

Latest developments in the strike of the New insolently rebuffed the men and revealed that her include the following:

On Monday, 4,000 strikers, their wives and children, surrounded the Waldorf-Astoria hotel in an imposing mass picket demonstration. After a short trons rose to appeal for solidarity with the strikers. time, police suddenly attacked the pickets with brutal Hired thugs of the management beat them up and violence, knocking down organizer Costas whose seiz- threw them out of the hotel. ure was prevented by the workers. Many workers were cruelly beaten, and one woman was arrested. F. L. locals, 1 and 2, have instructed their members Tony Tarcentino was badly beaten over the head.

the Casino de Paree came into conflict with hired of officials of Local 16, this action reflects the degangsters and city police. In the ensuing fight, doors mands of rank and file A. F. L. members for solidarand windows of the establishment were badly damaged by the enraged workers.

On Tuesday, union representatives met with Mrs. Herrick of the local Labor Board of the NRA, who

York hotel and restaurant workers, as we go to press. institution had their sympathies definitely with the hotel bosses. A scandal was caused in the dining room of the

aristocratic Waldorf-Astoria when a number of pa-

Thursday's press reports that officials of two A. not to take scab jobs in houses struck by the Am-On the same night, a mass demonstration around algamated. In striking contrast to the scab tactics ity with their Amalgamated brothers.

A number of organizations have announced their refusal to hold planned dinners in hotels on the union's strike list

**EDITORIAL** 



making changes. Rising to a high- ers in the industry. er pitch than on any occasion since

the resentment of the exploited French masses has broken out into and middle class demonstrators from invading the Chamber of Deputies, the Daladier government ordered its police and militia to fire upon unarmed men, women and children. Immediately thereafter, having been in office eleven days, the Daladier

government resigned.

The signal for working class struggle sounded by age wage of ten to twelve dollars; twelve hour shifts the general strike of New York hotel workers has and more; some men worked the "Coolie" shiftfound a stirring response in the strike of the New twenty-four hours a day, sleeping at the wheel; fail-York taxi drivers. Already in the first week of its ure to bring in a minimum resulting in discharge; stormy career it has given the working class of New the black list; and, finally, the five cent tax cutting York and the country an inspiring demonstration of into their tips. working class militancy. In its staccato language

entic voice of the proletariat. Consider it! Here were men horribly exploited, unorganized, a prey of five-cent tax on all rides illegal, if the cab company France, whose bourgeois states politicians, racketeers and crooks, without traditions owners would turn over to the men all the tax money men and philosophers have latterly of trade union struggle or even the most elementary enjoyed feelings of superiority to understanding of the class struggle. Notwithstand-ing within a wach in the fire of struggle that the fire of struggle that the the country which submits to Hit-ing, within a week, in the fire of struggle, they refused La Guardia's offer and made a substitute offer ler, trembles on the brink of epoch- forged a union which embraces almost half the driv-

The basis for the strike is to be found in the misthe glorious days of the Commune, erable conditions of the taxi drivers: a weekly aver-

The strike received a certain stimulus from La of speed, action, and solidarity can be heard the auth- Guardia, when he offered not to appeal the decision of the Supreme Court of New York declaring the of only forty percent. The men felt that all of the money belonged to them as the tax really came out of their tips. In their view La Guardia was with

(Continued on Page 4)

### Lewis Triumphs at | Mine Convention

Seventeen hundred delegates attended the thirty-third convention of the United Mine Workers held recently at Indianapolis. The majority gave the John L. Lewis administration a vote of confidence, cheered his pompous convention verbiage and bestowed a goodly portion of the acclaim upon his retinue of mediocre horn-blowing lackeys who constitute the pillars of his high-handed regime.

A whole coterie of officials had come direct from the anthracite coal fields where they had been instrumental in breaking the backbone of the strike conducted by the "insurgent" union. That suited the hand-picked delegates who constituted the majority in the convention. Strike-breaking has become their trade. Lewis ruled supreme at the convention. Opposition was squelched. Progressive proposals were defeated hands down, shelved in committees, or so garbled in formulation that after their adoption they will remain dead letters.

### An "Industrial Statesman"

Since the recent revival of the U. M. W., John L. Lewis has been hailed far and wide by the presswhich is always on the side of the enemies of the miners-as the outstanding example of labor-industrial statesmanship. But this praise did not refer to the union revival,

At the end of the second week of the general strike of New York's hotel and restaurant industry, the strikers stand firm in unbroken ranks. The strike remains as effective as before, and the service in the hotels is still crippled, particularly in the kitchens.

The bosses have been dealt a powerful blow. A magnificent union of the workers is in the making, and the militancy of the strikers, especially of the rank and file workers, is a sound assurance of its future. The well organized mass parades around the struck hotels, bespeak a readiness on the part of the workers to fight vigorously against the bosses, the strike-breakers and all their portectors.

\* \* \* \*

The strike has become a test of endurance, with the backbone of the workers as stiff as ever. Here again, as we have emphasized before, the question of maintaining the morale of the strikers is of paramount importance. The disorganizing activities of the Stalinists in control of the "18th St. Union" are unmistakably one of the danger spots in the struggle. Placing their own private interests above the interests of the

no belief that the workers can win by fighting. The attempts are reactionary and defeatist through and through.... . . . .

There is as yet no indication that this pernicious tendency against which we warned, has been checked. Here again the contrary is the case. Some of the publicity issued by the union is little less than scandalous. Such is the press release that the union counts among its numbers such a large American citizenry that.... it cannot possibly be considered a "red union". Nor can we regard it as anything but the greatest mistake when Secretary B. J. Field of the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union fails to repudiate some of the statements which the capitalist press has attributed to him or to the union whose most prominent official he is. We have nothing in common with such statements. and we feel confident that in this we share the sentiments of

every class conscious militant. A fight such as the hotel workers are engaged in, cannot be won by such methods. We cannot cease to underline the need of the union and its leadership concerning itself exclusively with the public opinion-not of the bourFrench masses has broken out into openly anti-governmental, anti-state demonstrations. To halt the deter- Cab Drivers In Militant Action Scab Cars Run Huge Meet In Cab Walkout Off Streets At Garden About 8,000 enthusiastic, cheering hackmen, gathered in the Auditorium of P. S. 27 on 42nd St., between Second and Third Avenues, on February 3. The meeting call-

15,000 taxicab strikers jammed While Doumergue tries to build a new union sacree, a holy the basement of the Madison Square build a new union sacree, a noty Garden at 11:00 P. M., Saturday, Committee, N. Y. Taxi Drivers Un- and stage and filling the back aisles France, rioting continues in the stration of solidarity and deterstreets of every important French mination to fight for the unionizacity. France "the most bourgeois the attempts of the anchor the real of their attorney Leon Seifer, sugcountry in the world", despite the the attempts of the speakers to country in the world", despite the the attempts of the speakers to hopes of its bankers, was unable dampen the tsrikers' militancy by to according to action the world according over and over again that to escape the world economic crisis demanding over and over again that now held by the cab companies, to escape the world economic crisis no violence be permitted or toler-which has mobilized class against no violence be permitted or toler-cries of "No! No! came from the ated during the strike, the tone of back of the hall. The taxi-men talist country. Similarly, it has the men was for a determined and been unable to escape the trans- bitter struggle to win their demands they are out for. formation of this economic crisis for complete and thorough unionization of the taxicab drivers, re- whistling and applause for their into a deep governmental crisis.

Mases and the Crisis

cognition of the union, full protec- own hackman-speaker, when he told tion of employees on the job, the of the miserable conditons under The events of the last few days, entire five-cent on all rides and the which the hackmen have slaved for The events of the mast tern and the normal entire nve-cent on an rues and the which the hackmen have slaved to sensational though they are, should tax money already collected to go to years and said that the strikers the strikers, a minimum wage would never go back until the uneral political crisis affecting the scale and maximum work week. would never so used 100 percent, country. Through the depression, Ross, the chairman, had difficulty until there would be a shop stewthe capitalists of France have in obtaining order, so high was the ard in every garage in the city, and steadily cut down the real income and standard of living of the mass-enthusiasm and spirit of the strik-until the union received representaes of the French population. The ers.

tion at the City Hack Bureau. patriotic French peasant has seen Ex-Judge Panken, Socialist poli- When the speaker said that, of prices for farm products tumble. tician, spoke, "It is high time that course, they had given Mayor La to this was overwhelming. The middle class has been squeezed the taxicab workers organize them- Guardia their promise against the by French monopoly capital, while selves". (Wild applause). "You can- use of all violence, but they must nounced that the 5th Avenue bus

Of N.Y.

ed by the United Taxi Drivers Un-The auditorium of P. S. 27 was ion, and the Taxi Drivers Non-Parand the entrances: a conservative cisan Ass'n. They cheered and ap-estimate would place the number at plauded all of their speakers. When 2,500.

The meeting was electric with from the speakers evoked an instant response. The business consisted of:

1. A report of the conference knew what they want, and what with the "mediator" at City Hall the previous day at 12 noon. The conference was unsatisfactory.

2. An announcement of the final strike demands as drawn up by the Committee of 13, the leading committee of the strike which includes all four involved.

3. A discussion on plans for amalgamation of the unions.

Seifer stressed the necessity of a union, and pointed out that if he cabbies get nothing else, they must get a union. The response

At this point the chairman an-

but to such instances as the strike breaking in the anthracite and elsewhere. The revival was due to the indomitable spirit of the rank and file miners and their fight for union organization. Lewis enters to collect the check-off.

His career of "industrial statesmanship" began many years ago as a petty official systematically looting the treasury of the Panama, Illinois' local union. Through that he learned the first lessons in the shady art of buying henchmen. In the highest office of the union he made it into a system. He reinforced this with the methods of deliberate vote stealing, frame-ups, and slugging of opponents. Martin Ryan who led the powerful strikes for union organization in the Pennsylvania coke region sat in jail during the convention, framed up on a charge of assault and battery. Removing regular elected officials in the various union districts or sub-districts who in any way be came recalcitrant to the Lewis regime, and the institution of what is called provisional government, became a celebrated method. Today most of the union districts are under such provisional government. The appointive power enabled Lewis to make general organizers out of all his decrepit henchmen who were defeated in regular union elections. Today there is a host of such appointed organizers throughout the coal fields who were at hand to "manage" the convention elections. There was rich opportunity to secure the hand-picked majority of the delegation which claimed to represent a total membership of 360.000

#### The Conciliation Hoax

The convention had as its outstanding feature a note of conciliation peace and harmony to be extended to the operators. But when delegate Sloan from Westville, Illinois dared to make a fight for freedom of political opinions within the union, for the right of union members to choose their own political affiliation, including Communist affiliation, he was threatened with ejection from the convention hall. To affix the seal of "honest" and peaceful intentions upon the proceedings, the secretary of the National Coal Association, the op-

(Continued on page 4)

workers, constantly implanting demoralization and division into the ranks, these wrecking crews take upon themselves an ever weightier responsibility.

The most effective prosecution of the strike requires that we point out here some extremely serious weaknesses in the conduct of the movement. If the looseness in the organization of the srtike could be excused in its first stage there is no justifying it at present. Quite the contrary, the failure to tighten up all around, to improve the functioning of the directing committees, to organize on a far better scale than hitherto the all-important mass meetings at which the strikers are fused into a solid and informed fighting group-can easily prove to be of the deepest seriousness. The responsibility both for the present state of affairs and for its remedying, rests, naturally, upon the leadership of the strike.

\* \* \* \*

"A tightening up in the functioning of the union is essential to the morale of the strikers," we wrote last week. "The committees must be properly coordinated, the shop committees must become living bodies drawing the workers closer and closer to the union as a whole. Organizational efficiency, on the one side, and a moralebuilding leadership on the other, can make the Amalgamated a force that will smash through all the barriers standing on the road to victory."

To our regret, the condition for which we urged a necessary correction, has not yet been given the attention it commands. It becomes increasingly clear that unless it is rectified, and with the greatest speed, it can greatly endanger the prospects of the strike.

\* \* \* \* Another question which assumes ever greater significance as the strike progresses was touched upon by us when we wrote in our last issue: "This strike cannot be won by 'respectability'. The attempts to make the Amalgamated 'respectable' in the eyes of the bosses and the government is an admission on the part of those who make them that they have

geoisie, the hotel owners, and their kept press-but of the rank and file, and of the fighting labor movement in general. . . . .

Essentially the same outlook should animate the attitude of the union to the NRA and its Labor Board. Nobody is so stupid. it goes without saying, as to think that this powerful governmental institution can be ignored in present-day labor struggles. Far from it. Precisely because of its pretenses, precisely because many workers still believe that this capitalist instrument is impartial, it is necessary to make use of every means at our disposal to strip it to its real essentials. It must be pressed to the wall, it must be made to speak out. It must be left no loophole to crawl out of with its shabby pretenses unmarred.

But at the very same time it would be fatal to create any illusions whatsoever as to the nature of the NRA. Every day brings new evidence to prove just what it is. The latest Johnson statement throwing the doors wide open to company unionism; the brutally insolent attitude taken by the local Labor Board head. Mrs. Herrick, when interviewed by the union representatives, can leave little doubt in the minds of any worker as to which side NRA really stands by. NRA will not decide this strike for the workers! The outcome of every strike is decided by the relationship of forces in the struggle. Victory or defeat-that is decided by the strength and

militancy or the weakness and passivity of the workers, and by nothing else. \* \* \* \* The militancy which makes or breaks a movement. is not deter-

mined by any miracles which are promised. Nor does the union or its leadership promise any. The demands which the workers can gain are determined by what the situation makes it possible to attain. It is not out of the question that the situation may call, for the time being, for a compromise settlement, which it will not be (Continued on page 4)

not buy them by nickels now, what realize the mayor was a reasonable ernment-owned or controlled indus- they want is union conditions!" human being, and couldn't expect tries have suffered severe cuts in (Wild applause, cheering and whis- the union to be responsible for the wages. The working class as a tling....throwing hats into the air actions of 70,000 men and 20,000 whole has shared the miseries and commotion and enthusiasm for which the capitalists of the world several minutes). However, when

have forced upon all proletarians. |Panken said-"the machinery for While cutting the wages of its the protection (of the workers) in Nab Khaki Shirt In employees, the French government the hands of the workers is not has not hesitated to pack its bud-protest, not resentment, not violget with huge appropriations for ence" the fighting mood of the war materials. Behind the budgetstrikers was reflected in the omniary struggles there has raged a ous silence on the part of most of political difference within the capi- the workers, and the clearly heard talist class, reflecting different in- "Oh yeah's!" and "We know how terests and varying theories as to to handle this" from various sechow best to preserve capitalism. tions of the hall. French heavy industry, led by the

Leon Seifer, attorney for the Comite des Forges (steel trust), United Taxi Drivers Union, spoke, and certain banks (Credit Lyonemphasizing the program and de nais) desires to organize the atmands: tack against the Soviet Union. Tar-

1. Every man in the industry dieu is the political chief of these gets a job, gets a cab....and no the expropriated share-owners of in other industries driving cabs body horns in. (Men out of work French factories in Russia (Putilov because of lack of regular employment to be kept out).

2. Representation in the City Hack Department.

3. Recognition of the union. 4. \$12.00 minimum wage scale and 40 per cent of the bookings over the minimum. During the course of Seifer's speech, his remark that "the police force of New York is Differing from each other as to a mighty fine outfit" was met by catcalls and boos, much to the embarassment of the representatives of the P. D. who were plentiful in the hall. ussions over budgetary questions

Morris L. Ernst, appointed by La in which the French parliament has been tied up year after year, have sent word to the men to return to Guardia to "mediate" the strike not served to hide from large secwork, pending arbitration. This tions of the masses one thing: in report, brought in by one of the the sacred name of patriotism, La taxi drivers in the organization was Patrie, they are being asked to go met by loud and emphatic protest without necessities of life-in order that a war machine shall be built on the part of the strikers present. The strikers should, "We want a union, we won't be kidded into breaking our ranks. "We want un-The Stavisky affair introduced no

ion conditions and union wages. new elements into the situation. A greeted with enthusiasm. His ap-We got the power, we'll make them wholesale pawn-broker in Bordeaux recognize us and give us what we was exposed as a wholesale swinwant. Not a single cab on the der. It was revealed, despite anxi-The meeting adjourned with enous efforts of the Chautemps Cab-our demands." Gandall, who spoke and the determination by the work-(Continued on Page 4)

briefly. emphasized the demand for ers not to allow a single taxicab light. But one cab was caught and "peaceful methods" and was not on the streets of New York. -S. A. dismantled. Does the Dictatorship of the sunday, FEBRUARY 11-8 P. M. Proletariat Statute of the sunday, FEBRUARY 11-8 P. M.

**Proletariat Still Exist?** 

Is the Soviet Union still a

Workers State?

(Continued on Page 3)

CabDriverMurder Art J. Smith, "commander-in-

chief" of the Khaki Shirts (U. S. Fascists) and gangster, was arrested Thursday in Shamokin, Pa., as a result of the reported confession of his ex-aide, Frank Moffer, concerning the murder of Anthony Fierro. Fierro, a taxi-driver and anti-Fascist, was killed during a "shirt" rally in Astoria, N. Y., last summer.

Athos Terzani, another anti-Fascist, was framed by the police and prosecuted for the murder. Terzani was defended by a united front committee, in whose work the Communist League cooperated He was recently acquitted when the State's witness confessed that the charge was frame-up and accused Moffer. Moffer was arrested yesterday in a South Philadelphia rooming house, and is said to have identified as his own the gun found near Fierro's body. Informed that the Terzani De-fense Committee was considering terminating its activities, the Communist League recently wrote the Committee endorsing its work on behalf of Terzani and proposing that it continue to function in anti-Fascist work. The Communist League also applied for formal affiliation to the Committee. Should the proposal be accepted, it is hoped that a new stimulus can be given to militant anti-Fascist work in New York.

drivers had voted to strike at 6 A. M. the next morning. The strikers cheered madly, the ovation lasting a good five minutes. The bus drivers and conductors have failed o come out thus far, however.

On top of this the chairman reported that the Parmelee owners nad wired some hacks to start work the next day at 11 A. M. Chairman: "What's your answer?"

### strikers: N-N-N-N-NO ! ! !

Jacques Buitenkant, an I. L. D. lawyer spoke in favor of the unity of all cabbies. He stressed the need for approaching the independents as fellow workers who have to be won over and make an integral part of the general strike. The atlitude of the taxi drivers was clear; they are absolutely opposed o any cab operating; and they are even more opposed to the independents who are interfering with their light with the big fleet owners. Their attitude to the independents is definitely hostile.

The last two speakers were two Negro organizers—cabbies who laid good base for the feeling that the white and colored cabbies should stick together "like glue". The response to this, and to the announcement that not a colored chauffeur would drive through Harlem or Brooklyn, was instant and terrific. The meeting ended on a high note of militancy. One of the cabbies noticed the pencil and paper of the reporter and said: "You can put me down as saying that I'm going to strike until I drop dead. And put the name down, too, Jack Shaley."

The strikers surged out into the street and broke into groups to picket in Brooklyn, the lower East Side, and elsewhere. They marched west along 42nd Street, shouting and cheering on the way. In spite of the three mounted police and peal for solidarity with the "City hooted and dashed toward the very rare independent cabs on the thusiastic cheering for solidarity, Grand Central arcade. Another streets. One cab swung into the ---S. G. B.

> **International Workers School** 126 East 16th Street, New York.

National Secretary **Communist League of America** 

brigands. In their train march all steel and others) as well as the organized emigre Russian Whites

now living in France. The commercial banks, export houses and petty bourgeois interests, constitute the second current. These elements seek to exploit the democratic sentiments of the French masses for a war against Hitler. the location of the first enemy, these two groups agree that French military preparations should constantly be increased. The endless dis-

The Stavisky Affair

### THE MILITANT

# \_ETTERS from the MILITA

ed down. Unite as One

PAGE 2

Managers are required to call the place is too small to accomodate Marine Park, Brooklyn, N. Y .-to perform absolutely useless labor, managers have to stand the cost of to see a doctor, the examination is, units were.

uns duty themselves. without warning. From \$15 tney Inspectors from the State Labor one. have been cut to \$13.44. in spite of the fact that every worker sup- Department come in from time to ports a family on his "salary", and ome, carefully note all the infrachas to spend a good chunk of it just dons of the labor laws and depart. for cartare (double) and warm the bosses boast that the cost of plumbing out of order, no water in or books. "They're simply taking the milk meeping these investigators "quiet" away from my kids." conditions remain disgraceful, girls and extreme discomfort of stand-

Along with the announcement that 1500 men are going to be laid allowed by the law," for wages makes one sicker after leaving, on within a week, the C. W. A. officials are looking for any sort of much less "than required by NRA." than before entering. A general undercurrent of resentexcuse to give us the gate. Tracy, the field foreman, wanted a gang of men laid off whom he accused of leaung a delegation to park headneir petty bourgeois attitude toquarters to find out why our pay was neid up. But only one man was fired, and later reinstated. Maybe the fact that 1000 men had any rounds talk about the enormous profits they make and then, given to the patients. marched down from the other side of the park to park headquarters with woeful expressions on their had something to do with it.... aces, say "we wish we could do One old worker collapsed from the cold and all of us were almost more for our employees, very lew throughout the city. Municipal hos- or his ideas but his personality and not the girls seem to be aware of nitely and discussion of the second discussion one hypocritical nature of this symto march all the way across the neius in the face of a bitter-coid. pathy. sup-zero winder blast in order to Not until the girls understand get "cnecked in". that they can expect nothing help-

instead or directing the single ul from their bosses will they be checker to come across and check aple to direct their resentment into us as we got off the bus, the gangs hau to wars across and back agam. an organized attempt to improve

Still, the foremen and bosses are fearful as the devil of "agitators" and organization. Before the municipal elections, every drunken Tammany man handed out as many circutars as he wanted to. Now, when a renow nands out C. W. A. leaflets, Hospital as mappened in one case, the foremen try to grap him in order to scellac him and get him locked up. Further, just before we got our cut pay-checks, the foremen, without tening us about the cut, warnand talk to anybody'

The C. W. A. men, to protect themselves, must join up with a fighting two organizations in the field. This Nothing was forgotten-exceptorganization. There are aiready is entirely unnecessary; it will only one Out Patient Department. contuse the workers and handicap any sort of campaign. C. W. A wooden house next to the old hosworkers must fight to make both groups unite, and they should demand: ONE ORGANIZATION, ONE FIGHT, ONE ENEMY!



ately twenty stores in New York Oity. Three of four girls are em-

C.W.A. Workers Must ing fund of the excesses to be used front of the departments, and pathe between the section and three others from tients wait to see the doctor, very Chelsea, we formed a unit. often for as long as four hours. The

fiteering-always at the expense of

the workers-even to the point of

endangering their lives. -J. T.

Member of Section Committee

main once requently by telephone all the people that come. If you buro and the section committee. I tan. When I got to Manhattan I Down in this remote and God-for- for additional merchandise, special come early enough to get a seat on was one of the most active memsaken part of Brooklyn, where instructions, etc., as the stores are the uncomfortable benches, you are bers of the unit, which as a whole I was hired. I went to the Central ing workers of Germany. But I 4,000 C. W. A. workers are herded not equipped with telephones the lucky. When, finally, you do get in was a very inactive unit as all the Bureau which had sent me the spe- want to point out one thing in par-

of necessity, a superficial and hasty literature agent for anti-Trotskyist are giving thousands of others. The basement has two filthy washrooms. I have been here many literature but they couldn't even times. Always, I have found the refer me to any names of pamphlets that CWA workers are being fired the questions: Why was no better

the sinks, and indescribable filth. On Monday, Nov. 13, there was isn't much. Meanwhile, washroom It is drafty and cold. The odors, a section membership meeting in doxbury. At this meeting the D. 6 ally it gives you a lousy, fake job: continue to work more hours than ing for hours on end in drafts, in his talk said that Trotsky was and then it fires you for "loafing". against the theory of building so-

cialism in one country and that The pharmacy connected with | Stalin was in favor of it. ment is apparent in the majority of the Out Patient Department is just I read a quotation from Stalin's siris, but this is less obvious than as ill-kept and dirty. The rows "Foundations of Leninism" (the and rows of shelves have an inch first edition) in which he unmistakward their working conditions and of dust on them. Bottles are kept ably declares that socialism cannot mproyers. When the bosses on their open and are not sterilized before be built in a single country taken they are filled with medicine and by itself.

Becomes A "Counter-Revolutionist" These terrible conditions are not I asked for an explanation of this exclusive with the Bronx Hospital. quotation. Weiss the D. O. got up more for our employees", very few They exist in many hospitals and attacked Trotsky, not his theory pitals and dispensaries are especithen he sailed into me. He said

ally notorious offenders-just one that I was a counter-revolutionist more consequence of capitalist pro- and everything else under the sun.

After Weiss made his speech, I was given an opportunity to defend myself, when all I had done was asked him to answer my question great financial difficulties, we finfirst and then take up the question of my activities. I asked why there had been nothing wrong with me until I had asked this queston. Weiss then called for a vote to

actively interested in the radical expel me for counter-revolutionary movement. I attended all sorts of activities, saying that I had been meetings, lectures and forums of the sent into the league to undermine the corner of 169th Street and C. P., P. P., S. L. P., L O. CPO, SP, it. 1 was expelled by a show of

-DAVID UDELL.

wavering between the C. P. and the The Jew-Baiters in

Chicago To the Editor:

Your articles in the Militant by Shirts are very good but incomplete.

The Chicago Fascist link with the Silver Shirts is the professional patriot Harry Jung, who runs the patriotic racket called the American Vigilant Intelligence Federa- Add 15e for postage. tion with free rent offices in the Tribune Tower Building of Chic-erous inquirers, that we have on Piatnitsky prove that there was no ent.

meetings on anti-Jewism at the in one cloth volume for 75c. Chicago Union League Club. One Branches and certificate holders-

CERTIFICATE. It's only \$5 and

waiting, I overheard the supervisor The Unpleasant Task of O. Piatnitsky elephoning for police. He was telling the cop at the other end of the wire that he wanted police to keep order as discharged CWA workers and How Lenin Is Used to "Help" Him had already arived and many more were expected. The workers were

expected to protest their dismissal.

I was made a member of the unit the Park Department in Manhatpecially the impudent way in which found out that I was "discharged". Piatnitsky talks down to the suffer-In other words, I was fired before

cial delivery letter to get an explan ticular: In the meantime, I kept pestering ation. "No funds; project held up" This pamphlet has the unpleasant our unit organizer and the district was the reply they gave me, and task of explaining away the collapse

of the C. P. of Germany in the face The capitalist press now reports of Hitler's attack. It has to answer for loafing. First capitalism makes

defensive struggle put up by the a "loafer" out of you by throwing German proletariat? Why did not you out of work; then it refuses the C. P. lead in organizing such you unemployment insurance. Fina struggle? Why did not the C. P. force the S. P. D. into a united

front? Instead of answering them, ---J. H. however, it concentrates on another question: why did not the C. P.

Pioneer year? Now it is indisputable that, in the last analysis, German capitalism's willingness to use Fascism to Publishers only by a proletarian seizure of power. This, however, need not

given month of last year. It is con-FOURTH INTERNATIONAL By LEON TROTSKY the working class put up a better

fight, the balance of forces which Pioneer Publishers tried hard to prevailed under Schleicher might During the last few weeks the have been shifted in favor of the publish comrade Trotsky's new working class. In other words, pamphlet on the class nature of Fascism would not have been immethe Soviet Union. In spite of diately crushed, but would have been held off from power for a period by means of mass struggle fall-We are, however, in great debt. ing short of the seizure of power

Branches and individual comrades should rush their orders without delay. Cash with order will be of great help.

IMPORTANT OFFER

the enemy further weakened. The Pioneer Publishers, besides publishing Marxian books, is en-

deavoring to supply the militants the proletariat can stave off Fasc-10f a crisis. Now the point about character at very low prices.

\$1.50. For certificate holders, \$1.25. We are glad to inform our num-

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I was just reading O. Piatnitsky's | I wish to refer. Piatnitsky opens pamphlet, The Present Situation in Lenin's pamphlet, "Left" Communism Later that afternoon I was hand Germany, published by the Commun- - and quites Lenin's definition of a ed a sealed envelope to deliver to ist International. This piece of revolutionary situation in the folapologetics is pretty sickening, es- lowing way:

"For revolution it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the conscious, thinking, politically active workers) should fully understand the necessity for revolution, and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; secondly, that the ruling class be in a state of government crisis, which attracts even the most backward masses into politics, weakens the government and facilitates its rapid overthrow by the revolutionaries.' How Piatnitsky "Edits" Lonin

This seems clear: a majority of the workers must be for revolutionary struggle even to the death; the make a revolution in Germany last government crisis must do two things: (a) draw even the most backward into politics. and (b) weaken the government and facilitate its overthrow. But why the preserve itself could be answered three dets toward the end of the quotation? Was Lenin so long. winded that a big chunk of his de-THE SOVIET UNION AND THE necessarily have occurred in any minition had to be dropped? No. Here is the last part of the passage ceivable that, had the C. P. and without omitting thirty-seven little words Piatnitsky overlooked:

"The ruling class (must) be in a state of government crisis, which attracts even the most backward masses into politics. It is a sign of every real revolution, this rapid tenfold. or even hundredfold. increase in the number of representatives of the toiling and oppressed masses, heretofore apathetic, who by the proletariat. The seizure of are able to carry on a political power might have occurred at a night which weakens the governsomewhat later date when, as a rement and facilitates its overthrow sult of that mass struggle and part- by the revolutionists." ("Left" ial victory, the ranks of the class Communism, Toiler edition, page had been further consolidated and 66

So it is not the crisis which weakens the government, but the strug-

**Ignores Real Issue** All this Piatnitsky ignores. Pointgles of the once-apathetic masses with Marxian literature and im- ing to the historically indisputable "who are able to carry on a poliportant books of an informative axiom that only the dictatorship of tical fight' because of the existence

This time we have succeeded in ism whenever the latter threatens, the three dots becomes clear. If a getting two very important books he argues that a revolutionary sit- revolutionary situation did not which every worker should have. uation did not exist in Germany, exist, it was just because these We offer two hig volumes ROSA that therefore power could not be masses were not carrying on such Geo. Clarke on the Fascist Silver LUXEMBURG'S LETTERS, a seized, and that therefore Hitler a fight. And whose fault was that beautifully bound book with Rosa's could not be stopped. Hence the if not the vanguard's, the C. P.'s? portrait, and THE LETTERS OF C. P. was right to do nothing. And Piatnitsky's whole pamphlet being SACCO AND VANZETTI, cloth in case you don't believe it, he written in order to avoid this ques-

bound, BOTH volumes for ONLY warns, the ECCI has said it and tion, naturally he does not hesitate to amputate Lenin a little bit lest you'd better believe! All this is fishy enough, but the the rottenness of his bureaucratic worst is yet to come. How does argument become suddenly appar-

ago. Jung is the Chicago anti-Jew hand Lenin's book IMPERIALISM revolutionary situation in Germany? The alternative theory is that leader and he holds secret Fascist and STATE AND REVOLUTION Partly by referring to facts about Piatnitsky couldn't find room in the concrete situation, facts pulled this 64-page pamphlet with its closeout of their context, twisted, fab- ly packed type for thirty-seven adricated, misinterpreted. But large ditional words by Lenin out of the ly by quoting from Lenin. And it middle of a sentence. -HARRY STRANG.

is to one of these quotations that

ployed in each retail store; during busy seasons, five or six. The fact that the firm is "operating under an NKA code," and will tolerate no interimentation and will tolerate no NKA code," a

Jewish workers took up the ques- ship any person who is disclosed

number of a strict rule to bar

neir conditions. ---Ј. Т. An Expulsion at High Speed

Boston .-- Last January 1 became The original Bronx Hospital on

Fulton Avenue, was abandoned as and liberal organizations of all de- hands. scriptions. 1 did all the reading 1 could find Left Opposition. 1 leaned in the

airection of the C. P. and hoped and wished that it was the right organization because it was the offi-In an old dilapidated, dirty, cual party, it was a member of the

Comintern and it has the backing pital, workers who do not make of the S. U. enough for food and rent, and un-No Answer to Questions employed men and women, crowd in At the beginning of June when from morning to late afternoon. the German events were still fresh. This is the only quarter of the old I asked the Boston District Organnospital that was "forgotten"izer questions on the united front, gnored-because it is not a source socialism in one country and several otners. He didn't answer them very

of profit. The house has two floors and satisfactorily and as he was busy

The Henrietta Shoppes, Inc., a basement. The first floor is used there wasn't much discussion. But manufacturers and retailers of silk mainly for registration, and has I did ask him for some anti-Trothose and lingerie, have approxim- several small rooms labeled, "Eye skyist literature and some of Dept.", "Dental Dept.", etc. The Stalin's works, which he promised Clement Studebaker, whose father doc. Oity. Three of four girls are em-ployed in each retail store; during majority of the patients are sent, is The following week I attended a Ku Klux Klan has or did have its



for 48 hours, 35 cents an hour it they work part time, and time and

two-thirds for overtime. These employees find out in a very snort time that one of the firm's most important rules is: never pay workers what they really earn. Overtime is paid at the restead of the 58 cents called for in Shoppes were among the first to

sign

#### Extra Work Without Pay

Did I say overtime is paid at 35 cents per hour? I should have said the smail part of overtime that is paid to the girls is paid at that rate. ror a long time before Christmas, and regularly on Saturdays and busy evenings during the year, girls are allowed only 15 or 20 minutes tor lunch and supper, but they are docked for two hours. They are required to work later and report earner than "NRA hours" call for, to clean the store and rearrange stock, but are not paid for these extra hours at all. Bosses explain that "this is not really work"; it's "just fixing up the store a little". Aching bones at the end of an 11 or 12 hour day refute the bosses' conception of what "real work" is.

The most highly paid and responsible positions this concern has to offer in their retail stores are held. by girls who have been with them for many years. These are the managers who in return for their "loyalty" to the firm, that is, working too many hours for too little pay without complaining; reporting "radical" workers; reporting complaints of dissatisfied workers; in the blank below and become a Militant Builder. other words, underpaid spies-these are abused by the bosses exactly below! as the sales clerks are, and the pressure brought upon them is in turn placed upon the sales clerks 126 East 16th Street, New York City, N. Y. who work under them.

"Fixing" Labor Inspectors When the cash register is short, the deficit is deducted from the girls' salaries. But when there is an excess, the money goes to "headquarters". A proposal made by

gulations is explained carefully to ment of This, That or the Other. still very much unclear on the quessupposed to receive a \$15 minimum



Before we say another word about the sub drive we want to apolo-Chicago, Ill. gize to the Minneapolis Branch. In last week's listing we omitted the sixty Club Plan subs sent in by the Branch. That, of course, also afguiar rate of 35 cents per hour in- lected the total. The sixty subs are included in the listing below.

Besides the sixty Minneapolis subs we omitted we received, since Hotel Scab Agencies the NRA code that the Henrietta the last issue went to press, 257 new Club Plan subs. The odd figure is accounted for by the fact that one Militant Builder brought in five of Fall Through the Club Plan subs. The total now stands at 669.

The New York Local took another long step toward realizing its ployment agencies were sadly disgoal of four hundred new subs by adding 112 to its total which now stands at 316. The Kansas City Branch shot in 48; the Minneapolis Branch added 28 to its total; Pittsburgh added 20. The record follows:

New York Local 316 Minneapolis Branch 88 Kansas City Branch 48 Pittsburgh Branch 32 Youngstown Branch 12 D. O'Dwyer 12 D. L J. Ruby G. Papeun M. Hurwitz M. Steinbach M. McLeod L. Goodman St. Louis Branch L. Murphy M. Koehler C. Genfan R. Carlson

Total

This astounding record was made in less than two weeks. Our con-las scabs. The paroled men are tention is that the Club Plan has not begun to exhaust its possibilities. afraid to refuse this dirty work out of fear of being send back to jail Literally everybody can pitch into the work of spreading and building as "parole violators". the Militant through the Club Plan. Take the first step now. Fill out

569

Build the Militant! Help circulate a Marxian paper for workers! Fired by the C.W.A. girls receive \$18 per week. They Order for Club Plan half year sub cards for one dollar! Use the blank But Not Hired

THE MILITANT

Enclosed please find \$..... for..... (four is the min- day, February 3rd to report for asimum) Club Plan half year sub cards. Name ..... Address ..... 

Fascist units, members of which Investigate this racket and ex-

pose it, as it is one of the worst in the country.

Fraternally, **R.** L.

ternational Workers School an-Future of American Communism'

to be given at the Militant Hall, Sixth Avenue's blood sucking em-

appointed when the expected rush movement looks like today". The

revolutionary movement' despite their pleas and promises of no fees for the jobs and sleeping

accomodations in the hotels could get only a few men. Fearful of the results that hiring of scabs might have, many of the agencies are now pretending that they are not supplying them. The Hotel bosses have set up their own employment agency on West 57th St,. with little or no success. Arrangements have been made with steamship companies to rush cooks and waiters to various hotels as soon as a boat docks. In this way Japanese workers have been supplied to the Hotel Chatham. Colleges and universities in New York City and vicinity have been sending students to the struck shops to work after school hours. Parole and probation officers are

sending jobless ex-convicts to work

After a two-and-a-half month

wait for a CWA job, I suddenly

received a special delivery Satur-

signment the following Monday. I

was told on Monday to report at

the Municipal Building in Brooklyn

the next day. There I was told to

report at Prospect Park for work

a day later. At Prospect Park I

by LEON TROTSKY IN ENGLISH 10C IN JEWISH 7c in Bundles of 5 or More

tion of organizing a Jewish club in upon investigation to be or to have Brownsville. The need for a Jew-been a scab, or strike-breaker. The Our School in Brooklyn ish club that would base itself on constitution further provides for the principles of the class struggle election to the executive commitand at the same time be free of tee every six months, initiation to all mechanical party control, grew be 25c and 25c monthly dues, with The Brooklyn branch of the Inup as a result of the widespread five cents for unemployed. The expulsion and discrimination against name of the organization has been nounces the opening of a lecture anyone who dared as much as show chosen to be "October Club of

e ago,

cratism.

course entitled "The Present and a dissenting voice against bureau-Brownsville" and has its headquarters at 154 Watkins St., and

Steps were immediately taken to meets regularly every Wednesday. 154 Watkins St. The first lecture organize such a broad Jewish club. The "October Club" has a variety will be given by Arne Swabeck, Now after a short period of exist-of cultural and educational activity secretary of the Communist League ence, the club has a membership of as well. Sometime ago a lecture of America, on Monday, February more than 20 and about that many was held under its auspices with more sympathizers who will un- Jacob Berlin reporting on the condoubtedly join very shortly. A con- dition of the labor and Jewish lecture is "What the Communist stitution provides that the club movements in Europe after Hitler's appointed when the expected rush movement looks like today". The base itself upon the general prin- coming to power. An enthusiastic of applicants for striking hotel and lectures will be given every Monday ciples of the class struggle. It audience was moved to long and restaurant positions did not mater- evening. The second lecture will will support all phases of the rev- heated discussion following it. Now ialize. Personnel managers of ho- be on "The Communist Party-work- olutionary struggle of the working for this coming Wed., January 12, tels who interviewed job-seekers at ing class vanguard or brake on the class such as strikes, demonstra- the club is arranging a lecture on the different Sixth Avenue agencies, revolutionary movement". tions and the defense of political Democracy in the Trade Unions and prisoners regardless of the political the Situation in Local 9, I. L. G. views they hold. Every member W. U." with Sylvia Bleeker, long will have perfect freedom of ex- active trade unionist, lecturing. All pression and adherence to whatever workers are invited to attend. Adtendency in the labor movement he mission is free and questions and or she wishes. The club makes it discussion will follow.

> INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL (Winter Term)

The International Workers School is about to enter its third year of Marxist education for the revolutionary workers of New York City. It has issued its announcement of courses for the Winter of 1934 which extends from February 18th to April 31st The following classes are listed: 1. FUNDAMENTALS OF COMMUNISM Martin Abern (Based on the "Communist Manifesto") Wednesdays-8 p. m. to 10 p.m.-Beginning February 21st. 2. THE YOUTH MOVEMENT **Joseph Carter** Sunday-2 P. M. to 4 p. m.-Beginning February 18th. 3. SURVEY OF AMERICAN TRADE UNION STRATEGY Arne Swabeck AND TACTICS Wednesdays-8 p. m. to 10 p.m.-Beginning February 21st. 4. ELEMENTARY ENGLISH FOR FOREIGN SPEAKING WORKERS S. Blake Fridays-8 p. m. to 9:30 p.m.-Beginning February 2nd

5. THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIK PARTY J. Wright

Fridays-8 p. m. to 10 p. m.--Beginning February 23rd.

**REGISTRATION:** The registration fee for each course is \$1.50. Arangements can be made for payments at convenient intervals. Individual sessions are 20 cents each. Those workers wishing to register for one or more courses can do so either by mail or by coming to the office of the International Workers School, 126 E. 16th St., N. Y. C. The office is open for the registering of prospective students all day long and every evening.

Registrants can secure complete outlines for the courses at ten cents per copy.

JUST OFF THE PRESS! The Soviet Union and the 4th Intenational

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THE MILITANT

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James P. Cannon

der the act of March 3, 1879.

Martin Abern

12, 8:00 P. M. The subject of his

# **American-Soviet Agreement**

(From the Bulletin of the Inter- | The Significance of Russian | torious working class" and "weaknationalist Communist League).

The resumption of relations be tween the United States and the Soviet State marks, of course, a very important stage in the present

Pacific Ocean. Since the center of In this sense the new American- mon with the strategy and tactics world relations shifted from inland Soviet agreement is certainly one of revolutionaries.

seas to the great ocean routes, not of the most important factors in only has an advantage accrued to international politics of this epoch. countries which dominate such What will be its future repercusroutes, but still more a struggle sions? among the various imperialist powers for predominance over them

was inevitably developed. Here again the forecasts of Marx and Engels respecting supremacy on the Pacific Ocean and the development point of concluding when necessary of the United States, have been confirmed to the letter.

The United States of "kidnappers, the bourgeoisie of another color." is to say in piling up treasures, de- force the positions of the victorious veloping themselves technically in working class." such an extraordinary manner, acmust spread their "miracles" stripping all its rivals and competitors. Its own territory being too narrow to hold its wealth and activity, Amercan capitalism can no longer content itself with an "isolationist" policy. Its economic exsume political hegemony.

The only European country which had thus far escaped American control is the U.S.S.R. Now Amerrecent agreement with the Soviets. has welded one of the last links in erican capitalist exploitation which having as its aim to restore the given as a means of reconciliation." thereby obtains a serious prop at bourgeois nationalist republic in the recent American-Soviet agree- at the expense of Turkey. ment relates to the question of Pacific supremacy.

is composed of Turkish Armenians, ate that the holy archdishop was acter of the march, the workers all over, very, very few cabs were States, there has grown up rapidly apparently having a passive atti- involved in that affair of removing revealed their militancy and iron to be sen or. Broadway, and many the reading of this article and its display Trotsky's books and they tude to the Soviet Union and oppos- the Armenian national flag on Arm- courage. As many as were able a begowned and bejeweled lady, had By a hold and tenacious attack, ing the imperialist aspirations to- enian Day, July 2nd, since he al- piled into the empty hacks-"We to walk to a subway. refutation. Then a class took place seem to have a good sale among in historical materialism. (This the students and intellectuals. I ward Turkey on the part of the ways in the past as well as in the might just as well ride in style for After participating in that cleanthe Land of the Rising Sun is try- ward Turkey on the part of the ways in the part of the present stated that he respects the once in our lives." was an educational meeting). up, this reporter, for one, realized, Persecution of Comrades display-printed in Spain and Chile able antagonist to the United Sta-As the line passed across 42nd why the strike has spread like a tes, and to take from it the place the tragic affiair. denial or confirmation of the above Street and Fifth Avenue, the men prairie fire, and why there isn't of the comrades in conversation with they are so expensive. Sixty cenwhich the latter seeks in the Far The contradictory attitude of the statement. Answer never received. stopped a passing independent a single big company cab on the me accidentally let the remark drop tavos, which is the cost of the How do these facts correspond cruiser, told the passenger to get streets of New York today. East and especially in the vast at the expense of Turkey. East and especially in the vast is the capture of the state of the sta already able to profit in its attack from the the Soviet Union. They even call-fusionists to explain. last summer the F. S. U. invited beat couldn't do much about it service just like the worker in a rested innumerable times. in the camp of its enemies and from the murder affair. ness of the U. S. S. R. As for the Armenian language, of August 19, anti-Soviet speech from its platform. cab was hailed and stopped. All feeling their strength and unity, he showed me three other comrades and the book is in tatters. offensive of their rival, fearing to ous denunciation against the arch- editorial entitled, "The F. S. U. age. If he protested the doors were ents is reported to have said: "Why one was 16, and one 15. American capitalism's fears of its ed to that effect, Tourian protect. ganda" Not the C. P. but the -"You guys were laughing, when will have some pretty good reasons Trotskyites." I looked at the child be done at all-too-rare occasions. ing the liberal democrats and Tash- typical petty bourgeois organization we were walking the streets stary- to change their minds. -B. C. who had contracted dysentry on the ---C. C. antagonist's aggrandisement.

ening the international bourgeoisie" Recognition by the the Stalinist bureaucracy, after hav-United States ing killed the Chinese Revolution

and precipitated the German prole-Both the United States and the tariat into a catastrophe, is reducdevelopment of an international U.S.S.R. need allies to meet the ed to a labor of preserving the balsituation, chiefly characterized by alarming situation created in the ance of power among the capitalist the question of supremacy in the Far East by the Japanese offensive. powers. This has nothing in com-

> One of the most direct consequ ences of the new American-Soviet agreement will be, in effect, to in crease the servile anti-proletarian spirit of the Stalinist bureaucracy

Indisputably, a workers' State its submissiveness to international has every right to utilize for the capitalism, its most open abandonbenefit of the proletariat the difment of the road of world revoluferences existing among the various tion. Did we not have a proof of bourgeois groupings, even to the this submissiveness even before the signatures were affixed, in the sil-"a defensive understanding with ence of the Comintern during the the bourgeoisie of one color against Cuban revolution? Still more: some

Stalinists have preached non-violabandits, rapists and pickpockets", But this tactic, rightly defended by tion of American property in Cuba has given the world "an amazing Lenin and all revolutionary Marxin order to "avoid" the intervenexample of what miracles can be ists, is comprehensible only on con- tion of the American fleet. As realized by a State of confirmed dition that it serves. "to lighten the though the national liberation of rascals." These "confirmed rascals", work of the social revolution, to oppressed peoples could be carried the capitalists of America, in ac speed its coming, to weaken the out without expelling the imperialcomplishing their "miracles", that international bourgeoisie, to reen- ist oppressors!

Once again the workers must be shown that the U.S.S.R. and the Now, the "tactics" of Stalin- gains of the October Revolution Rae Spiegel, c-o The Militant, 126 cumulating enormous capital, have Litvinov are to the revolutionary, can be saved only by the force of East 16th Street, New York City. reached a situation in which they Bolshevik-Leninist tactic what the the international proletariat, the out- negative is to the positive. All the joint action of the proletarians of secure domination over the entire the strategy and tactics of the Stal- ed by carrying on, as does Stalinist world. Especially in the war and inist bureaucracy, become a swin-diplomacy, a labor of preserving post-war period, American capital- dle of the workers. Instead of "re- the balance of power among the sympathizers, the hackmen broke ism has grown most rapidly, out- enforcing the positions of the vic- international bourgeoisie.



Recently an Armenian Arch, nag before the threatening hand of pansion demands the subjection of bishop, Leon Tourian was assassin- labor. "Archbishop is concentrat- ion members. He informed them other countries, demands that it as-ated in an Armenian church here ing anti-Soviet forces around the further that a meeting of the difin New York.

says the declaration. "What do evening was scheduled to discuss It is perhaps worthwhile to reveal certain facts pertaining to the you expect from an archbishop who attitude of the Stalinists regarding was sent here from Celust Gryben- unions in the field. ican capitalism, by means of the this case, especially the Friends of kin's (a former oil magnate in the Soviet Union. the chain which binds Europe to it death by a few members of the concile the two parties....Four central mass meeting at Madison as a dependent. In effect the doors Tashnag party, a reactionary or Tashnag were elected to the Na-

> August 7th to the archbishop. The archbishop was a member of It quotes the Armenian Church the Garden.

the liberal democratic party which Council as saying: "It's unfortun-

dominated by petty shopkeepers, professionals, rabbis and priests, the F. S. U., is the main bulwark for Soviet defense. Further comments are unnecessary.

activity or signs of activity of the The workers have nothing in com-Bolshevik-Leninists in Mexico City. mon with this murder case It is a In fact, judging by the number of struggle between two counter-rev posters, signs, etc., on the street the olutionary groups desperately trying to maintain their position, having as their objectives to restore their party. rule in the Soviet Union.

--J. KAMIAT.

### JUST ARRIVED!

32 pages

SIAN OPPOSITION has just arrived from Paris. The feature deals with the 17th Congress of the C. P. S. U. There are impor- the city. tant articles by Leon Trotsky, of the Internationalist Communists. Alfa and others. There are also

tion.

important letters from the Soviet Union. It is indispensable for Russian-speaking comrades. Get denunciation-this is their "ideol copies on hand. ogical" campaign.

25c per copy Stalinist Provocation

The first day in town I noticed a

The four numbers I have seen of All orders should be addressed to this paper each contained lengthy attacks. In one attack, they gave

### side their country and even well revolutionary sagacity in the strat-outside their continent. They must egy and tactics of Lenin has, in proletarian revolution is not assist-

(Continued from page 1) off the street today. Get your scious revolutionist. damned car into the garage and into wild laughter followed by great keep it off the street.' applause. The hackmen understood!

A cop rushed up holding his of the union, assured the strikers without the consent of all the unto start trouble". The cop retreat-

Armenian National Church Council" ferent taxi groups for that same Then the cry went up "To Broadway, clean up Broadway!" Broadway, was cleaned up cleaner than plans for amalgamation of the four a ballroom floor, that Saturday The hackmen became impatient night; while the cops kept chasing

Tsarist Russian now in Paris-J. with the many speeches and poured up and down trying vainly to dis-The archbishop was stabbed to K.) own church in London to re- out into the street to attend the perse the dozens of hackmen groups Square Garden. It was evident, dent cabs, ordering all passengers one who entered was first seen from (so the government describes itself). of the U. S. S. R. have by this ganization composed of Russian tonal Council when asked by the that the march was not prepared. out, and tearing off the doors of all agreement been opened wide to Am- Armenian counter - revolutionists opposition why, the reason was There wasn't a single poster in "tough" independent drivers. "The

sight, except for an impromptu color of your badge ain't no differ-In the same number of Panvor piece of cardboard on an end of ent than mine, bud", they said to a moment very important for it. the area which is now Soviet Arm- a letter is printed by Hoc (an Arm- a stick, marked "Bronx", which them. Four riot squads were call-But the chief political meaning of enia and to extend that territory enian version of the F. S. U.) dated was wildly cheered, wherever it ed out; many of the workers were bobbed up during the march to hit with blackjacks on their backs (the cops didn't dare smash them)

But in the very improvized char- over the head). But after it was

## The Movement In Mexico

Mexico City .-- There is no lack of Revolutionary Events As islands, and who would never be the same-this was the agent among Seen by Our Own the working class sent by the gov-Correspondent

ernment.

Marxist Education. Poverty-stricken, harassed by the

Internationalists are as active or the group, and where he workednearly as active as the Stalinist all the police had to do was pick government, our comrades in Mexico him up and send him to the Islas work on. They are developing all de Tres Marias on this information. sides of their work. They are edustatement of our comrades on the When I showed this to a Stalinist cating themselves in Marxism. They Montevideo Congress, printed and party sympathizer he stated, "Oh, are doing work among the masses. pasted all over the workers' sec- the police don't bother the Trotsky- They are internationalists and so ites". I said that I didn't believe are preparing a Boycott Hitler Then in my walking through the him. In a little while you will see Campaign. They are also planning cown I saw painted in a great num- the truth of this statement. to set up an apparatus for legal ber of places "Viva la Oposicio de The story itself was a delirious work. They are organizing syndic-THE BULLETIN OF THE RUS- Izquierda Communista" with sickles lie. The truth is the contrary of ates (unions). They are going to and hammers. I also noticed a all the statements Machete made. carry on the Boycott Campaign in mimeographed statement of the op- Our comrade did not help the boss two ways-first, a statement by the position on the 7th of November all cut the workers' wages-he organ- group and then in a united front over the working class sections of ized the workers against this cut in form. The statement will be printwages. For this he was thrown ed and distributed by the League There is another sign of activity out on the street jobless. and pasted on walls all night, and It was through this statement at great risk, lest the pro-govern-

This is the great attention and that I made contact with the group. ment Trotskyites are picked up by amount of space given them in the I went up to the shop where the the government they are so devoted-Stalinist organ, the Machete. Every comrade was supposed to have done ly serving and sent by that governissue of this rag is filled with rabid his counter-revolutionary work and ment to the Island. But our comit now! There are only a few frothings, lies, slander, provocation, asked where I could find this man rades here are internationalists in The workers did not manifest any theory, and in fact-and are willsigns of indignation when I said ing to suffer for their international-I was his friend. On the contrary, ism if necessary.

one worker volunteered to show me The comrades here have somewhere he lived and accompanied me thing that is unique in our internathere. He did not curse comrade tional organization-a group of the name of one of the leaders of L. or abuse him, but rather spoke children organized in a Red Pioneer of him with affection and admira- Group. These children learn about tion. This worker, by his intelli- the class struggle both from books ment agent had worked for some the children for free books and ing. Now, you were told to stay time beside him but a class con-papers.

### Demagogy of Government

Young Internationalists The government, a master in dem-I made contact with our comrade, agogy (it is in reality a Social Dem-William Gandall, the chairman A cop rushed up holding his hand, and ordered who at present is working in a lit- ocratic government) has, with a blackjack in his hand, and ordered who at present is working in a lit- ocratic government) has, with a the marchers to keep moving, but the shop. After I showed him your loud blast, inaugurated "Socialist and no settlement would be signed the line held its ground. "Dou't letter and had talked with him, he Education". They do not, with all use that, buddy, if you don't want gave me the following information: their "Socialist education", give the We have in Mexico City a group workers' chlidren adequate school of 47, about 25 active. The major- racilities or free books or paper, ity are young, none of them work thus making the loudly proclaimed for the government, all are work- compulsory education illusory. Our ers. How different from the Stalin- Pioneers are educating the struggle ist Party: He invited me to a meet- of the workers' children. Some of ing of the group the following night. these grammar school children in I accompanied this comrade on the group have more than once seen the meeting night. We entered a the inside of the jail of the Mexican room, then went upstairs. Every- Workers and Peasants government

The first thing I noticed about work has many shortcomings. This the comrades was that the majority is inevitable, granting the condiwere young. I mean really young, tions. The comrades find it difficult -17 to 22 was the majority. There to buy books and read, they are were a few older workers, obvious so expensive. The illegal paper, the ly unskilled laborers, one of whom ["Izquierda" (Left), has difficulty brought the latest copy of the in coming out due to the high cost Machete with a slanderous coward. of stencils and papers.

Trotsky's Works Popular

ly attack upon us in it. The book stores here prominently The first order of business was have seen all of Trotsky's work on

When the meeting broke up, one in the main. The tragedy is that that he had done time on the Islas cheapest pamphlet amounts to near-

have alive was a Fascist to them; after of the archbishop by the Stalinists? right back to the garage. On 42nd the hackman of New York feel, in Here was a youngster of barely skilled worker. It amounts to half broken out, if Japan had not been his killing he became a Friend of That we leave to the Stalinist con- Street and Sixth Avenue, traffic the words of one of their speakers, 17, a child, who had spent six a week's wages for a young workwas tied up completely for about that "they are not lice, or scum of months on the Devil's Island of er. Marx's, Engel's. Trotsky's and state of uncertainty still prevailing ed a mass protest meeting against It should also be remembered that ten minutes and the cop on the the earth, but workers, rendering Mexico. He had, besides, been ar- Lenin's works are loaned among the comrades until the print on the the internal and international weak-the internal and international weak-Panvor, the Stalinist organ in the archbishop Benjamin to deliver an cither. Every passing independent big factory or plant." They are When I expressed my amazement cheap paper becomes indigcernable United States, everything indicates 1933 carried a lengthy declaration (See N. Y. Times, July 1st and passengers were ordered out. The know what they want, and do not ranging in age from 15 to 22 who The Militant also plays a great that they have had to take and still of the Central Committee of the Militant, July 8). And yet the strikers piled in and ordered the mean to go back until they get it. had also been picked up with him role in the education of the comtake a cautious attiude toward the Armenian Buro with the most vici- Daily Worker of January 12 in an driver to beat it back to the gar- A spokesman for the Independ- and had served time. Two were 22, rades. By dint of great labor important articles are translated and come to grips with Japan alone. bishop, trying to prove the similar- convention", says that: "The F. S. jerked off. Sometimes the windows should we quit, when every night is I was rather bitter when I thought are read to the comrades. Unfor-Russia has also had to make con- ity of Tourian and his party with U. is the main bulwark in the strug- got broken by accident, while the New Year's?" After what I saw of of this party sympathizer's state- tunately, since none of the comcessions to Japan, thus heightening the Tashnag. A cartoon is pictur- gle against anti-Soviet poison pro-strikers angrily yelled out at them last night, I think the Independents ment: "The police never bother the rades know English, this can only

"Unser Wort" a Weekly A Real Achievement

 $\hat{p}$ 

child, or his own life to such piti- as an isolated national entity but able dullards. No capitalist, on as a part of the International. the other hand, would entrust the The small Unser Wort is now the erection of a plant to an engineer only organ in the whole field of the who did not master thoroughly the German working class movement fundamental theories of technology. that realizes correctly, earnestly, in Only in the sphere of politics, even a Marxian fashion the interrelation 'revolutionary" politics, ignorant of tactics and strategy, of a na-

The transformation of Unser Wort, seek a way out in the same direc-quackery continues as pretentiously tional party and a new Internation into a weekly is a great achieve tion. Can they, in this case, refuse to argue against the scientific meth- al. Precisely in this lies the guar- read with interest the remarks of mechanically imposed leadership? wing of the German emigration, not connections, elaboration of program-lieve that the Manifesto of the Comonly of the new party of the Ger- matic and strategical questions, ex- munist Party was written 85 years political half-heartedness may some man proletariat that is now being change of political experience and, ago!

built, but of the Fourth Interna- finally, mutual practical support, The disputed questions, now split-**Unser Wort** lies in the fact that it work?

serves at one and the same time national and international tasks.

nothing of the character of our tions of the character of the Soviet the peculiarities of this or that of a different order; they are sucvictories and defeats of the prolet tern in the Chinese revolution, the our epoch merely the tactics and clarity-these successes are solid. ariat, try to reason as follows: first policy of the Anglo-Russian Com- net the strategy of the working we will build a national party and mitte, etc., etc. We want "simply" class. The importance of tactics, then on a solid and safe foundation to help the workers of our country is, of course, great; in the final

we shall erect the International. to carry on the class struggle. Thus analysis all strategy dissolves into This argument sounds very serious, reason, for instance, the initiators tactics. But we cannot make one circumspect, solid but in reality it of a new Workers Party in the correct factical step without a demonstrates Philistine short-sight- United States (C. P. L. A.-Muste strategic compass in hand. We edness. The regenerating workers' et. al.). Of the same opinion are the cannot orientate ourselves in the Unser Wort of a theoretical monthmovement does not begin history leaders of the Swedish Independent national situation, without estimat- ly for the elaboration of the prinanew; it has a colossal past, sim- Communist Party (Kilboom & ing theoretically the world situailar in its main traits for all coun- others), the British I. L. P. (Fen- tion, without drawing conclusions

tries. The proletariat of the whole ner Brockway and others), etc. If from the international experience world had been united for decades you will, the authors of the Ger- of the working class, without outby the Second International and man pamphlet "Begin Anew" oc- lining an international perspective, the trade unions. After the world cupy even a lower place in this that is, without a program of a war the proletarian advance-guard question. Can one imagine a doc- new International.

united under the banner of the tor who would say that he is not When Ceep-thinking people say: January 24, 1934. Third International. Not only the concerned with the fundamental "do not hurry, now is not the time

A NOTE TO BRANCHES world crisis, Fascism and the dan- theories of anatomy, physiology and for the Fourth International", they ger of war, but the decline of the pathology, that he does not want could with equal success say: "Do Arrangements have been made by Comintern as well have an inter- to argue about the newest theories not hurry, now is not the time for Pioneer Publishers whereby branch- and a worker in their own specific was apparent I raised the cry and Consistent and systematic work in national character. It is clear that on cancer, or malaria, but prefers the class struggle". Since it is not es of the Communist League can trade. Does the comrade imagine carried it to the workers. On the your trade brings personal conunder the influence of the very same "simply" to treat the patients of a question of the formal "proclama- obtain all literature published by that merely to enter "into the work- meeting floor I was able to speak tacts and personal contacts form common causes advanced proletar- his locality? Not one thinking tion" of the new International but Charles Kerr and International Pu- ing-class youth" insures his position the workers' language and propose the nucleus for your youth cadres. ian elements in all countries must worker would trust the life of his of the building of a new party, not blishers at a 25 percent discount. in it or can he understand that the such measures as I, as a worker,

**On Industrial Activity** 

knew were the best to follow at that particular time.

Because, besides my personal experiences I had the advice of comrades long connected with various phases of union activity, I was able to voice the workers' demands in a generally correct line. And de-

Let us not make the mistakes the

In a recent discussion article I working class fights shy of such spite my youth there is no one who had more of the comraderie, the sym ment not only of the revolutionary the establishment of international od. It is at times difficult to be antee of its success. In the epoch a comrade who bemoans the lack Our industrial work must be pathy and the trust of the workers of dissolution, ferment, confusion, of concrete suggestions by the Na-ltaken seriously and anyone entering than I had.

tional Youth Committee on how to into a specific field must enter it, Industrial activity should be our times register great successes which begin youth work and by what not with the intention of helping concentration and immediate perare of the greatest surprise to it-method to proceed. He criticizes out when it is on strike and flip-spective. But I add this. Our work tional as well. The strength of already at the first steps of their ting the world working class move. self and blind it: but these success it and then attempts to enlighten pantly and peremptorially leaving must be taken seriously, spasmodic ment, have not an episodic, not a es are not trustworthy, they dis- the comrades with what, when it when the excitement is over or jumps from this field to that are Some wise slow-movers go even tactical but a principled, strategic appear together with the political read, turns out to be equally, if even with the purpose of contacting worthless. Comrades must decide further and say: "We do not want and, by this very fact, internation. conjuncture that gave birth to them. not more vague. He raises the the workers spasmodically at their on a trade and prepare to work Some wise men who understood to split our ranks because of ques- al character. No matter how great The successes of Unser Wort are cry "Into the working-class youth!" homes, but he must enter it with years in it. Groundwork for the as the orientation for the more the intentions of spending years in revolution is laid in the trade unepoch and learned nothing from the state the strategy of the Comin- country may be, they determine in cesses of method, system, Marxian serious work of the League and it. That is the crux of the situa- ions. Let us then enter into them points out the necessity of organiz- tion and I can bear it up with very not by mechanically taking out a Friends of Unser Wort must spare ing cadres of youth on an economic concrete examples. union card at the time of a strike During the recent Los Angeles but by working in the shops and

no efforts to insure the weekly ap- basis into either the Spartacus pearance of the paper, enrich its Youth Clubs proper or broad work- dressmakers' strike I was secretary earning the right to a union card. content, enlarge its size, increase ers' clubs. How typically Y. C. L. is the cry virtually in charge of the picket Y. P. S. L. and Y. C. L. had made

its circulation, facilitate its peneand as equally characteristically, lines. Why was I able to do so and assume that going "into the tration into Germany and make ready for publication, alongside of impotent! How are we to enter "into the the sudden appearance of myself ing over leadership.

working class youth"? How are on the scene and the equally quick The working class follows that we going to raise our youth slogans, approval of me by the strikers? No. organization that has identified itcipal questions of our epoch, that is, of the program of the Fourth how are we going to build cadres? For a year before the strike I self with the working-class through Time and time again the Young worked in the shops in the needle its day-to-day struggle in its be-International.

Communist League has attempted trade side by side with the work half, follows that organization Hearty greetings to the editors, personnel, administration, readers to form "youth sections" in their ers, experiencing their hardships whose members have built up a and friends of the weekly Unser own T. U. U. L. unions-and as and struggles, understanding their prestige in their unions by virtue Wort! -L. TROTSKY.

often have they failed. Failed be- trials, encouraging their militancy. of their years of long work side cause they forgot one important For a year I carried on, to the by side with the workers in the factor: the working class will never best of my ability, the workers' shops. have confidence in or follow the day-to-day struggle with the bosses. All this will be the wedge whereleadership of anyone but a worker Then when the need for a strike by cadres of youth can be formed.

of the general strike committee and

much work? Was it the result of working-class" is the signal for tak-

---FLORENCE WYLE:





The impending congress of the first of all by getting rid of the ences also disappear. ruling party of the Soviet Union control of the party and establish-

is being called upon to give its ing the cult of the Leader. approval of the political leadership. It is impossible to read without a perspective. The second five year the economic plan and the work of a feeling of embarrassment and plan, calculated on a full and comthe Comintern, in accordance with sometimes shame the Soviet press plete liquidation of class distinca formula prepared in advance. where in each column, in each arti- tions, does not foresee at all a However, these three closely inter- cle, each telegram and report of a mitigation of government coercion, connected spheres present a number meeting, the "Leader" is honored nor a decrease in the budget of the of burning questions which the con- and praised in the very same un- G. P. U. The ruling bureaucracy gress cannot and does not want to changed and universally obligatory does not prepare in the least to answer. Not because these questions conflict with the interests of Louis Fischer, who is not very on the contrary, it supplies them the workers' state but because their very presentation is incompatible with the interests of the ruling bureaucracy.

First of all: why wasn't a reguyears and eight months? Under the most onerous conditions of underground struggle and emigration, from the years 1903 to 1907, four congresses took place: in Brussels-London, Geneva, Stockholm and again in London. The years of reaction and of the complete decline of the party that set in, interrupted the regular succession of congresses. Only in 1912 did a Bolsehvik conference gather in Prague, equivalent in importance to a congress. No sooner did the revolutionary movement revive (1912-1914) than the Bolshevik party disappear? the war broke out.

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In April 1917 a new party conference is called, similarly equal in importance to a congress. Four months later, at the end of July 1917, under conditions of semi-ilfollowing five congresses are conof the party and of Soviet policy. gerous to elevate the Soviet reality merging of the state and the party, productive forces and politics, infreedom.

. . . .

Such was the regime prior to the death of Lenin and prior to the declaration of war against "Trotskyism". The 13th and 14th congresses already took place after great delays, necessitated by back- pered Marxian criticism. stage bureaucratic maneuvers. The 15th congress was called, contrary to the party statutes, more than two years after the 14th: it was necessary first to smash the opposi-

In reality no one of the rulers of the U.S.S.R. believes in such

expressions. Even a journalist like give up its commanding positions, critical with regard to the Soviet with ever new and more material bureaucracy, found it necessary to guarantees. Coercion, even within point out the insufferable charac- the formal framework of the party,

The connection between deifying ter as it never had during the years lar party congress convened in three the leader and the leaders (local of civil war. Moreover, in all the leaders are deified within the imits of a definite territory) and perspective of a further intensificahe violation of the statutes, the tion of the methods of the dictator socialist society is possible only on States Steel Company empire, showabolition of criticism of the sum-ship is pictured. This crying divermits, the convocation of congresses gence between two perspectives, the at arbitrary intervals, after even economic and the political, demon-

aidation of the party as an active theoretically. political whole that checks, elects Young Soviet theoreticians, it is and renews its apparatus. The first

question which arises before the congress reads: where and why did Bureaucratic Dictatorship and

functions. Some people believed The theory of Kautsky, Otto Bauer, Social Contradictions. them. Louis Fischer, is one of his Leon Blum and others assumes an For social development in genassembles and sets out the political pure reason cannot be prescribed. to present the merging of the Com- necessary maturity, the productive premises for the October uprising. It is naive to say that the Soviet missariat for Trade with the trade- forces invite Messrs. socialist lead-Eight months later a new party state is not a dictatorship of the unions as the beginning of the liq- ers to power. Everything takes congress is called upon to solve the proletariat merely on the basis that uidation of the state. In reality, place within the framework of dem-Brest-Litovsk disagreements. The the given form of a dictatorship we have only a merging of two bu- ocracy with full comfort for all the loes not correspond to our a priori reaucratic apparatuses. The new participants. In reality, the prinvened at regular intervals of a conceptions. But if reality cannot statutes of the party, which are cipal characteristic of historic deyear, and each of them marks an be judged by ideal norms, it is just to be ratified by the 17th congress, velopment is the constant disruption important bourgeois politicians were important epoch in the development as inadmissible and no less dan-make a decisive turn towards the

Each congress is preceded by a into an ideal norm. The historic -but how?-by a final and formal side the productive forces themdiscussion unfolded with complete ailure of the Comintern is caused replacement of the party as well as selves, for example, between indus- the masses now began to break primarily by the fact that it pro- of the mass Soviets by the single try and agriculture, between the loose. Its dramatic expression was claimed the Soviet state, more pre-bureaucratic apparatus. It is not social weight of the bourgeoisie and the attempt of thousands of Paris-

cisely, the Soviet bureaucracy, as a question of the "whithering" away the weight of the proletariat, be- lians to storm the Chamber of Dea categoric imperative. Meanwhile, of the state in the Engels sense, tween the potential power of the puties. Undeniably the demonstrahe international proletariat as well but on the contrary, of its further as the Soviet state itself need noth- bureaucratic concentration. It is party, etc. Contradictory historic organized by reactionary elements. gram, "this wide popular revolt and ing more urgently than free, unham | no wonder that the ruling summits | conditions forced the Russian pro. | The Royalist groups led by the The barsh character of the dicta- theoreticians for attempting to draw torship is caused by the need of political conclusions from the "liq-

suppressing the resistance of the uidation of the classes". overthrown ruling classes and to The withering away of the party

undermine their economic roots. in the socialist sense of the word ion. In the autumn of 1927 the But according to the official theory presupposes the liquidation of pol-Central Committee decided — al- this basic task of the workers' itics in general, therefore also of Had the Russian proletariat, how- French Chamber. Thus they hoped though the statutes did not and state is in the main achieved. The state coercion, and signifies the apcould not grant it such a right-to second five year plan will merely proach to an anarchistic society and convene all future congresses every have to complete it. The 17th party by no means to a bureaucratic retwo years. This decision was car- conference already decided-this gime. Is it this that we see in the fate of China. ried not without inner friction in decision is now repeated day in- reality? If "politics" has disapthe apparatus itself: it was difficult day out-that the task of the second peared in the U. S. S. R. it has dis

to explain openly why the Bolshevik five year plan is not only the "liq- appeared for the masses only. All party as a ruling party was denied uidation of capitalist elements and politics is monopolized, centralized, the right which it enjoyed in the classes in general" but "complete personalized. It would be the greatliquidation of causes which engendst naivete to think that the con the

Disagreements within the uncontrolled bureaucracy must be settled from above, by the "Leader" who is but the personification of the apparatus.

But if it is not a question now of the withering away of the state out of its highest intensification, there should be deep social contradictions which give rise to this pro-

cess. In what direction must we ook for them?

erators' organization, addressed the Polemizing in 1932 against the convention. But what is the real the attitude of the union. He warn- up in Washington, West Virginia, author of these lines in the columns significance of these declarations ed the delegates not to raise false and Nova Scotia. But the indepenof the Berliner Tageblatt, Radek of conciliation? Are they intended hopes back home that such desires dent union in the anthracite, headexplained to us with his usual play- to secure peace and harmony in the could be obtained. "We do not ed by Cappelini and Maloney has ulness that socialism means the mine camps with a filled pay en-wish to cripple the inustry or em- not differed essentially in its methnationalization of the means of pro- velope and a "full dinner pail" for barass the federal government or ods from the U. M. W. The soduction and distribution and noth- the miners? That is not the moing more, and that if working class tive. children do not get enough milk, The cringing pledge of these "in-

cording to Lewis. In glaring con- bureaucratic methods of expulsions this is explained by the scarcity of dustrial statesman" before the coal trast to these assurances, however, cows and not by the absence of so-operators is an effort to guarantee cialism. Despite all its captivating that there will be no fight for imsimplicity this theory is radically proved wages and working condi-

false. Socialism presupposes not tions made by the miners so that ter of these standardized panegyrics. already has such a harsh charac-only the nationalization of the Lewis may secure formal recogni-by using the powerful strike weameans of production but also the tion of the union and collect the ability of the latter to satisfy all check-off on the dues payments. official speeches and articles the human needs. Precisely because of The operators of the Pennsylvania

the productive forces. at his own game of vote stealing, It is true that social democrats intimidation, frame-ups, and bludmore arbitrary cleansings-is abso-strates irrefutably that the ruling drew from this proposition the re-geoning. They had told the NRA utely evident. All these phenom- bureaucracy obviously does not actionary conclusion that the Rus- labor board to keep hands off while, na in their entirety mean the lig- know how to make both ends meet sian proletariat must not take po- by these methods, they carried the

same conclusion for Germany of establishment of their company untrue, have attempted to present the 1918 as well and through the officers ion. Lewis did his best to betray machine mining aided this nefarious call forth their resistance against matter in such a way that the so- of Noske brought this admonishment the miners who struck for recogcialist growth of the country and forcefully to Karl Liebknecht and nition of the U. M. W. Now he 000 coal miners worked in and slavement. This resistance will rethe liquidation of the classes lead Rosa Luxemburg. But the conclu- promises that there will be no around the mines, there are now duce the deceptive conciliation and before our very eyes to the mitigal sions of the social democracy are strikes so that he may thereby obtion and weakening of purely state no less false than those of Radek. tain the check-off.

No Strike Assurances

(Continued from page 1)

But the convention went on re- have been created. There is today and for much more serious contests eral, for proletarian dictatorship in generally not very fortunate excur- extremely harmonious evolution cord for higher wages, for the six- an independent union in the an against the treacherous Lewis malegality, the Sixth party congress carticular, a course and norms of sions into the realm of theory, tried of social forms: having reached the hour work day and for the five-day thracite claiming 50,000 members; chine.

## Aasses Shake French Regime

**Another "Victory" for Lewis** 

The U.M.W.of A.Convention

(Continued from Page 1) of the equilibrium between the part of Stavisky's swindling appar-

The long pent-up discontent of proletariat and the real force of its tion in the Place de la Concorde was severely rebuked the careless young letariat to take power first, al. Camelots du Roi-an organization "sensible" socialist accounting it which the liberal French Republic would have been infinitely more has decade after decade permitted though smothered for a while, are advantageous for the proletariat of to plot openly its own destructionthe United States, England, or desired by a show of force to bring Germany to have taken power first. about a swing to the right in the

seized power in 1917 and not na- Bourbon camel which is eventually tionalized the means of production, to crowd out the republic. Russia would have been doomed to

on was the mood of the masses. By unadulterated Hitlerian doctrine to the thousands, workers hastened

However, the disproportions of to the Place de la Concorde to join petty bourgeois readers. Half a

and frame-ups of the Lewis machit is necessary to recall the fact ine. that never in history have any ser-However, the indomitable spirit ious gains been recorded by the miners except by fighting for them, of the rank and file coal miners has remained. It is due to their vitality and fighting ability that the U. pon. The most brilliant pages of Amer-M. W. has revived and today repreican labor history carry the story sents perhaps the strongest union this the old primers stated that captive mines, that is, the United of the valiant fight of the coal in the country. There are still

week. Yes, but on this point also, the Progressive Miners Union in

Lewis hastened the assurance that Illinois, which lays claim to 30,000

there would be no truculence in members. New unions have sprung

the recovery administration," he called progressive leaders of the

said-There must be no strikes, ac- Illinois union have adopted all the

miners. But they also record the great latent forces hidden within a certain level of development of ed Lewis that they could beat him innumerable betrayals perpetrated the smoke-filled mine fields. There by Lewis during the administration is no reason to believe that the policies which prevailed at this Incovering almost two decades. The Insurgent Unions dianapolis convention mark the in-

In 1925 he made his infamous auguration of a new epoch. On the proposal to drive 350,000 miners contrary. The spirit of rebellion wer in general. They came to the elections in their mines for the from the industry. The scourge of will again assert itself. The econunemployment and the increase of omic pressure upon the miners will plan. Where once upwards of 800,- the continuous and increased en-400,000 men employed. Many re- peace proposals to naught. In the volts against the Lewis regime mine fields are excellent prospects have occurred, and insurgent unions for new and more serious rebellions

-A. S.

(will tame the masses. This fierce (ed by Piatnitsky at the recent 13th reactionary was co-author of the Plenum continues its sectarian, disimperjalistic Franco-Czarist secret ruptive course. The two bureautreaty of 1917. He is an enemy of cracies togetchr manage to keep reform and democracy, and a profes- half the working class immobile

sional Red-baiter. while the other half throws away It is doubtful in the extreme, its energy in futile forays.

however, that Doumergue will suc-So apparent in this that the bourceed in stifling the rebellious mood geoisie indulges in complacency. of the oppressed French masses The World-Telegram remarks that "Whether successful or not," writes "there seems to be even less organithe liberal New York World-Telezation now than in the somewhat similar riots which resulted in the violence is the stuff of which revolushort-lived Red Commune of 1871." tion is made....An event of this though from the point of view of led by the scions of the nobility kind is never forgotten. It lights ment may be, revolutionaries can new flames of revolt which, even draw small comfort from the recent record of the French C. P. The likely to burst out with greater problem in France today is one of intensity later." speed: can the real revolutionary

With open reaction in the saddle leadership, and especially the Interin France, however, there will be nationalist-Communists, organize a more rapid and intensive devel powerful revolutionary party more opment of French Fascist trends. rapidly than the Fascists rally their L'Ami du Peuple, organ of millionblack hundred forces? The possi-What the Royalists did not count aire Senator Coty, is preaching an bility cannot be doubted. The task is posed.

its enormous body of discontented The coming of Doumergue to power, it must be added, has its imthe belated and jumpy economic and in the demonstration. Among them dozen Fascist grouplets contend for portance for the U. S. S. R. Under appeared in the dictatorship of the the "ingratitude of the Third Rep of reaction. Money will now flow ed its trust not in the forces of in

ruled by usurpation, not merely in fact but according to the letter of the statutes as well, not a voice of protest was raised in the party. For two reasons: (1) no one believes that the apparatus congress is capable of changing anything in the work of the ruling summits; (2) if any one would try, in his simplicity, to protest, he would immediately be expelled from the party. The "cleansing" which preceded the congress expelled tens of thousands of people for lesser sins. If in the classic period of Bolshevism a discussion lasting a number of weeks preceded the congress, the present congress was preceded by a bureaucratic cleansing which dragged out for a half a year. Under these conditions the congress will be a ponderous parade of the bureaucracy.

Liberals and social democrats have frequently drawn a very superficial analogy between Bolshevism and Fascism. The late Serrati, former leader of the Italian Maximalists and a Communist during the last years of his life, said to me in 1914: "To our shame, Mussolini learned more from the Bolsheviks than we did." It is not necessary to explain the irreconcilability of the aims which the two principal world currents serve: one wants to perpetuate decaying capitalist society by means of universal police-rule, the other wants to liquidate classes and states by methods of the revolutionary dictatorship, thus liberating society and the human being. But in the course of a combat mortal enemies frequently exchange weapons. The fact is that if in the struggle for power the Fascists have borrowed greatly from Bolshevism then in the last period the Soviet bureaucracy has familiarized itself with and battling army. many traits of victorious Fascism,

EDITORIAL sary improvements has opened

#### (Continued from page 1)

the door to the Stalinist to the dishonor of the workers to wreckers. The only way to elimaccept. An honest leadership inate this dangerous cancer is by worthy of the name will have no making the necessary corections need of being ashamed to organand then by dealing with the ize its ranks even for such an out-Stalinists in the only way percome if the conditions impose it missible to class conscious miliupon the workers. tants: by proving in objective dis-

. . . .

cussion and above all in practise, the superiority of the policies and But as matters stand now, the conduct of the union's leadership hope and prospect for a victory to the misleadership of the 18th remain unimpaired. It is neces-Street incompetents. sary, however, that the steps be taken which have been indicated For our own part, we stand with in these pages on several occathose who seriously pursue such a sions. The rank and file have course, and with no one else. And shown a superb spirit, a flawless although we represent only a minsolidarity, a gratifying militancy. ority in the ranks of the Amalg-There is no doubt that even more amated, we are ready to cooperhouses can be pulled out on strike ate with all the progressive and and the movement extended still militant forces in the union who further. And this is just what are marching in the same direcmsut be done at once to assure tion because they, like we, are victory. But for this, the imconcerned only with the advanceprovements in the organization ment of the interests of the workand direction of the strike are ers and their strike. Especially essential prerequisites.

a labor strike is the last place The leadership is the decisive in which a faction monopoly or problem. It must prove capable of organizing and coordinating the work, of drawing in all progressive forces, of discarding all narrow and clique tendencies, of inspiring the workers with selfconfidence, of sharpening and extending the demonstrations and picket lines by heightening the morale, of instilling the workers at the daily mass meetings with the knowledge and spirit which alone can make them a cohesive

Any failure to make the neces-

revolutionary underground. the inquitation of cluster which edge to think that the control its apparatus and er class distinctions and exploita-right to control its apparatus and er class distinctions and exploita-tion in the torces of into give it instructions for the fu- tion" as well. In the conditions engendered by personal bad tastes en on an unrecognizable form. The than join the demonstration. They Comite des Forges more generously two years after the 15th (January nothing more to do. The struggle plains nothing. In reality the dei-1928) but two and a half years regainst external dangers would re- fication of the leader is a necessary far behind by the advanced capitalafter, that is, already in violation quire, of course, also in a social- element of the present political re- ist countries especially if reckoned country, to become a thundering pro- ed, Fascism, the reaction a la mode of the new statutes. Finally, be st society, a powerful military or gime of the U. S. S. R. Since the on a per capita basis. From this test against political corruption, is being prepared. tween the 16th and the 17th con-ganization but by no means inter-workers are denied the possibility follow, despite the "liquidation of economic collapse and relentless months that the Central Committee he causes disappear the consequ-necessary to solve state problems. great theoretical confusion of the groups, the government had little leaders.

\* \* \* \*

Socialism, that is a society of mass which boldly went head-on ing-off of Fascism would be as is again exposed. harmonious production and distri- against armed and mounted soldi- futile and deceptive as it proved Once again it is demonstrated all the children should drink milk from that of the reaction.

and individual peasants, between

various layers of the proletariat, reaucracy. Precisely these sharp constant conflicts which take on

(Continued from page 1) inevitably a social, and in their tendencies, a class character, de- them and the companies against mand the powerful intervention them.

from above, that is, state coercion. When La Guardia saw the tor-Sometimes, we see how a fight rent he attempted to unload responabout milk leads to a malicious de-sibility before his own bourgeois struction of dairy cattle, and this and petty bourgeois supporters and forces the government authorities hamstring the movement. He advisto de-nationalize the cow, giving it ed the men to affiliate with the A. went on strike. Terminals and Before this maneuver was put back to the peasants as private F. of L. and made efforts to secure property. Only very recently the intervention of Green himself. government found itself obliged for As a result of his "help" Gailbraith the same reasons to transfer the of the A. F. of L. Philadelphia Taxihorses to life-time use of the peas- men's Union was sent to New York fered to pay two dollars apiece a Ave. buses as the point of attack. ants. The real key to the puzzle as general organizer of the stirke. of bureaucratic omnipotence lies in At the same time La Guardia if the union would agree to their ed positive gains for the taxi men these simple facts. We say, and called in Morris L. Ernst of the working. not at all for paradox's sake, that American Civil Liberties Union to if certain ancient religions, also be- act as mediator. Ernst arranged a cause of insufficiency of cattle, bas- number of meetings. The fruit of independents were out on the streets strike to the extent that it has ed themselves on the bull Apis, the his efforts was a "settlement" which that would be a powerful lever in made it difficult for most and imposreligion of bureaucratic sovereignty said nothing about the recognition the hands of the bosses to break sible for some diners to reach the bases itself on the cow-not on the of the union, minimum wages or the strike. They sacrificed the money hotels. It has set an inspiring examone that exists, but on the one maximum hours. In addition the and voted for "no cabs on the ple of working class militancy and that is lacking.

exhausted by milk, it only begins tory. The men voted down this with milk and bread. The contra-"settlement" and demonstrated special article. -L. TROTSKY. pendents to divide the ranks. An perfidious sell-out aranged by La taxi drivers will not be the last. January 20, 1984.

and treaties with bourgeois governto give it instructions for the full des voils in the conditions engendered by personal bad tastes of on an uncondition the formed its political character. Itan before. While the liberal ments. The Stalinists have argued 1930) however, was convened not to create, state power will have purely psychologic explanation ex- develop now in a nationalized form From an expression of Royalist reunmitigated evil from the revolutionary viewpoint, since "it threw Poland and France into our arms." With a fierce Communist-hunter

To trust in such a situation to in the saddle of France, and behind tween the foll and the fifth con-ballaction of in the saddle of France, and benind gresses three and two-thirds years al government coercion, not a re- of re-electing and directing their classes", the social contradictions exploration of the French him the steel trust, whose handy are build by the social contractions and would be Fascist people" the democratic traditions man, Tardieu, may become Doumof 1789", the parliamentary opposi | ergue's Foreign Minister, the illuto fear. But in the close-packed tion of the Socialists, for the headsory nature of Stalinist diplomacy

> bution, presupposes at any rate that ery, there moved a different spirit to be in Germany. The Socialist that only the revolutionary prole-Party of France continues to work tariat of France can help restrain to their heart's content. If the Hence the launching of cavalry to hold back the workers of the French capitalism from launching cows are nationalized but their and machine gunners against the country from militant extra-parla against the Soviet Union a Franconumber is insufficient, or their demonstrators, hence the press cen- mentary struggle, And the Com- Russian-Polish army of intervention udders dry, it is still not socialism, sorship and suspension of civil munist Party of France, having under the leadership of Adolf Hitbecause for lack of milk conflicts liberties. And hence the calling to learned nothing from the German ler, whom Leon Trotsky long ago arise: between the city and village, power of Doumergue, "the strong catastrophe or from the steady de- characterized as "the super-Wranbetween the Kolkhoses, Sovkhoses man", who the bourgeoisie hopes, cline in its own membership report-lgel" of counter revolution.

> the Committee of Thirteen which between all the toilers and the bar The Significance of the Taxi Strike the conducted the negotiations for the strikers. The terms of ths sell-out

> > one cab. The five-cent tax question are the worst imaginable. The did not affect them as it went into question of union recognition which their pockets. They are likewise in- has became the crucial one in the different to the hours and wage strike is not even mentioned. The question. In short they are petty wages and hours question is ignorbourgeois individualists. Consequ- ed. The accumulated tax money is ently they were and are eager to referred to the future for distribureap the harvest of fares that they tion. The men get absolutely nothsaw when the company drivers ing.

> > piers reserved to the company cabs over on the men they tried to spread by contract were now inviting them the strike to other sectors of transto come in and render "service to portation. They chose the bus the public". The independents of drivers and conductors of the Fifth day into the treasury of the union The strike has already recordand the entire labor movement. It

But the strikers saw through this stiffened the morale of the hotel scheme. They realized that if the strikers, and it has helped their proposed distribution of the accum- streets." And forthwith they re- will undoubtedly be an impetus to The problem is, of course, not ulated tax money was unsatisfac- paired to the streets to translate other workers to struggle against the vote into reality. their intolerable conditions. And It is not clear exactly how the what is of paramount importance dictions pass through the whole what they thought of it on the Socialist Panken got into the strike for the taxi drivers; win or lose system of economy and of social streets against the scab drivers. and how he became one of its they will come out of this strike relations. The question, however, But the nub of the boss strategy spokesmen. But one thing is cer- with a union. We are also sure of is too complicated and requires a was the attempt to use the inde-tain; he is a partner to the latest another thing. This strike of the

independent is the owner-driver of Guardia, Ernst and some people on

-T. STAMM.

clique tendencies can be permitted. Their continued existence can only prove fatal, because they A genuinely collective direction of the strike, a heightened note

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with the organization of the work, a sober approach to the prospective outcome of the. strugglethese problems, at the end of the second week, now stand out, full of promise that their solution will mean the triumph of the workers and their union!

are an insidious poison. of militancy, a serious concern