the general strike of New York hotel workers in February, Robins and Gras were sentenced last April to Sing Sing, for two to four years and one to two years respectively, by General Sessions Judge, Joseph Corrigan.

According to the Socialist Lawyers Association, now in charge of the legal aspect of the case, "the conviction was based on flimsy testimony and prejudicial remarks and errors of the Court which prevented these workers from having a fair and impartial trial by jury. Judge Corrigan's charge to the jury was no more than a second summation for the prosecution."

Among the unions and fraternal organizations which are backing the Robins-Gras Defense Committee and which have contributed the funds for the appeal are: United Hebrew Trades, the Workmen's Circle, the Joint Board Dressmakers of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the Millinery Workers Joint Board, the Amalgamated Food Workers Union, Waiters Union Local 1 and the Delicatessen and Confectionery Union Local 302, and the Forward Association.

Attorney Abramowitz, in a statement to the *Militant*, after commenting on the case, said: "The lesson to be drawn from the Robins-Gras case is that there is a desperate need for a permanent, non-partisan united workers defense organization fully equipped to fight these injustices."

New York Newstands

The *Militant* can be bought now at the following stands: Delancy and Clinton St. North West Suffolk and Delancy Subway Sta. Stand in front 128 Delancy St. Delancy and Essex St. N. E. Houston and Clinton St. S. W. 3rd St. and Ave. B. S. E. 5th St. and Ave. A. N. E. 6th St. and Ave. A. N. W. 7th St. and Ave. B. S. E. 8th St. and 2nd Ave., S. W. 9th St. and 2nd Ave., S. E. 9th St. and 3rd Ave., N. E. Stuyvesant St. and 3rd Ave., S. W. Ave. A and 10th St., N. E. Pioneer Bookshop, 102 E. 11th St. 14th St. and 2nd Ave., S. W. 14th St. and 2nd Ave., N. W. 14th St. near the Jefferson Theater 14th St. and 3rd Ave., N. W. 14th St. and 3rd Ave., S. E. 14th St. and 3rd Ave., S. W. 14th St. and 4th Ave., S. E. 1st stand 14th St. and 4th Ave., S. E. 2nd stand 14th St. and 4th Ave., S. W. 14th St. and Broadway, S. E. 14th St. near 44 E. 14th St. 14th St. and University Place, S. E. (Blind man)

Union Square (B.M.T.) 14th St. and 6th Ave., N. E. 14th St. and 6th Ave., S. E. 14th St. and 6th Ave., N. W. 14th St. and 7th Ave., S. W. 23rd St. and 4th Ave. 42nd St. and 6th Ave., S. W. 42nd St. and 6th Ave., S. E. 42nd St. and 6th Ave., N. W. 42nd St. and 6th Ave., N. E. 42nd St. and Fifth Ave., S. W. 53rd St. and Broadway, S. E. Rand School, 7 East 15th St.

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Oct. 21—"Why a Fourth International?"
Oct. 28—"A United Front with Whom and How"
Nov. 4—"The NRA and the Strike Wave"
Nov. 11—"Bureaucracy or Democratic Centralism"

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Questions and Discussion
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Auspices: Communist League of America, New York Local

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Speaker:
HUGO OEHLER
Member of National Committee Communist League of America
Sunday, October 14, at 8 P.M.
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Speaker:
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THE NEED FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
Lecture by
MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor of New International
Sunday, October 21, 8 P.M.
at Bronx Free Fellowship
1591 Boston Road, Bronx
(Corner Suburban Place)

Issues at the A. F. of L. Convention

(Continued from Page 1)
organization to satisfy the requirements of the thousands of new recruits from the basic and mass production industries must be considered; the question of the government in its real expression will arise to hound the unions and throw the officials out of their tranquility. Suppression of these issues under the acceptance of the strike truce proposal by the A. F. of L. convention will weaken the crust that covers the more volcanic eruptions to come.

Strike in War Time

Even during the war the no-strike pledges were of little avail. In 1917 there were a total of 1,227,254 men involved in strikes with a total of 15,000,000 man-days lost. In 1918 these figures were respectively 1,239,989 and 17,000,000. And these years were merely the rehearsals for the gigantic strikes of 1919 involving a total of 4,160,348 men and 99,000,000 man days lost. The war declaration could not declare the class struggle at an end, nor can the attempted recovery measures, even when supplemented by a formal strike truce agreement do so. On the contrary, every step taken toward recovery, which is recovery for the employers' and financiers' profits, will intensify the class struggle and lead to more strikes. This is what the A. F. of L. officials now gathered at San Francisco fear above all.

In its acceptance of the strike truce proposal, the National Association of Manufacturers says that "neither employers nor employees . . . should attempt to take advantage of existing abnormal conditions and the country's necessities to change existing labor standards in employment relations which they are unable to change under normal conditions." This is merely a polite way of saying: "During the truce we will not tolerate unionization of our plants; we will maintain the open shop." That is their demand for the security of the truce, knowing that if they really acquiesce to collective bargaining, to unionization of the plants, they could not rely on the ability of the trade union officials to tie the workers' hands.

Green's Record

It is reported that when the Republic Steel company last summer cancelled its contract with the steel workers union the president of the company, T. M. Girdle, said that he would rather go back to cultivating his apple orchard than deal with radical labor leaders like Wm. Green and John L. Lewis. This sounds paradoxical in view of the unanimity for the strike truce proposal.

Mr. Girdle may even have known of Green's pleadings at last year's A. F. of L. convention: "We must have faith," pleaded Green, "faith in the New Deal; faith in the principles of this act; faith in those who are honestly and liberally administering it, and most important of all, faith in that great, fearless leader, the President of the United States." . . . "The right to strike," he admonished, "involves so many serious considerations that it ought to be utilized only as a last resort." And after that he proceeded to put over the agreement in the automobile industry, burying the strike weapon and legalizing the company union. He took a hand in the textile strike settlement, helping to defeat the strike when it was at its height of militancy.

Organizing the Unorganized

But, at the last A. F. of L. convention, Green also issued what he termed his clarion call to "Organize the Unorganized in the Mass Production Industries", with a membership of 10,000,000 as the next goal and after that 25,000,000 "which will bring the majority of Americans genuinely and actually within the trade union family." It had become a matter of compulsion. The working masses were surging toward union organization and had the ranks of the A. F. of L. been closed to them, they would have found their medium of organization within a new framework.

The last convention reported a recruitment of 1,300,000. This convention reports a gain in average

GOOD NEWS

The Youngstown Branch, through comrade Koehler has donated an addressograph to the *Militant*. This means a saving of at least \$150. We need say no more, as all our readers know exactly what such a sum means to our paper.

We expect to have the addressograph delivered to us by one of the Youngstown comrades within about two weeks. We will then have to buy the stencil cutting machine which is necessary. That will cost about \$50.

If any of our members or readers can help us secure this additional machine or know of a place we can buy it cheaply, please get in touch with the *Militant* office.

THE NEED FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
Lecture by
MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor of New International
Sunday, October 21, 8 P.M.
at Bronx Free Fellowship
1591 Boston Road, Bronx
(Corner Suburban Place)

paid-up membership of 697,893. With these hundreds of thousands of new recruits the A. F. of L. is undergoing a change. It is not static. It is a living organism which can be understood correctly only when viewed in motion. The changes in the economic structure of the country are producing ideological regroupments and changes in relationship of class forces.

Pressure on the Workers

It is not necessary to cite facts and figures to prove the growing economic pressure upon the working masses and the growth of the speed-up system and the increase in intensity of exploitation, nor the misery of mass unemployment. This the American workers experience and feel, even if they lack understanding of its real cause. But this is what moves the masses—and with them the trade unions—regardless of all the official brakes, the truces and the sell-outs, onward to greater militancy and inexorably to greater and deeper struggles. With this, and with the ever sharper clashes with the government in its real expression, the contradictions within the trade unions between a militant rank and file and

a reactionary officialdom come ever more to the fore. These contradictions the officialdom in its present position, make-up and outlook cannot solve. That much Wm. Green and his lieutenants sense instinctively; and that they fear.

The demand for security during the proposed strike truce advanced by the National Association of Manufacturers is a challenge which can be met only in open struggle. Within the A. F. of L. there is not yet a national left wing to lead this struggle. Nevertheless the A. F. of L. is arriving at a crucial point in its history. The leaders may set the stage at the San Francisco convention for the strike truce, but the contradictions will remain and intensify. Regardless of what they do to try to stem the tide a modern American trade union movement is in the making. Whether its whole development will continue within the framework of the A. F. of L. is not now the essential question. What is important is the fact that it has its beginning there. This determines the central slogan of the revolutionary militants—deeper into the A. F. of L. unions! —ARNE SWABECK.

Paterson Silk Meet Huge Success

(Continued from Page 1) way by the militant workers? Is this militant to be ashamed of?"

Both speakers pointed out that the failure to offer proper resistance to the sell-out settlement endorsed by Green, McMahon, Gorman and Co., was due to the single fact that the militants in the union were unorganized and without competent leadership. They urged the immediate formation of an organized opposition bloc of militant unionists to overturn the present Paterson misleaders, to reorganize the union and infuse it with a militant spirit, and to prepare for another test of strength with the bosses.

"You have not been defeated," said comrade Cannon. "In your hearts you know there was no real test of strength in this strike. You had all the fight still inside you when you were cheated out of victory by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and their little imitators in the Paterson locals. If you now take the proper steps, the new struggle and the victory which is bound to be yours may come sooner than you expect."

The two speakers pointed out that in order to organize a successful opposition group in the U.T.W., political understanding and political direction is indispensable.

"We are unalterably opposed," said comrade Muste, to the mechanical control of trade unions by any political party. The union is the organization of all the workers, and to put political barriers in the way of any worker's membership in a union, is to split the working class on the fundamental immediate economic issues. This does not mean, however, that politics is barred from trade union struggles. It can not be barred. Green, McMahon and Gorman have their politics: it is the politics of the national leaders of the Democratic Party in Washington. This is where they get their advice and their orders. Similarly, the workers must have political advice and direction in the struggle or they will fall into the trap of these leaders, who care more for the approbation of President Roosevelt's political bosses than they do for the interests of the workers.

"This leadership can come only from a genuine revolutionary party. Only such a party can organize, coordinate and lead the activities of a militant trade union group. With such leadership, the militants will go far. Without it, they flounder as they have in this situation, and the McMahons and Kellers put their sell-outs across without effective opposition."

Comrade Cannon and comrade Muste both concluded with brief mention of the A.W.P.-C.I.A. unity negotiations, and expressed hopes that in the near future a new banner of a united revolutionary party would be in the field, under which all militant, class-conscious workers could take their place for organized struggle, not only to clean up the unions and win immediate demands from the bosses, but to bring about the final smashing of capitalism and the ending of all exploitation, through the workers' rule and the socialist society.

The meeting terminated with questions and discussion. Several workers, disgusted by the actions of the A. F. of L. leadership, made brief speeches reflecting a profound pessimism about the A. F. of L. as such, without offering any alternative. Comrade Muste answered these speakers by pointing out that the masses of organized workers today are to be found in the A. F. of L. and nowhere else, and that the task of the militants is to get in with them, show them the difference between class-collaboration leaders and fighting leaders, and remake the A. F. of L. in the interests of its members.

Much of the discussion was by Stalinists, who had brought a group of about 25 to the meeting. Moe Brown, yesterday's leader of the Stalinist dual union, the National

Textile Workers, made several speeches attacking Muste and Cannon as allies of McMahon and Keller, bourgeois nationalists, counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, etc., etc. Following his lead, the Stalinist cohorts began a steady howl, making discussion impossible for some time. The plain intent to terminate the meeting in confusion and disorder was foiled, however, by the way in which comrade Cannon stood his ground.

"Do yourself a favor," he said, "You just liquidated the private 'Red Union' of the C. P. to join the U.T.W. You are supposed to be trying to make a good impression on the workers here. You're not doing it. Anyway, you can't shut me up. If you want to stop me you will have to drag me off the platform and, as has happened before when you tried that, you'll have a fight on your hands."

Workers in the audience began to yell their approval of this condemnation of the Stalinists' disruptive tactics and finally the howling disruptions were stilled. Comrade Cannon then gave a thoroughgoing criticism of the Stalinists and all their ruinous policies, heard with great interest by the workers. He challenged the Stalinists to pick their best leader to debate him in Paterson on the trade union question or any other aspect of Stalinist policy.

When Moe Brown yelled in answer that the C. P. "would not lower its intelligence by sending Browder or Hathaway to oppose Cannon", a loud laugh swept the hall. Comrade Cannon pointed his finger at Brown, and with a sweep of the hand took in the little knot of Stalinists, saying:

"There is not one among you who does not in his heart know that your policy in the unions has been wrong for years, and that because of the stamping out of democracy in your party, there is nothing you can do to improve it." Cannon waited a few seconds for an answer, but the Stalinists by this time were in a state of confusion. The once-noisy hecklers had nothing to say in reply to this charge of hypocrisy and cowardice.

The Stalinists now tried a last desperate maneuver: they rose in a bloc on a signal from Moe Brown, and shuffled noisily out of the hall, urging the workers not to listen any longer to these "counter-revolutionary agents of the bosses" who were slandering the Lord's own chosen revolutionary party. They were followed out by exactly nobody. Crestfallen, they hung around outside the door, and when the meeting was over tried to start an argument with comrades Muste and Cannon on the street. "How about that debate?" a dozen workers asked. This question, to which Browder's followers have no answer, ended the Stalinists for the night.

Many workers came up to the speakers after the meeting to congratulate them, to express their intention of joining a militant opposition group to oust Keller and Co., and to ask for further news about the development of a new revolutionary party. An understanding was reached whereby further joint A.W.P.-C.I.A. lectures are to be held in Paterson in the near future.

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