

Toledo, June 6 .- The auto work- possible announcement of the geners' strike was settled yesterday by eral strike the next night, since treaty has been drawn up which another has been resorted to in the a signed agreement between the Roosevelt would take time to an- retains the Guantanamo naval base. past, and will be resorted to in the committee of the United Automo-swer the appeal.

bile Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18364 and the Electric Autolite Company, and two smaller companies. Main points of the agreement are:

in the contract and the bosses are committed to deal with its commitrecent auto settlement establishing ing the troops from strike duty, and tee. This is important because the the Auto Labor Board made union recognition practically impossible and provided proportional represen-dication of the powerful growth of tation on workers' bargaining committees for company unions. The victory of the Toledo auto workers on Wednesday there appeared Arwas gained on this point by the fact that the union refused to deal carrying an attack on the Toledo with the Auto Labor Board. This reopens the issue of union recognition throughout the auto industry. 2. No discrimination against union members and representatives. All who walked out to be rehired, but those who did not walk out are also rehired. Men to go back within one week. In lay-offs, the first to go will be those not on the payroll Feb. 23-when the first strike began-that is, the scabs.

3. 5% increase for all workers, Mooney Appeal and a minimum of 5% above code minimums, which means from 12-17% increase for women, who were being paid below code minimums.

4. The worst feature of the agreement is that the union is committed not to strike until the clause,

the company on Sunday that those week. The company was able to ment. The date of his death will method. make this outrageous move only be- also be placed as during the great widespread resentment against the new possibilities for the taking up ica. In this sense it will strengthen

one of the main causes of friction A. F. of L. Leaders Force Retreat On Tuesday, two days before

1. Indirect recognition of the tried to clear himself by blaming modify these antagonisms and place its own nationals or their property is scheduled to begin on June 16 time the steel workers, counting a an hour for common labor with 1. Indirect recognition of the Sheriff Krieger and his deputies modify these antagonisms and place in case the territorial government unless the NRA administration, total of nearly 450,000 throughout corresponding increases for other plant. This was followed on States give up its rights under the matter bluntly and clearly. Thursday by an order withdraw- Platt Amendment and what effects will this have in Latin American the troops began leaving town relations?

Friday morning. A significant inworkingclass feeling is the fact revolution. Although unable to that, while throughout the country reach the goal of a Soviet government, the Cuban revolution was thur Brisbane's column "Today", powerful enough to shake to the very foundation the rule of the exauto strikers and pointed remarks ploiters in Cuba. The few reforms on the use of the army against radgranted in Cuba, and the disconicals, the anti-labor Toledo Blade tinuing of the Platt Amendment are deleted all references to the strik measures of the American imperialers and the army from Brisbane's ists, in conjunction with the native column. Meanwhile, from the day exploiters, to prevent the rekindling on which the strikers and sympaof the revolutionary fires and prethizers had penned in the scabs in vent it from spreading and consumthe Auto-Lite plant, on May 23, the ing everything dear to the capital-

(Continued on Page 4) ists and landowners. Under the cover of this the bitter persecution of the revolutionists can be contin-

ued more effectively. The abrogation of the Platt Am-Goes to the U.S. endment alters nothing fundamentally regarding American imperialism's position on intervention in Supreme Court Latin America. From a tactical

standpoint, however,—and this is highly significant—it will have a Governor Rolph of California is ment. Fortunately, renewal of the tius Pilate is sure of a place in States. This forced concession on agreement is not compulsory. By history. Two acts of his insured the part of the United States is 30 days notice before its expiration, that. One was his approval of passed off as a magnanimous deed the union may cancel the renewal lynching. The other his refusal of and as a new policy toward Latin a pardon to Tom Mooney. Without America. It is part of a new pol-The agreement was nearly any further information, future his licy; a new policy of greater penewrecked by an announcement by torians will be able to estimate tration and domination of Latin

correctly the status of "justice" in America by American imperialism, who did not walk out would be the California in these years, the class not through the clumsy big stick first to go back to work, and the division in society, and the weak- method, but by a more subtle and

The friends of Roosevelt should cause the scheduled general strike, longshoremen's strike of 1934, also call this another master stroke First of all the existence of the pearance of the Militant. the threat of which had been hang- which along with the Toledo and of Roosevelt diplomacy. It will aping over their heads, had been with- Minneapolis strikes is indicative of pease a large section of the nationdrawn definitely on Saturday by the the rise of a new militancy and a al bourgeousie of Cuba and will Central Labor Union. However, solidarity of the strikers and the ment of America. New hopes arise, bourgeoisie throughout Latin Amer-

The Platt Amendment has been future. The New York Times in an edi-

and hatred against the United torial of May 31 says, "But it re

States in Cuba and throughout the mains true with or without a treaty, the Roosevelt appeal, Mayor whole of Latin America. Now it the American Government may law- sibly of larger proportions than the deal.

—Н. О.

This concession to Latin America League in Campaign to Build Organization and Press

Expansion of the League and Militant must be secured. Funds doubtedly, if the steel strike actuconsolidation of its press is now an are needed to secure its regular ap ally takes place, which at this mo-Tighe. They elected a special comimperative necessity. Great oppor-pearance and to make possible to ment seems quite certain, thousands mittee of ten members composed tunities for this are at hand but we obtain more material directly from of unorganized workers in the in- largely of union district leaders to must find the means with which to the life of the class struggle with dustry will join the union in its be in charge of the presentation of take advantage of them. Minneapolis is setting the pace. etical standard.

Following the successful strike in We must have organizers in the production industries which depend which the League played such a field to strengthen and further build upon iron and steel. splendid role the branch has started the League. We have just finished a campaign to draw recruits from one national tour. Organizers are

amongst the militants who were in available, eager to take up their the strike and bring them into our duty. But we lack funds. For us organization. They are engaged in this is a vital problem. Funds Strike on Pacific a campaign to extend the circula- have become an imperative need. tion of the Militant. Hence our appeal is directed to the With the appearance of the theor- readers of the Militant. Can we etical organ on July first, serious enlist your assistance?

steps are also under way to popu-| Coupon books of ten cent coupons, larize the Militant, to make it a ten in each book, have been preexpiration of the six months' agree-dead. His name like that of Pon-favorable effect for the United more effective mass agitation paper. pared to help obtain the funds for

We are thus beginning to make this campaign. These coupons we good on our program of expansion. ask you to sell amongst your friends Our subscription campaign for the and sympathizers. Will you for-Militant went over the top. A new ward one dollar for a coupon book? membership drive is being under- If you have not the dollar now will taken by the branches from coast you send for one or more coupon to coast. The first new branch in books and settle as they are sold? this drive is organized in Richmond. With your cooperation our campaign can be put over. If every California.

But at this point we must ad- reader responds, as militants should strikers would follow during the ness of the American labor move- more clever, but just as deadly dress a serious word to our mem- do, we will get organizers in the bers, sympathizers and readers. We field, we will expand the League, need your help in this campaign. and we will secure the regular ap-



Ernst Thaelmann is to be put now infamous Reichstag fire trial. such statements by new and tresh ample, from the captive mines of brough a farcical trial by the The three new Commens area and tresh by strengthening the Pennsylvania word has come to the through a farcical trial by the The three non-Germans were per-picket lines and by tightening the union that the coal-miners there

Mighty Attack on Company Union Fortress Planned

A nation-wide steel strike pos-last minute measure to put over a for union recognition and the right of collective bargaining, the 30-Klotz, sensing the rising tide, is hoped that the new treaty will fully intervene in Cuba to protect strike of 1919 is in preparation. It Over a considerable period of hour week, six-hour day, one dollar

for the violence at the Auto-Lite light. But why does the United is unable to do so." That states the President Roosevelt, and the labor the country, have demanded ever grades of work. Failure to meet lieutenants of capitalism in the more persistently a showdown on these demands were to result in a union succeeds by some desperate the right to have a union. Thus a nation-wide strike. Needless to say, mighty attack upon this fortress of the steel trust flatly refused to even

company unionism is in the mak- consider these demands. ing. The union in the industry, the At a union convention held not Amalgamated Association of Iron, very long ago the delegates in their Steel, and Tin Workers, has seen overwhelming majority insisted on its ranks swelled with new recruits this program and carried it through joining in large numbers. Many over the heads of the union officials determined militants are coming headed by Mike Tighe. These deleforward demanding action. Un-gates however did not entrust the execution of this program to Mike

out the weakening of its high theor- fight, not to speak of the likelihood the demands and to be in charge of of this strike engulfing other mass all preparations for strike.

But the preparations are not at

On May 21 the union presented its demands. These demands were



Oakland, Calif., May 26. --- The West Coast longshoremen's strike is entering a new phase. Both the ship owners and the unions are preparing for a long and bitter struggle. Recently new forces to augment the police have been recruited in almost all west coast dities; the recruits coming mostly from the ranks of the war veterans. These new additions to the forces of "law and order" are being used to drive the picket lines back from

the water front, in an attempt to crush the strike.

not ask for mediation. It resents even such interference. It prepares in its own way. Governor Pinchot. for example, reports that "the steel companies are arming with machine-guns, barbed wire, etc." Here we have a private empire with its own hired thugs and gunmen. It speaks in the terms of force-of armed force. It understands no other language. But there need be little doubt that following upon the heels of the Minneapolis and Toledo battles the steel workers will also have learned to understand the mighty power which rests in their mass numbers. A splendid example of militancy has been set for them. Most likely they will not be slow to learn, and it can be said with little fear of contradiction that the most gripping events in the present strike wave are still to be recorded.

all one-sided. The steel trust does

The Fear of the Strike Spreading

In face of these armed prepara-The San Francisco Chamber of tions the fear is growing neverthe-Commerce boldly declares that it is less amongst the agents of privi-So far the unions have answered all spread to other industries. For ex-

many, due to the killings of a by the militia, forced the company oners. to back down.

general strike was abandoned by America for funds for his appeal America. the A. F. of L. leadership, despite through the courts. We urge our At the same time the new treaty before the settlement for the what you can and forward money Monroe Doctrine insures American Auto-Lite plant was agreed to to the Mooney Defense Committee. Negotiations are still being carried Mooney's statement follows in part: rest of Latin America. The new on, but the bosses are now negotiating with no danger of a general My Dear Readers of The Militant:

strike facing them.

The general strike was origin-New York City, John F. Finerty of ally called for five weeks ago, Washington, D. C. and George T. when the auto workers were Davis of San Francisco, filed my already on strike. Evidence was application for a writ of habeas produced before the Central Labor corups in the United States District Union then to show that the Toledo Court for Northern California, at Manufacturers Association was San Francisco on the 7th day of planning a concerted attack to de-May 1934. stroy the trade union movement in

Toledo. The call for the general strike was the answer. Every union in Toledo was to set up its specific demands and all unions were to strike simultaneously.

Ask for Governmental Intervention

held Friday evening. June 1, ending tion.

on by T. N. Taylor, personal repre- tion.

sentative of William Green, pushed

through a motion in the Central

merican imperialism in its strugstriker and a sympathizer last week of Mooney and all class war pris- gle for greater hegemony over Nazis. Hitler will demand that the mitted to go to the Soviet Union. strike generally. "Peoples' Court", his newly organ- Torgler was kept imprisoned, where America. It will be worthwhile

It the meantime, Mooney from propaganda against the rising wave ized tribunal, finds Thaelmann he remains today, to await a charge ing role in this work and served to ing automobile manufacturers have his cell in San Quentin sends out of anti-American and anti-imperial-guilty of sedition and terrorism and of sedition.

Toledo, June 4.— The scheduled a call to the working class of ist discontent in Cuba and in Latin condemn him to death. able vote of the local unions, and ganize parties, affairs . . . donate of American imperialism and the triends or legal counsel; such has ing class in their defense.

reaty provides for the naval base and so far as the right of interven- torious failure to frame up Torgler, workers in their defense! Forge local union pushed through at a re- going to see a fumble this time like tion is concerned imperialism needs Dimitrov, Tanev and Popoff. The the united front against capitalist My Attorneys, Frank P. Walsh of four were found not guilty in the reaction and Fascism! no written permissions.

Socialist Party Adopts "Militant" Position At Detroit National Convention

Detroit, June 4. - The national The New "Declaration of Princ-|waged a furious struggle against sizes in a most direct sense the im- they have good grounds for this op-If the United States District Court denies this writ it will be appealed to the United States Cir-convention of the Socialist Party, iples", which was carried by a vote the resolution. Denouncing it as perative need of all militants be-position. cuit Court of Appeals, and then the which concluded its sessions here of 99 to 47 (10,822 to 6,512 accord- "an anarchistic illegal doctrine", coming participants in the mass United States Supreme Court, if last night, recorded a definite ing to membership represented) Louis Waldman of New York de unions. If this line is permitted to con-

shifting of the party to the left-evades the central questions of the clared: "It is inconceivable to me The initial expenses for this legal following the main tendency of in-state and revolution and the strug-how I can remain a Social Demo-tinue the whole strike front will be are under way indicate determinathat is necessary. However, during the last two work places a tremendous burden ternational social democracy, Cen-gle against war with ambiguous crat and vote for this declaration." weakened by the pulling away of tion by the steel workers union. weeks nothing was said about of raising \$5,000 upon my defense trism has replaced social reformism formulations sufficiently elastic to In a voice quavering with indig. the demands to be raised by each committee for briefing the great as the official policy of the party. admit of different and contradictory nation and amazement at the sug-

The "Militants" combined with interpretations, and they were so gestion of a possible violation of Workers Industrial Union. union. Then Oliver Meyers, busi-wealth of material in this eighteen ness agent of the Electrical Work-year old case, stenographic, typing Norman Thomas and the Milwaukee interpreted in the debate by various the rules of class warfare laid down Longshoremen Stand Ground ers Union of the Edison workers, and other clerical help, office rent, group against the New York "Old speakers, and to attract the com- by the capitalists, Waldman shout-On May 31, in coast-wise Australwho took the general strike plan supplies, printing and binding of Guard" to pass a diluted "Declar-bined support of pacifists, Munici-ed: "How can a party dedicated to ian ballot the striking longshoremen seriously and immediately, led his briefs, postage, telegrams, telephone ation of Principles" and elect a pal Socialists and those who peaceful and legal struggle speak in more than twenty cities on the strike. Strong forces are at work union in an onslaught on the Edison and transportation and traveling slate to the National Executive consider themselves revolutionary of mass resistance to war?" Greet-Pacific Coast gave an emphatic no ed by a storm of boos from the gal-as their answer to the manoeuvers company, was removed from the expenses for at least one of the at- Committee. The age at which mem- Marxists.

chairmanship of the committee of torneys, all of whom have volun-bers of the Young Peoples' Socialist The leaders of the "Militants", lery, in which many delegates of the union Tighe, is applying all the cunning 23 preparing the general strike, and teered their services without fee. League (Yipsels) may enter the the principal sponsors of the declar- joined, Waldman declared, "I will president Ryan, and voted to stand in his possession to accomplish this was replaced by a little-known con- This whole program will be in party was lowered from 21 to 18, ation, appealed to the authority of stand all the boos, and also agree was replaced by a fittle-known con- this whole program will be in party was lowered from 21 to 16, atton, appealed to the authority of stand and the soos, and and the soos and the soos, and the soos an ward to take the rap for the fail- this indispensable sum. This emer- young Socialists into the party. On and explained the stand taken on may be indicted on the basis of this measure they added that the rest ure to go on with the general strike. gency compels me to plead with the trade union question the Cen- the question of war as a re-state- resolution." This was the strain of all the ions must also be met.

The committee of 23, under Mey- you for a donation to be used ex- trists capitulated to the Old Guard ment of the St. Louis resolution of ers' leadership, had arranged for a clusively for expenses directly con- and all criticism of the A. F. of L. 1917. As before stated, the posi-arguments of the extreme right. Be During the week the strike spread monster torchlight parade to be nected with this Federal Court Ac-leadership-the heart of the trade tion of the Revolutionary Policy careful-or we will all be arrested. to the shipyards where the machin-"irresponsible" and "representing union resolution-was stricken out. Committee was not brought for- In speech after speech they strove ists and the riggers unions in the nobody but themselves". He knows. As for the Revolutionary Policy ward. One delegate, Peter Fagin to incite fear of consequences and autory parts of San Francisco and nevertheless, that this committee

Square at which the date of the warmest personal regards, best Committee, its independent resolu- of Michigan, protested against "the demanded the restriction of the sogeneral strike would be announced. fraternal greetings and heartfelt tions on the principle questions Centrist steam roller which pre- cialist struggle to the framework walk-out.

The night before the parade, the thankful appreciation for any con- were never brought to the conven- vented the left wing from being of bourgeois democracy. This, said local A. F. of L. bureaucracy, egged sideration shown this communica- tion floor, despite the readiness of heard" and several other delegates Panken, was a fundamental quesa group of left wing delegates to filed similar declarations with their tion, and collectively they rejected and police. The strikers armed union. How closely the committee a proposal to offer amendments on solely with their fists, bricks from will stick to the program adopted at support them. The R.P.C. traded votes for the adopted resolution. off its independent position for a The "Old Guard", on the other this or that paragraph. "We are a wrecked building and other such the union convention remains to be Address all communication and seat on the National Executive hand, which stands pat on "Demo- confronted here", said his Honor impromptu weapons stood their seen. Carrying out its mandate Roosevelt to intervene. This was make all funds payable to the Tom Committee for one of its leaders, cratic Socialism" of the European the Judge, "with a fundamental ground well against tear gas, buck- the committee is duty-bound to lead

voted for a general strike! The ap- tee, P. O. Box 1475, San Francisco, Such are the main results of the cessions whatever to the tragic Do we want to abandon the demo-(Continued on Page 3) outcome in Germany and Austria,

can be expected to make common Communists have played a lead- cause with the steel workers. Leadstrengthen the militancy, the morale been in conference with the NRA The victims of Hitlerism, irre- and the organization of the strike administration. They know that The trial has been postponed for spective of their party affiliations, Of course the scare head editorials the automobile workers are restless months. Solitary confinement, bar- are our class comrades. It is our in the Western Worker are entirely and discontented with the sell-out the persistent demand and favor readers to support his plea . . . or combined with the economic might baric torture, complete isolation from elementary duty to arouse the work-unreal. Moreover, the official settlement put over on them before. party's T.U.U.L. policy now begins From this so-called settlement the been the treatment of Thaelmann Symbolic of the anti-Fascists at to come into serious conflict with steel workers union have already domination not only in Cuba but the by the murderous Fascist regime. the present moment are Thaelmann the unity and with the success of learned one valuable lesson. The Nazis feared to put Thael- and Torgler. Support the move- the strike. There is the first indi- Spokesmen for the committee of mann on trial following their no- ment for their freedom! Arouse the cation in the resolution of the I.L.A. ten have declared : "We are not

> cent meeting stating that only A. F. the auto strike was fumbled." They of L. Unions would be considered say that they are against mediain the strike settlement. This strike tion of the steel board such as was breaking maneuver was successful set up in the auto industry. They only because of the incorrect line say that they are against any proof the official party. Its fatal T.U. posals for an election to be held U.L. policy cannot at all meet the in the steel industry to determine splitting attacks of the reactionary the rights of the workers to trade union officials. It plays di- belong to a union. After the exrectly into their hands and empha-periences in the Weirton elections

Will the Union Fight it Out?

So far so good. The statements made and the preparations which

to union recognition and improved wages and working conditions, but through the mobilization of the steel workers in a nation-wide to divert the steel workers off this path. The union president, Mike create dissension in the union. in addressing himself to the National

Labor Board, he characterizes the members of the committee of ten as vention. Even the steel trust knows

pre-Hitler type and makes no con- cleavage of philosophy and theory. shots, sawed-off shot guns, police this struggle to its final conclusion,

done after 95 out of 96 locals had Mooney Molders' Defense Commit- Franz Daniel of Pennsylvania. peal to Roosevelt, as the capitalist California.

with a meeting in Courthouse Please accept in advance my

Sincerely.

Detroit Convention.

(Continued on page 4)

in the steel industry.

THE MILTANT

Gains in Frisco



The Stalinist United Front with God

AGE 2

I don't know whether you would or from below, or whether it was just a working arrangement with a "rank and file god", but anyhow on Memorial Day there it was. First marched comrade, or should we call him "Father" Tallentyre and also "marched" Father Divine, the "rank and file God" in an expensive

limousine, and behind him came his golden wings, eyes turned to Heavonstration. The Daily Worker re- their employees, etc., etc." ports that 15,000 youth marched. Even taking into account the Stal

inist method of estimating parades, there is still something wrong. 15,-000 youth! Unless the majority of the paraders were followers of the new God and have been "born again of the water and the spirit" they couldn't be called youth by any The stretch of the imagination. Daily Worker reports that Father Divine's contingent comprised 3,000 marchers. I don't know about that, but I do know that the intelligent and class-conscious Negro supporters of Communism turned away in disgust when they saw the Stalinists elevating Father Divine and his hoodwinked fanatical following into partnership in the Y.C.L. demonstration against War and Fascism.

We can well believe Father Di vine's boast that he made converts from the Stalinist ranks. If one is ready to accept Earl Browder as the brilliant, masterly, etc., etc. leader who cast "a spell over the convention (Olgin) it requires scarcely more than another step on the same path to hail Father Divine as God and God as peace, and wave the arms and shout "Oh, its wonderful!"

* * * * Trotsky, Thaelmann, and Stool-Pigeons

The Daily Worker of May 31st publishes the following : "The Tage- Schwab, chairman of the Bethlehem blatt which is the bitter enemy of drew as salary \$150,000 in 1929, Communism reports: 'The man who and \$250,000 in 1931, 1932, and is building up the 'evidence' against 1933; E. G. Grace, president of the Thaelmann is the same one who 'discovered' the Trotsky affair. Go- \$297,796 in 1931 and \$180,000 in ing under the name of Karody . . he is actually the foreign specialist lor, chairman of U.S. Steel got of the Political Police. . . ."

"... the social democrats continue indeed. to act as police stool-pigeons, as-

The steel industry today is prac-, issues, June 29 and July 6, 1933, tically a synonym for imperialism. foreshadow the decision in the Virtually all of modern economy Weirton case. (Emphasis in Iron radiates from this huge monopoly. Age.)

The world hegemony of Yankee im-The workers and capitalists are perialism is to be seen in the fact both "free"; they have "equal call it the united front from above that Great Britain, France and rights." "Between equal rights, Germany combined can turn out force decides." The workers must only two thirds as many steel and therefore depend upon their own iron products as the United States. strength and upon this alone. Modern conditions of production have Tugging at the roots of the Amer-

welded them into a vast compact ican capitalist giant, therefore, the pending steel strike finds titanic army. The power to win is theirs if they maintain unbroken ranks. forces girding for battle.

The capitalists, in their press angels dressed in yellow robes and have opened up their light artillery: "The great majority of the en, dancing along the street to the employees in the steel works do not chant: "Father Divine is God, Fa- want to strike . . . The only threat ther Divine is God!" Believe it or comes from union leaders. No isnot, this was the Young Communist sue exists between the steel com-League's National Youth Day Dem- panies and the great majority of

> A glance at the available figures, census figures the 419,000 employees which are notoriously conservative, in the iron and steel industry wages increased 9.7 per cent. Durat all during 1931 (33.7% unemployed), the remaining 278,000 earning an average of \$1,290 (a 26% pay-cut). The U.S. Steel Corporation (Poor's Manual, 1933, p. 947) had, including all its subsidiaries, 203,674 employees in 1931, of whom only 53,619 worked full time, 150,-055 part time. The average earnings for the year was \$1,310, a 29% cut from the 1929 figure. In 1932 the number of employed had shrunk to 158,032 (66,948 totally unemployed) of which only 18,938 (1 employee out of every 12 who worked in 1929) worked full time. The

Institute. average wages for the year were \$847, a 55% reduction from 1929.

What Did the Owners Get Hardly anything needs be added o these figures to show why the

workers must have become conation

"No issue exists between the stee companies and the great majority of the employees (?)" Yet, while

the thousands starved Charles holders. same company, \$1,633,653 in 1929,

same old deck for labor. 1932 and 1933; and Myron C. Tay-

\$209,361 in 1929, \$241,357 in 1931, The Daily Worker goes on to say, and \$197,203 in 1932. "No issue" In the coming struggles the work-

Perhaps it would be well for the trolled by 32 companies, which own localities where hitherto the League been expressed from a Winnipeg Labor College was broken by the was such a pleasant place, such a Daily Worker to remember that or control, in addition to the steel had never held a public meeting. had never held a public meeting. To cite a few examples will serve the second of the grew increasingly irascible, the weekly forum of the grew i specialist "discovered" the case lines, cement plants etc. According to indicate how vast are the possi-Rouge an industrial outskirt of the 10:20 time, but statistical and and playing too. against Trotsky that it was Earl to the figures submitted by the Iron bilities of rebuilding the movement Rouge, an industrial outskirt of the 10:30 time, but at midnight, and in the United States on a truly city, where over 100 proletarians then only because the lights were election was close at hand, perhaps Browder in this country and similar and Steel Institute (the "union" of Stallnist bureaucrats elsewhere who sfeel capitalists) to the steel code revolutionary basis. actively participated in a lecture finally shut out. The lively discus Mr. Weir will relax in an easy Arab masses in a fictitious struggle and a following discussion on the sion of the more than 300 in atten- chair and await the returns with against British imperialism in the continued to act as stool-pigeons as- authority, the average number of sisting the Fascists in their cam- employees in the steel industry Tonawanda and North Tonawanda and North Tonawanda and North Tonawanda Collapse of official Communism and dance can be pictured from this confidence. But no, not Mr. Weir. role of expropriating the Arab in paign of slander against the Inter- proper during the years 1929 and are twin cities a few miles north social reformism. At a fifth meet- fact alone. Our first meeting there Sandwiches and beer was only part favor of the Jew. It permits the 1930 was 341,622. Of this number of Buffalo. We have one lone com- ing, held privately, a branch of the was a bull's eye. Exactly the same of his program. What guarantee Jewish bourgeoisie to foist a fake national working class leader. The "slander" attributed to the 262,508 or 76.8% were employed by rade doing the spade work there— Social Democratic Deutsche Freibeit was this: "Thaelmann possess- bution among them being as fol-substantial labor movement. and active representatives of the active C.P. militants, and in highly sure that the workers would not es neither the intellectual qualities lows: U. S. Steel, 40%; Bethlehem Through the efforts of this pioneer, Communist movement in Winnipeg industrial Richmond, where virtu-"bite the hand that fed them", our nor the character qualities demand- Steel, 13%; Republic Steel, 6.5%; a meeting was arranged by the lo- for years, comrades Pat McKeown ally the whole C.P. unit turned out "generous host" stationed guardians ed of a leader for the German work- Jones and Laughlin, 5.1%; Youngs- cal unemployed organization, or and Cecil Spence, both of whom are to listen. Both in Frisco and Rich- of the law near the ballot boxes ing class." If this statement is a town Sheet and Tube, 4.8%; Na-ganized largely by him, which was in active leadership of an imposing mond, the C.P. distributed scurril- and in their hands he placed genering class." If this statement is a town once and thus, how, he attended by well over a hundred unemployed movement, and a num-stool-pigeon' act what words can tional Steel, 4.1%; and Wheeling attended by well over a hundred unemployed movement, and a numbe found to characterize the slimy Steel, 3.3%. This concentration is workers. Most of those present ber of active militants in the us in an effort to counteract the a helping hand to any worker who interview of Earl Browder on Trot- further increased by the fact that were in the organization as their Ukrainian labor movement who favorable sentiment. In the former might go astray. sky to the capitalist press. Every some of the companies listed here first connection with any form of have broken conclusively with Stal- city, a counter-meeting was ar-A Serious Struggle is Impending last word in the D. W. article in- as independents are subsidiaries of the labor movement. Nevertheless inism. A number of more intimate ranged by the party for the pur-During the last strike the methcluding those on Norman Thomas the others. Only one fact is re they followed through attentively discussions held during the stay pose of "exposing Mr. Shachtman"; ods the company used to whip the applies with double force to the quired to complete the picture: J. the presentation of the Communist there resulted in the establishment if their efforts at "exposure" at our workers into submission was noth-P. Morgan and several of his part- League position on the problem of of close, promising connections with meeting proper is anything to go ing short of scandalous. In order Stalinists themselves. p. Morgan and several of his part unemployment, and though jobless, several other militants who are by, their own meeting must have to discredit the union the yellow the financial agent of the corpora- indicated their sympathy with a prominently associated with an ac- been a saddening spectacle. papers shouted that the Amalga-Radek and the League of Nations good financial response. One of the tive and formidable anti-Fascist The meetings which the hooligans mated supported gambling and present results of the meeting and present results of the meeting in the diverse of the tive and formidable anti-fascist The meetings which the hooligans tion is-J. P. Morgan and Co. significant results of the meeting organization in the city. If the disrupted in Los Angeles has al-racketeering and that it must "Radek writes on the history of was the invitation extended to the unforgettable traditions of Winni-ready been referred to. But after therefore be smashed. In order to On Whom Can the Workers Rely League of Nations. Fascism drops out and takes leading role in War If the workers have illusions as speaker, comrade Shachtman, to peg are to be re-established in strug-all, that is only half the story. The fill the city with special police the preparations."—Headline and sub-to any support they might get from address the forthcoming district gle, and they shall be, our young meeting which remained unmolested company raised the cry that the bead, Daily Worker. In the article the NRA or from Roosevelt, the conference of the Paper, Pulp and branch will not be the least effective was held the night before and at- citizens demanded additional proitself Radek says-"All that the capitalists know better. Listen to Sulphite Workers Union, which has factor in that work. tracted some 300 workers, including tection against the union and these Bolsheviks said about it when the what they say (Iron Age organ of a good measure of strength on both Still another instance: Williston, representatives of every important police were used in turn to terror-League of Nations was founded has the steel bosses, July 3, 1933): "The sides of the Niagara Falls. North Dakota. This farming com- group in the city. The good turn- ize the workers. In order to divide been fully confirmed. But those president did not write the objec-An even better example is Winni-munity of 5,000 population packed out, in spite of the petty Stalinist the workers further the company who are interested in the mainten-lecitve bargaining-W.) of the lapowers remained in the League tionable features (the right to colprivate meeting under our auspices box and all, with an overflow into originally contracted for, and in for all workers with more than ance of peace.' bor clause of this act. That was ever been held in this historic labor the corridor-with as fine an audi-spite of the column of 150 Stalin-twenty years service". They left "Fascism drops out" - but we done by those legislators who listen community. If the initial reception ence as the tour produced any-lists headed by their chief, Lawrence nothing undone. were taught by the Daily Worker attentively and respectfully to the accorded our meetings during the where. The meeting went on from Ross, who marched up to the door But the workers go on fighting. that the British and French gov-dictates of the labor lobby. tour is any index at all, Winnipeg 8 p.m. (sharp! by the way) to mid- and marched right back again when They learn through struggle. In the ernments were Fascist, and then "Congress will not administer promises to outstrip many of our night. The C.P., which once had they saw who was guarding it, was entire steel industry including there is Poland, Austria, and Bul- this act. The President will. And established branches in short order. a stronghold here, is obliterated to a result of the systematic plugwork Steubenville, Weirton, Clarksburg, garia. to say nothing of Italy itself. he is not likely to let any minority The meetings were arranged by less all intents and purposes. A carload of a solid and experienced group of Yorkville, Cannonsburg, Homestead, If Fascism dropped out, and the interest stand in the way of the than half a dozen sympathizers and of C. P. members came down from comrades in the branch who are McKeesport, etc. The pressure of non-Fascist nations "who are inter- desired end. That end is not to friends, who did an excellent job, Plentywood, Montana, to hear our soundly supplemented by an active the strike sentiment on the union

The road leading directly intoling to rest their bodies so that to-The Stalinists in the San Fran- Weirton, W. Va., is steep and dan- morrow they will have a fresh cisco Bay area are worried about gerous. Our rickety Ford seemed supply of energy for the mill. In

League member. They have threatthe hospital and to break-up our workers walk about, each a living

meetings. Yes the League is growing. new branch has now been organized in Richmond and a city committee

established representing the three New York Local Capital and Labor branches in the Bay District. The meetings held by Shachtman on his Under the NRA tour were a great help in these developments. But in a direct sense

the new Richmond branch emerges The following figures for the due to the increased activities of York Branch C.L.A. promises to be period from March 1933 to March the Oakland comrades in the city far and away the biggest outdoor af-1934 serve to give an interesting however, is sufficient to show that illustration of how the workers leading part in setting up the Cali- League. A spleudid private picnic it took more than "outside leaders" fare under the Blue Eagle. During fornia Workers Association, a mili-grounds has been secured in a percent. However, whether they to set the steel workers in motion. this period, according to govern-According to the U.S. Bureau of ment and A. F. of L. statistics tion.

-WEAVER.

Following right upon the heels of with chinese lanterns and an excelearned an average of \$1,745 in ing the same period according to issued a shop paper in Richmond at-till midnight will add to the en-elsewhere on numerous occasions 1929, whereas 141,000 did not work the same statistics the cost of living tacking a worker in the Standard joyment of the picnicers. (No extra remains to be seen. They have increased by 9.3 per cent. Oil plant by name and causing him | charge for dancing). There is a Between October and March, un employment rose by 780,000 while not at all believe the slanders ball enthusiasts, surrounded by discredited themselves with the there are more families on relief against him of being a counter- large shady trees under which the now than at any time since the revolutionary etc. The League is less energetic fans can watch the have been crowned with failure. In NRA.

The profits of the first 51 industri- pigeon work by pushing forward a eating and drinking have comfortal companies to report their earnings, in the first quarter of 1934, in- the California Workers Association covered by a barrack roof, others creased from \$6,322,000 in 1933, to at the Brotherhood Hall. lined under shady trees.

\$18,740,000. This was accomplished I.L.D. Refuses to Defend Prisoners A series of baseball games be Our two comrades Booth and tween various branches will be the by an increase in productivity through speed-up, etc. The Nation Wyle, who were arrested on the main feature of the sports program. gives the following example from a San Francisco picket line, have Group singing by the Spartacus report by the Alexander Hamilton finally been released on bail. It Youth around a campfire will be an took \$4,000 to get them out. The evening feature, with additional "A certain large, manufacturing I.L.D. has flatly refused to defend vocal talent welcome,

corporation in the Middle West these two class-war victims and it A shooting gallery where you can produced in 1932, 563,000 units at was only after many hours of ef- take a shot at Adolph's idiotic a cost of \$752 a unit; in 1933, by forts and with the assistance of the face, and various games of chance increasing production to 869,000 Civil Liberties Union that the bail will be provided. Last, but by no while the sheet mill schedule varies units, costs were reduced to \$567 amount was raised. But this re-means least, a committee of culin- from three to five days. Unskilled and that of imperialist intrigue. It vinced of the necessity of organiz-per unit. The wage cost per unit fusal of the I.L.D. to defend class ery experts guarantee food that will was reduced from \$254 to \$197, or war prisoners is another proof of satisfy and delight all. The admis- rate of pay for piece work is so 22.6 per cent, and the value pro-the desperation and degeneracy of sion is two bits, so get your tickets varied and complicated that one

duced per dollar paid in wages in the Stalinists who are in control of now at the City Office or through creased from \$3.02 to \$3.22, or 10 this outfit. This shameful attitude on the branches. A five-cent fare takes per cent. But while wages were the part of the I.L.D. should be you to within an easy 15-minute not increased, profits increased from brought home to every worker who walk of the grounds.

\$16,500,000 to \$83,214,000, and an may still be under illusions that HOW TO GET THERE: Take extra dividend was paid to stock-this is a workers' defense organiz-the Lexington Ave. Subway or ation. At the same time, however, Third Ave. Elevated to 241st St It's truly a New Deal for capital, it emphasizes the need of the crea- and White Plains Road, get off at but the same old deal, from the tion of a genuine non-partisan labor last station where Zedler's Grove defense organization. -F.C. Busses will take you to the grounds



One of the features of the recent-laudience, was both surprising and for their "tardiness" by exemplary hearts desired. The banquet lasted sisting the Nazis in their campaign ers face a huge concentration of ly completed national tour was the unexpected in light of the fact that vigor and determination. At the for two solid weeks. The workers of slander against the German capital. Practically all the steel this was the first time it had ever Frisco meeting, the tradition of the liked going there and why not. It production in the country is conworking class leader." gratifying success obtained in those

the rapid growth and development to protest, its brakes groaned at fact, one wonders how a worker of the League and are moving each curve as we slowly wound our can bear living here. Upon asking everything in their power to destroy way to the bottom of the valley. one of the workers how he could its activities and its effectiveness. We experienced a feeling of uneasi-bear it he explained that this was Biro-Bidjan the status of an auto-They have instructed their members ness. Can it be that workers have made possible only by first working not to speak to any individual built a city in this forsaken place? in the mill. After tasting life in Jews. This step is consistently in Weirton is a city built around a Mr. Weir's "workshop" one found line with the democratic policy esened to send every "Trotskyite" to huge mill. On the main street the Weirton quite a nice place to live. tablished at the very foundation of

The Union Prepares for Strike testimonial to the mill's exploita-The Amalgamated Iron, Steel and tion. One can almost see them try-Tip Workers of America-an A. F of L. union-has a membership in these mills of about 4,000 including

Steubenville and Clarksburg. The president, Bill Long, has promised Arranges Picnic o present demands for union recognition and to join the nation-wide strike in middle of June if this de-The June 24th picnic of the New man is not met.

At their meeting of May 19, the Stalinists with their handful of folof Richmond where they took a fair ever held by the Communist lowers made a statement that they will support the strike one hundred tant unemployed workers organiza- large wooded estate in Yonkers. A will support the strike as real milicovered dancing pavillion, lighted tants when it is called or use it as

a base for recruiting members for these developments the Stalinists lent band to provide dance music their own union as they have done made several attempts to build their to lose his job. The company did nice field well suited for the base own union here but they have so workers that all their attempts

answering this outrageous stool games in cool comfort. Tables for April they issued leaflets under the auspices of the Metal Workers workers trial to be conducted by able seating arrangements, some Union calling the workers to a

meeting at the Ahepa Hall. No one came. Instead of concentrating

their energies into a real left wing movement in the Amalgamated the the workers. Such tactics are reactionary.

At present the tin plate, steel and coke plants are operating on an eight-hour day, five-day week basis workers get \$3.53 per day while the must be a mathematician in order to determine what a worker has earned at the end of a day's work.

How Weir Wins His Elections

to split off one and not the least important section of the workers from Before the company elections took the international movement. True place Mr. Weir set out to prove there exists a section of the Zionist that the workers were in favor of movement that carries on a struggle a company union. Here is how he did it. Maryland Heights, which against capitalist influence inside is Weir's country home, was sud- and outside of Palestine. With denly thrown open to all the work- their struggle against capitalism we ers. They were invited to come are completely in sympathy. But Jewish Palestine remains neverthethere as his guests and to eat as less a bit of transported capitalism many sandwiches and drink as much beer and whiskey as their under the paw of British imperial-

ism. The conflict in which Jewish immigrants immediately find themselves with the Arabs tends to obscure for both the Jewish and the And now, as the day of the mits the semi-feudal Arabian ruling class to gain the support of the

Biro-Bidjan The Soviet Union has granted to

nomous Soviet Republic for the the Soviets of granting complete self-determination to the oppressed nationalities, and even to small national minorities. Here is a bit of historic justice—that the country once anathematized by the workers of all lands for its violently reactionary instigations and pogroms against the Jews, should now be the first to grant a vast territory to them for their free cultural de-

velopment. Coming too, at a time of extreme fascist reaction when the capitalist dictatorships of Germany, Austria, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Latvia have taken over Czarist tactics of diverting the pent-up wrath of the masses against the terrible conditions under which they are forced to live, of transforming this as yet unguided anger into a weapon of reaction by making scapegoats of the Jews,--the action of the Soviet Government stands out in bold contrast and will undoubtedly draw the Jewish masses everywhere into closer sympathy with Soviet Russia.

* * * *

Contrast with Palestine

Inevitably the question will pose itself to the many Jews attracted now more than ever to the idea of Stalinists make frequent sallies into a homeland—which one, Palestine or Biro-Bidjan? To the Marxist effort to disrupt the organizing of this question can have but one anthe idealism of the Jewish masses in supporting Palestine and immigrating there. But Palestine carries a double taint, that of capitalist dividing of the working class as the bourgeois leaders are concerned) that the Zionists everywhere set themselves apart from the workers' movement. The sort of national culture desired by Jewish capitalists is reactionary and aims

take it that Mussolini is no longer emphasis-W.) Fascist and is interested in peace. Then why not invite him to join -BILL. and Fascism.

ested in peace" remain, then we closs-shop American industry." (My too. One meeting, on the funda-standpoint presented, and at the group of younger members. In both leaders is tremendous. How the ofmental question of our differences end of the meeting expressed them- the Pacific centers (and the num- ficials react to this remains to be But the courts, the courts, will with Stalinism, attended mostly by selves in unreserved agreement ber of them is guaranteed w in-seen. One thing is certain. A they not protect the worker under Jewish workers, brought down 75. with it. The ravages of Stalinism crease if only a third of our plans militant struggle is due in Weirton.

Father Divine, Earl Browder, and the law? The capitalists never had Another meeting was arranged have been so malignant in Plenty- materialize by half!), the work of the Women's League for Peace and any illusions about this either: where Shachtman spoke on the un- wood, whereabouts a strong move- our units in the trade unions, on Freedom in the League Against War "The employer is as free to make employment program of the League ment existed, that it has produced the picket lines, and in the unem-

non-membership in a union a con- to a semi-official district confer- a stron; and almost spontaneous ployed movement is a model of the dition of employment as the work-ence of an organization embracing reaction which is headed towards kind of work that must be done if

Manifestoes for the FOURTH IN- ing man is free to join the union. over 7,000 workers. The main us. the League is to grow and win TERNATIONAL out. 500 copies This is part of the constitutional meeting, chaired by the most popu- The west coast especially dis- Everywhere it is being gotten un-\$1.00 plus postage. Cash must ac- rights of personal liberty and pri- lar revolutionary educator in the closed unlimited possibilities for der way, in some places well under company order. Readers of the vate property, not to be taken away city, comrade Bloshtein, was packed our movement. In neither of the way, and the initial results show a Militant should try hard to distri- even by legislation." (From decision by more than 350 workers, at which two main centers had a League vitality and potentiality of the bute the Manifesto 50 copies will of the U.S. Supreme Court, Dec. the sympathy for our standpoint on meeting ever been held. Both our League which, properly guided, will be sent postpaid for 25c. Order 10, 1917, in the Hitchman Coal and Stalinism, social democracy and the units-San Francisco-Oakland-Rich-lay more than one solid foundation from Pioneer Publishers, 84 E. 10th Coke case.) Thus did the Iron Age, Fourth International openly ex- mond and Los Angeles are of very stone for the new Communist party St. N. Y. C. emphasizing this decision in two pressed by a large section of the recent origin. But they make up in the United States. --- M. S.

* * * *

The Question of Freedom

Biro-Bidjan, on the other hand stands as a symbol for all nationlar. No oppressed nationality or

-IRVING OKLIN.

Brownsville Forum WHAT NEXT IN FRANCE? Speaker JACK WEBER SATURDAY, JUNE 16, 8:30 P.M. 1776 Pitkin Ave., near Stone Ave. Auspices: Brownsville Branch Communist League of America

national minority-and this can be said categorically --- can gain its freedom under capitalist rule. Today only by enlisting in the international class struggle on the side of the proletariat for the complete overthrow of capitalism, for the abolition of private property and pressed national masses gain their freedom. In every nation there exists, as Lenin pointed out, not one national culture, but two. The dominant culture, that of the present ruling class, is one of robbery at home and abroad, of exploitation and oppression of all kinds, including that of national minorities. The other existing in embryo only in the capitalist countries, is that of proletarian democracy, of internation-

al socialism fighting for unity of the oppressed against all separatist barriers of race, color, religion, including the national barriers. The proletariat of each and every land in liberating itself also leads to the liberation of every other section of the oppressed masses.

* * * *

Defense of the Soviet Union

That is the meaning of Biro-Bidjan. Here the Jews are given the opportunity to establish a real homeland devoid of capitalist exploitation and built in cooperation, not merely with each other but with the international proletariat. Let no one assume the task is easy for Biro-Bidjan no more than the rest Dir. International Workers' School of the Soviet Union is safe so long as capitalism still exists. But the Jewish masses have an added reason for supporting the workers' fatherland and defending the Sov--J. WEBER. iet Union.

apitalist dictatorship. Against the

forces of reaction, seeking to recall

the old order, the workers must

fight with every weapon to establish

their own democracy. Against cap-

italist legality . . . must be set rev-

olutionary legality . . .", etc. And

how is this to be achieved? Ac-

cording to the Draft Program of

of defense against the suicidal

This sounds simple enough. But

thinking, or to be more precise-a

lack of revolutionary thinking. The

intention of the authors may have

been the best but "the road to hell

In the program of the revolution-

defined with absolute exactness. We

would say that this must particu-

larly apply today to the question of

the proletarian dictatorship; and

there are good reasons for that. A

look at the world movement will

convince us that this has become

the burning issue with socialist

workers adopting a leftward course.

On the question of the proletarian

and heritage of social reformism.

periences this is one of the issues

which stand out the most clearly.

s paved with good intentions."

Socialist Party Adopts" Militant" Mussolini Sets A Criticism of the Draft Program of The American Workers Party **Position at Detroit Convention** "Disarmament"

(Continued from page 1) cratic methods? Do we want to resort to violence?'

The veteran Ohio Right Winger Joseph Sharts, went his fellow attorneys from New York one better and flatly stated that if he had to choose between the flag and "red flag. This brought such a violent demonstration against him that the cliairman of the day, Vladek, threatened to "clear the galleries' There was no suggestion to throw Sharts out of the meeting, although someone shouted, "You have no place in the Socialist Party."

Powers Hapgood, in speaking for the resolution, declared that it was not fully satisfactory to him and to other left wing delegates. He said Social Democracy precisely because it should be amended not to the the old methods of social reformism right but to the left; that the workers object to the S. P. not because it is too radical but because it is not radical enough. Dan Hoan the, the Mayor of Milwaukee, however, Old Guard, who are comfortably enjoying their "socialism" right now and other emoluments, that they were unduly alarmed. This resolution, he said, doesn't go as far as the St. Louis resolution. And, besides, he added slyly, we didn't earry out the St. Louis resolution.

Thé sections in the "Declaration of Principles" which evoked such a stormy debate read as follows:

"The Socialist Party is opposed to militarism. Imperialism and war. It purposes to eradicate the perpetual economic warfare of capitalism the fruit of which is international conflict. War cannot be tolerated by Socialists, or preparedness for war. They will unitedly seek to develop trustworthy instruments for the peaceable settlement of international disputes and conflicts. They will seek to eliminate military training from schools, colleges and camps. They will oppose military reviews, displays and expenditures, whether for direct war preparedness or for militaristic propaganda, both in wartime and peacetime. They will loyally suppert, in the tragic event of war. any of their comrades who for anti-war activities or refusal to perform war service. come into conflict with public opinion or the law. Moreover, recognizing the suicidal nature of modern combat and the incalculable strain of war's consequences which rest most heavily upon the working class, they will refuse collectively to sanction or support any international war; they will, on the contrary, by agitation and opposition, do their best not to be broken by the war, but to break up the war. They will meet war and the detailed plans for war already mapped out by the war-making arms of the government, by massed war resistance, organized so far as practicable in a general strike of labor unions and professional groups in a united effort to make the waging of war a practicable impossibility and to convert the capitalist war crisis into a victory for socialism. "In its struggle for a new society, the Socialist Party seeks to attain its objectives by peaceful and orderly means. Recognizing the increasing resort by a crumbling capitalist order to Fascism to preserve its integrity and dominance, the Socialist Party intends not to be deceived by Fascist propaganda nor overwhelmed by Fascist force. It will do all in its power to fight Fascism of every kind all the time and everywhere in the world, until Fascism is dead. It will rely, nevertheless, on the organization of a disciplined labor movement. Its methods may include a recourse to a general strike which will not merely serve as a defense against Fascist counter-revolution but will carry the revolutionary struggle into the camp of the enemy. "The Socialist Party proclaims anew its faith in economic and political democracy, but it unhesitatingly applies itself to the task of replacing the bogus democracy of capitalist parliamentarism by a genuine workers' democracy. Capitalism is doomed. If it can be superseded by majority vote, the Socialist Party will rejoice. If the crisis comes through the denial of majority rights after the electorate has given us a mandate we shall not hesitate to crush by our labor solidarity the reckless forces of reaction and to consolidate the Socialist State. If the capitalist system should collapse in a general chaos and confusion, which cannot permit of

cracy must be created by the *claration* of Principles" to present workers of the world." If we take the three main points

dealt with in the declaration-war, revolutionary socialism. the state and revolution, and the By this statement 1 do not mean fight against Fascism-it is easy to see that a straightforward revolu- taking place in the ranks of the tionary answer, proceeding from S. P. and that the convention at Derevolution" he would follow the theory and experience, has not been troit reflected this process of because "disarmament had at last given in a single case. To be sure, change. A real movement to the come". The construction of the the declaration marks a sharp de-left is under way. It has not yet battleships and aeroplanes will be parture from the position and practice of the international social de- has it found its authentic leaders. mocracy from 1914 to the collapse The rapid transformation now takin Germany and Austria. That is ing place in the Socialist ranks is why the Old Guard, which has marked by a great deal of confusion learned nothing and forgotten nothing, fought it so bitterly. who dominated the Detroit conven-

Centrism has rearisen and come to dominance in the international rode to power with it.

tial turn of the party to the left, have brought such ignominious de to arrest further developments? (!). Present-day humanity is very reat and have been so thoroughly The answer to that question rests strong and is capable of asceticism discredited. A change in front has first of all with the revolutionary become an imperative necessity in militants in the party. There are order to hold the organizations to- quite a few of them already. They ing advice to the Italian workers. assured the terrified members of the gether and regain the confidence of will increase and multiply to the the workers. This is the 10le of extent that they understand the to lower the cost of production so Centrism. The revolutionary im-role of centrism as a barrier to in the form of substantial incomes pulses of the workers are met with revolutionary progress and wage an general formulations which sound unrelenting war against it.

extremely radical but which do not I hope to return to this question mean anything specifically. The and to other aspects of the Detroit of salaries and wages. Detroit declaration abounds in these convention in future articles.

treacherous and deceptive formulations. It is a classic document of Centrism.

Will the Soviet Union Join the League of Nations? The resolution promises a general strike against war — which is a nyth, impossible of realization in the face of a war mobilization The policy of socialism in one English imperialism, enslaving de- port a possible war of Hitler's which And even this is qualified to read. country is reaping a new and fenseless Indians and fellahs have has this as its goal. It means ob-"insofar as practicable". Which is mighty success. The Soviet Union become in the terminology of Soviet jectively lending the services of a ers' state, to maintain itself in way of saying, "We are only talkis about to be accepted into the diplomacy, guarantors of peace! ing about a general strike; we don't League of Nations. At the same What Will the Comintern Do? imperialists. eally mean it." And in truth that is how many of the proponents of time that Sarraut and Doumergue With this we have arrived at the Thus appear the results of ten are deporting Trotsky from France, most important problem which is years' theory and practice of "sothe resolution understand this bomthe French foreign minister Bar connected with the entry of the cialism in one country". A combast. That war is inevitable under thou is negotiating with Litvinoff Soviet Union into the League of plete destruction of proletarian in- It represents a new class rule which capitalism, that it cannot be preon the condition for the entry of the Nations, -- namely, what are the ternationalism, the ideological prevented or defeated by refusal to Soviet Union into the League of consequences of this step for the paration of a transition of the It is because of these facts that in erve in the army or by any other Nations. Comintern? Characteristic, by the Communists to the camp of its own form of passive resistance, that the The existence of the League of way, of the incredible decay of the bourgeoisie. only answer to war, in fact, is rev-Nations was in reality seriously en- Comintern and the scorn with Need for Fourth International olution-civil war, or the preparadangered. Japan and Germany had which Stalin treats it, is the fact For the honest proletarian revo tion for it-on all these main asonce more convincingly proved its that the Daily of the Danish Stallutionaries, in the ranks of the pects of the question of war the impotence, even Paraguay and Bo- inists, the Copenhagen Arbeider- Third International, however, the resolution either remains silent, or livia flouted it. The differences be- bladet reports the interview of Barentry of the Soviet Union into the speaks falsely, or resorts to ambigtween France and England threat- thou with Litvinoff a day later than League of Nations will be an eyeious allusions and hints which may ened to tear it asunder. The League the bourgeois press, adding to the opener to the necessity of the new be interpreted one way or another of Nations explodes-a harsh melo- caption "THE SOVIET IN THE revolutionary Fourth International The resolution promises to fight dy in the prelude to the witches' LEAGUE OF NATIONS" a question which wages an unyielding internafascism "all the time and every-Sabbath of the coming World War. mark. This question mark reveals tional battle against the imperialwhere in the world" and even to For the immediate present, however, far more deeply the pitiful political ists of all countries. The workers 'carry the revolutionary struggle the open collapse would have meant role which Stalin's Comintern hire- will recognize more and more that into the camp of the enemy". Brave the destruction of all the efforts of lings play than ten theoretical aronly a battle of this kind can really words! But all that, including the French diplomacy of the post-war ticles of ours could do. The Soviet save the Soviet Union from destrucgeneral strike to which the resoluperiod, would have destroyed the Union enters the League of Na- tion. The Doumergues, Baldwins tion says the S. P. "may" resort very last vestige of France's hege- tions! Should that not be discussed and Mussolinis will in a serious test was proclaimed by the German and mony on the continent. As a result beforehand in the Comintern and prove themselves far more unreli-Austrian Social Democratic parties it is for French foreign diplomacy all its sections even down to the able "supporters" of the Soviet Unwith no less bluster. Will the S.P. a matter of tremendous importance lowest unit? Should not a world ion than the Chiang-kai-sheks, form a united front with all workto save the League of Nations and congress or at least an enlarged Wang-tin-weis, Purcells and Citrines ers' organizations against Fascism? Will it teach the workers that the pour new life into it. The preser- E.C.C.I. plenum pass a resolution in the years 1925 to 1927. It will vation of the League of Nations upon this? Or is it no concern of be one of the duties of the new to distinguish themselves from the which helped to strangle the prole-Fascist bands must be beaten down with their own methods before they means for France the preservation the revolutionary workers of the International to take away the com-social-reformists and from their tarian revolution. They witnessed the system of Versailles, the world, what sort of a foreign policy manding posts of the first proletar- conceptions. Comrade Hook will the perfidious part played by social have the chance to get the upper stabilization of the French brig- their fatherland is pursuing? In ian state from the opportunistic argue that this conception has reformism in these European events hand? Will it explain to the workands peace. This French policy place of this, news of this import servants of international imperial nothing in common with what he and they also notice the Stalinist ers that the answer to Fascist vionow finds a new support in the appears in the Communist press ism in order to fill them with demeant. He has also told us before bureaucratic apparatus measures lence is the Workers' Militia and Soviet Union. The acceptance of with the introduction "according to termined proletarian world revolu- what he thinks Marx meant. He is which distort the character of the that it must be formed on the basis of the united front before the Fastionists. of Nations lends this bankrupt in-olutionary editors are not even cists get state power, not afterstitution a new shimmer. At best conscious of their miserable role. ward? No. On this crucial question, as on all others, the resolu- only the Swiss Cheeses and the And what sort of a policy will the tion of the Detroit convention says Dutch Cleansers fear the Soviet Comintern pursue from now on as Union as a revolutionary force regards the League of Nations? nothing clearly, specifically and unwhereas the French bourgeoisie has Did not the Dutchman Wijnkoopambiguously. That is why such a already long ago realized the truth another miserable capitulator of the conglomeration of different tend-Comintern-under the pressure of tionary Communists, who have the other cities can do too when the of the statement which a Russian encies could unite to vote for it. "revolutionary" diplomat sarcasti- the revolutionary criticism of the The resolution was designed as a cally expressed to Paul Boncour, League of Nations by our comrade heart, instead of their own sectar- Every time you get a new reader from the most recent ones, from catch-all for votes, not as a clear "You ought to be happy that a Sneevliet in the Dutch Parliament ian party interests, can lead a of the Militant, you get a prospec- those most fresh in our mind, we guide to the workers in the fight Communist Party exists in France, only a few months ago deliver a strike to a successful finish and tive fighter in the class struggle and shall not be able to learn at all. The against Fascism. otherwise the revolution would thundering attack against this in- come out of it with a union of a possible member of the Commun- A.W.P. cannot proceed as if there On the question of the state and long ago have been made." strument of the French, English and 7,000 members. All this was not ist League of America. revolution the Detroit convention Dutch imperialists "dropping with accomplished over-night by some Petty Bourgeois Pacifists Will adopted the formula of the Ameriblood and dirt"? What will the magical formula of a quick road to SPECIAL CLUB PLAN DRIVE! tainly it cannot assume to be a rev-**Greet** This Move can Workers' Party which had been Not for nothing does the fight poor Wijnkoops of all countries do put into circulation long ago by the "mass work" as some of our imagainst real proletarian revolution- now? They will have to learn by patient critics have been demand- CARDS NOW! late Morris Hillquit. The S. P. henceforth is to apply itself to the aries, against Trotsky and the heart the foreign policy speeches of ing of us. It was accomplished by Fourth International, find Stalin their colleagues of the "social-fastask "of replacing the bogus democracy of capitalist parliamentarism and Doumergue allied with each cist" faction. Must not the result preparing every step in advance. other. The social traitors and petty of the entry of the Soviet Union by a genuine workers' democracy". According to indications, the bourgeois pacifists of all countries, into the League of Nations force the Just what this workers' democracy C.L.A. branch in Minneapolis will is to look like is not explained. Is however, become positively ecstatic French Communists into a truce double its membership soon. This as a result of the move of the Soviet with their own bourgeoisie? it the dictatorship of the proletartoo is not merely the result of the What the German Stalinists Say iat? Some delegates thought so and Union. The Soviet Union prevents splendid work our comrades did for that reason accepted it. Other the bankruptcy of the petty bour-And just at the same momentduring the strike. It is due in a delegates thought the contrary and geois policy of pacifism from be- in the Rundschau of May 9th-aplarge measure to the fact that the voted for it with that understand- coming too apparent. Henderson's pears the "revised program of social Minneapolis comrades have been ing. Like the resolution as a whole pleasure trips in the name of dis- and national liberation" of the Cenbusy circulating the Militant among the expression "workers' democra-armament will now be backed by tral Committee of the C. P. G. the workers for a long period. In cy' is a vote-catcher, not a clear Litvinoff's authority. Moreover, the Once more seven whole paragraphs this field too, "Minneapolis Show guide for the education and action leftward trend in the English pro- are dedicated to the "peace of inletariat pushes the Labor Party famy of Versailles" which Hitler the Way." of the workers. In the first Club Plan sub drive, The resolution omits any mention politicians directly toward the for- cannot get rid of. These formula-The Minneapolis branch sent in 128 of the revolutionary struggle to esomation of a new Anglo-Russian tions close with the words: tablish the so-called workers' de Committee. All the easier for them "The proletarian revolution, the new subscriptions. In the second mocracy. Instead of that it refers if the League of Nations now as revolutionary working class, under drive they have already purchased our leadership: that is, the one and 40 cards. In addition to these 40 to the possibility that capitalism sumes this role. 'can be superseded by a majority And how can the official Com- only force which can smash the cards which they have not yet disvote". If the rights of the major-munist parties of all countries con-brigands treaty of Versailles, do posed of they have 150 subscribers ity are then denied the forces of demn the reformists and their petty away with all the burdens of tribute and they receive a bundle of 100 reaction are to be crushed "by our bourgeois pacifist qualities which (we wonder if some day the news copies weekly, paying for them in labor solidarity". With the aid of objectively furthers imperialism will get to Heckert's ear, that Ger-full at the end of each month. such empty verbiage as this, such and militarism? If the imperialist many has for a long time not paid During the strike, they received an treacherous double-meaning formu- powers, France and England have one pfennig.-W. II.) and open the additional bundle of 500 copies lations which satisfy people of di-become "guarantors of world peace" gates of the empire for the volun-weekly for which they have already vergent views, the "Militants", who in the eyes of the Soviet Union, and tary union of all toiling Germans paid. express a progressive tendency in the maintenance of peace at any (only for the Germans? Perhaps Now, after their hard and stuborderly procedure, the Socialist the ranks of the party, the Revolu- price-even at the price of aban- according to the principle, 'A Ger- born Jimmy Higgins work in con-Party, wehther or not in such a tionary Policy Committee, which doning revolutionary policy-is held man is he who is an Aryan'?-W. nection with getting the workers of case it is a majority, will not had set itself up as the spokesman up as the supreme aim of Soviet H.)" Minneapolis to read the Militant, shrink from the responsibility of of the revolutionary left wing, and foreign policy, how can the French To set up the liberation from the our comrades there are beginning organizing and maintaining a gov- the Municipal Socialists of Milwau- Communists still attack French im- Versailles Treaty as one of the to reap the results of their devoted ernment under the workers' rule. kee, who think it is time to become perialism and militarism? French chief aims of the proletarian revolabors. Undoubtedly, many of the True democracy is a worthy a bit more radical-they all got to- militarism, plundering and bloodily lution in Germany in the present most militant fighters during the means to progress; but true demo- gether on the basis of the new "De- suppressing Tunis and Morocco, situation means that one must sup- strike were from the ranks of those

a new face to the working class of America. But it is not the face of cated in a speech by Mussolini in

to deny that profound changes are formulated its position clearly, nor and contradiction. The Centrists

> tion exploited this confusion and Will they be able now, by a part

-JAMES P. CANNON.

What may be expected from the 'Disarmament'' conferences is indihis Chamber of Deputies on May 26th. Italy will spend 1,000,000,000 lire on battleships and a similar amount on its air fleet. This, he remarked sardonically, was done new terms are being used for cer- mocracy" is used. tain ideas already accepted as correct. And since it is a program carried out in spite of a deficit of that is under discussion the ques-4,000,000,000 lire in the budget. tion of whether these correct ideas Will the budget be "balanced" by are actually maintained becomes taxing the bankers and industrialthe essential one.

ists? Oh no! As usual the work-In his answer to this question ers have to carry the burden of comrade Hook says: "For the first paying for the war preparations. "We are probably moving toward a period of humanity reposing on a lower standard of life. We must not be alarmed by this prospect ing content of such terms as 'dictatorship of the proletariat', 'soviets', (!!) such as we perhaps have no ticle we are admonished that it is, ship in its representative liberal conception of". This is his consol-It was also necessary, he stressed, ing.'

After that follows the explanation Italy could face the competition of of the term used in the A.W.P. proother nations in the International gram in presenting what it assumes market. This process he warned, to be the meaning and the content would call for a general lowering of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And here we arrive at the

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT, sented as a break with the fetishism signifies a broader democracy than

In the May Day issue of Labor of terms is a substitution which his views are very far from being Action we are informed by comrade changes, or certainly at least, com- Marxist views. Comrade Hook and Sidney Hook that: "One of the pletely obscures the correct idea, the other A.W.P. comrades will most significant features of the Instead of the dictatorship of the point to the section in their draft Draft Program of the A.W.P. is that proletariat as a characterization of program which says: "The revoluit breaks with the fetishism of the workers' state during the per- tionary; government must be preterms in the revolutionary tradi- iod of transition from capitalism to pared to meet the violence of the tion." We take this to mean that communism the term "workers' de overthrown but still dangerous

It is this substitution that comrade Hook defends in his article entitled "Marxism and Democracy" in which he uses a Marxian terminology but distorts the essential

'meaning-content" of Marxism. In its defense comrade Hook time in the history of the American says: "Today for historical reasons the A.W.P. "a time will come when revolutionary parties an attempt it is necessary to stress more than the major sections of the population has been made to present in intel-ever before the facts that the work-will support the principles of a ligible fashion the essential mean-ers' state is a workers' democracy." workers' democracy. As a measure And further on he adds: "The workers' democracy must be coun- course of capitalist dictatorship, etc." Further on in the same ar- terposed to the capitalist dictator- the workers will take power."

"high time to abandon the linguistic form as well as its fascist form." fixations which obstruct clear think- Of course, under a fascist regime,

erux of the problem. What is pre-

what is lacking here in strategy flows from the conception the auand against fascism, democratic dethors have of the workers' state. mands and demands for workers' However, the question of strategy democracy assume unusual imporwe leave aside for the moment. tance. But that is primarily in the What is said here about the worksense of agitation and tactical apers' state, we grant, reads better proach to the masses. That, on the than comrade Hook's interpretaother hand, the dictatorship of the tion; nevertheless its shortcomings proletariat as a transition period are demonstrated more clearly by these interpretations. It is just

hitherto known is absolutely corsuch interpretations and such ambiect. It signifies a workers' demoguities which make possible for cracy in contradistinction to bourthose in the A.W.P., who say openly geois democracy. This is an essenthat they are opposed to all dictatial part of that form of state. But torships, to stand with those who that alone does not characterize the claim to be revolutionists on the content of the workers' state. It is same program. Thus what is preonly one of its aspects. The worksented as abandoning "linguistic fixations which obstruct clear thinking" is in reality a lack of clear

vho held power before and take away their private property in the means of production as well as eliminate them from the government. makes workers' democracy possible. describing our conception of the ary party ideas and terms must be vorkers' state we use the term "the

dictatorship of the proletariat." one party."

The comrades of the A.W.P. want defense of bourgeois democracy

4

4

4

22

20

16

40

32

234

helper's helper to the Fascist neo-power, must suppress the exploiters

Is it not correct to say that the spirit of Marx's teachings consist of the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat? It is also assumed that the A.W.P. aims to become a Marxian party. But how does it come, that it is precisely on this vital point that its presentation in dictatorship, they begin to express "intelligible fashion" so closely ap their break with the whole concept proximates Norman Thomas when he argued against the left wing in In all of the recent European exthe Socialist Party. He put it this way: "Even in a transitional period the ideal to hold up and to work The leftward moving socialist workfor is workers' democracy rather iat, which means the dictatorship of

ers begin to give an evaluation of than a dictatorship of the proletar- the proletarian dictatorship and counterpose it in name and essense to the social reformist concept of

Militant Builders

"Minneapolis Shows the Way" |who had been reading our paper Minneapolis showed how revolu- previously. What Minneapolis did, This means that for Marxists it is general interests of the workers at

THE DRIVE ENDS AUGUST 1st. working slowly and fundamentally, NO CARDS WILL BE SOLD AF-TER THAT DATE.

THE COMPLETE RECORD OF SECOND DRIVE **Boston Branch** I. Borsook Berkeley (Kogan) Ben L. & I. Porter Cleveland Branch Chicago Branch Chicago Friends of The Militant Club Constance N. Davenport Branch Los Angeles Branch Los Angeles (Doughty) Leeser Minneapolis Branch New Haven Branch New Castle Branch Newark Branch New York Local 28) (City Office (Harlem Br. 4) Oakland Branch Philadelphia Branch Springfield Branch San Francisce Branch

San Francisco (Osborn) St. Louis Branch Toronto Branch Toronto Youth Club Waukegan Branch

TOTAL

-W.H. | well acquainted with Marx although workers' state. In view of this, a party proclaiming itself to be revolutionary, can least of all permit the real meaning of the proletarian dictatorship to become obscured.

> Marxism constitutes a generalization of all workingclass experience. necessary to absorb every new experience gained. If we fail to learn were no such experience before it TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE appeared on the scene. Most cer-BUY YOUR CLUB PLAN SUB olutionary party when proceeding in that way.

> > Comrade Hook says that the great mass of American workers are non-political and that they must therefore be shown the true democracy-workers' democracy-against the false democracy under capitalism. That is well and good insofar as agitation amongst the masses is concerned. In that it is necessary to adapt one's methods to requirements of existing conditions. But the revolutionary program is an entirely different matter. It is the guide to action and its primary purpose is therefore the education of the party itself. Accepting comrade Hook's interpretations, the shortcomings in the A.W.P. Draft Program become really a matter of adaptation not in methods and approach but adaptation of position. It becomes an adaptation of the program to the prejudices of the backward workers. The result will be neither a revolutionary program nor a revolutionary party. It will repel the advanced workers, and fail to educate the backward workers for they can be educated only through the advanced workers, through the revolutionary section. The most important historical in-

strument in the epoch of wars and revolutions is the party of the proletariat. But it can attain its objective only on the basis of its own clarity of principle.

-ARNE SWABECK.

Bakers Local Union, whose agree on June 17, 1933, on which day I



they will regard such drivel as be cope with that state. That is their ferent shops. Next he went to the rested not "sometime in July", but the bosses' agencies. neath contempt. Thinking workers capital number three.

neath contempt. Thinking workers capital number three. elsewhere know only too well what We do not at all intend to take men expired May 1st, and proposed was jailed and held until March 29, duced, was heralded as a means to Only the Bill must have a face that little reliance can be placed in the up in this issue the questions aris- to them to take joint action with 1934. Stalinist evaluations in regard to ing out of the charges and slanders the drivers. This was accepted. As What did the I.L.D. really do for

facts as well as in regard to theor- and concoctions raised by the Stal- a result of this united action, both me? etical conclusions. That is verified inist scribes. The comrades who the bakers and the drivers have hold the ideals of Communism in swered. It is the question of trade high esteem and precisely because union strategy and tactics which of that found it impossible to re- is in dispute. Every point raised

who for a time became victims of promise that a thorough job will be the fatal Stalinist T.U.U.L. policy done.

and left these hopeless caricatures of militant unions in disgust.

and a leadership which, when viewloyalty to the class and effective

policy is unequalled in recent labor history. For the first time in this becoming clarified as a result of method of mobilizing every member more evident than ever that the and every worker involved in a New York City administration is to the scene for their protection. even remotely meeting their de-And this strike followed closely

upon the heels of the automobile sell-out settlement which served as newly-formed unions are still bat- work relief have had their wages the workers. tling for their existence with only cut from ten to thirty percent, more of the Stalinist paper unions, of hours a month, with only one in the which about the best that can be family to be given work.

At this moment the essential is-sue is working class organization-trade union organization-as pre-paration for the much greater class.



upon a third large shop. The relief situation which is now routing not only the scabs but also starving, except insofar as they recognition of the union and an in- From August 10 until November studiously avoid taking any action mands and problems.

a precarious foothold as yet. We days being allotted to them, which, beginning it had the effect of re- tary departure made by the Commuare not speaking in this connection in their entirety may not exceed 54 viving the union. It put pep into nist League and the American Civil ed prestige to the militant workers. tion, in no way affected the appeal said is that they justly merit the Those on home relief have been The joint action taken with the for a habeas corpus. I defy Emery laughing scorn that has been heaped hearing the long and incessant bakers' local strengthened the con- to demonstrate the contrary. upon their claim to be called un- booming of the highly touted cash tacts between the militants men- The facts about the habeas corplays. The automobile sell-out set-from heaven. But like the frogs in the correct attitude to the workers' without the minutes and papers Labor Board so far. The Board to

tempt to crush the strike move- to be cash, the rest to be gradually last few weeks. ments by force. This is its capital added in the distant future. An

scientific Marxism.

On July 17, 1933, Attorney E. by the thousands of them who had were on the scene in Minneapolis now obtained an agreement with White came to see me in Wilkes the other hand, it was designed to holding out for as much as they Party had mobilized its memberjoined the official party and who will take them up point for point the bosses. The drivers in addition Barre county jail and said he was outlaw company unions. The final can get in the new set-up of Labor ship, its unemployed councils, left through their bitter experiences of in the coming issues of the Mili- to gaining union recognition re- conducting an investigation on or- draft of the Bill, as it will be pre- Boards against the working class. wing trade union groups and fracapitalist exploitation learned to tant. Nothing will be left unan- ceived an increase in wages and ders from the I.L.D. I heard nothing sented for consideration and vote The labor leaders will do their share ternal organizations. Why call this

better working conditions. August 10 when I was called for a attributed to it. What additional holding out for a price. Yet before A strike of short duration settled the issue. But the fight became hearing. At that hearing White reactionary amendments will be this class collaboration machinery main in the party. It is verified will be met with the weapons from particularly embittered when one stated that the L.D. would be able tacked on before it gets through the is set up these labor fakers will be cism? A united front it was-not of the bakery owners fired a work- to raise the cost of a \$1,000 bail House and Senate no one can pre- on the band wagon. They have with the youth organizations of the of the bakery owners fred a work to take the volt organizations of the er for being active in the Union. bond (about \$20) and I was sent dict now. It is vicious enough as their special interests in outlawing United Youth Committee Against The drivers compelled the boss to back to jail. During all the subse-it stands. In reality, the Bill is strikes. reinstate this worker. Two shops, quent months the I. L. D. never just the opposite of what it was

the Ozersky Bakery and Swartz, raised bail for me. proclaimed to be. In Minneapolis we had a strike New Attacks on signed up with the union after this About this time members of the Under the cloak of checking strike, while the joint action ar- Philadelphia Branch of the Commu- company unions the Wagner Bill

ing it as a whole, its militancy, its The Unemployed rangements with the bakers contin-nist League of America (Trotsky-will legalize the company unions. ued in preparation for an assault ites) asked the I.L.D. to call a The Labor Board to be established meeting to protest my deportation. will define the difference between Last week all preparations were They got no cooperation and the "good" and "bad" company unions.

completed. With the assistance of C.L.A. therefore called a meeting Section 7a stands as it did before present period the entirely correct the City's current policy makes it this militant worker a strike was itself. Communist Party members with President Roosevelt's inter-factory had been shut down, unable organized in the Frank and Sons beat up Comrades Goodman and pretation, in relation to the Auto to operate, the scabs cowed com-Produce Company. This company Roberts when they were distribut-Strike settlement, as the main pletely. The Edison company was and every normality for a single wheel from moving and in the unemployed and the drivers put the issue directly for on my behalf.

Most Sinister Aspect of the Bill crease in wages. The strike was 28 I had no word from the I.L.D. called at 2 A.M. The company tried or its lawyers. Their next letter to man their trucks with scabs but asked me to keep the Communist ling class warfare. It only extends keeping the electrical workers from

The callous treatment which that was immediately prevented by League from "interfering" in the the methods that have been used going out immediately; twice they an enormous stimulus everywhere those on home or work relief have the militant action of the drivers. case. Comrade Emery now has the by the employers for some time, were bludgeoned into agreeing to an enormous summus everywhere the bosses' resistance to union received until now promises to be That same night at 8 P.M. the impudence to pretend that the The advanced section of the capi-24-hour postponements, the second to the posses resistance to union put in the shade by new cuts and company signed an agreement with League "deliberately" harmed the talists find that the NRA apparatus time only by a vote of 175-135. The formerly unorganized industries the methods of inquisition. Those on the union with favorable gains for I.L.D.'s efforts to get a habeas as now constituted does not have a workers of Toledo milled about in corpus. This is absolutely untrue. satisfactory machinery to stifle, and front of the meeting places of the

While this may only be a small The request for the right of volun- to prevent strikes. It is not suffi- various unions, talking nothing but cient to hold in check the rising strike, strike, strike. militancy of the working class. The Mighty Demonstration of Solidarity its membership and gave some add- Liberties Union on my authoriza-Wagner Bill is to make up for this

defect. It will establish Labor agents that will handle all labor upon their claim to be called un-ions, that is, if it had not been so tragic, recognizing the dastardly were hopefully waiting with their of of the latter. On the whole the tragic of the latter disruptive role this whole policy hats in hand for the deluge of mania result of these effective actions and Mullen of the I.L.D. showed up obvious from the experiences of the

thement pushed the surging move-the fable who asked God for a king, problems served as a stimulus to a necessary. He had left them in his be created by this Bill is to be apment of these new unions in a back-God obligingly sending them down a revival of the teamsters union. office and the hearing had to be pointed wholly by the President, oughly disorganized. One band, al-god obligingly sending them down a revival of the teamsters union. ward direction. But the Minneapo-ward direction. But the Minneapo-monster who ate them up—so with Many drivers from different trades postponed—while I sat on in jail. three representing the so-called most no banners, no marshalls; the ered up with slander, lies and faklis struggle came as a turning point, cutting a deep wedge into the capitalist offensive and into the at-

in the matter—only a mass defense gaging in what is called "unfair music or slogans. But the worst "National Youth Day" demonstra-movement could have wrung such a labor practices . . . that has led, or awaited them at Courthouse Square. tion. They are reconsidering the writ from the reactionary judge in threatens to lead to a labor dispute As they reached that point, they actions of their leaders in disruptcharge.

Now the I.L.D. seemed to forget struct the free flow of commerce." For some strange reason, there were are eager for real common action me entirely. On December 3 I When put into plain language. no amplifi,ers set up for the speak- with all militant youth organiza-

so difficult because both accept the

settle the disputed questions over interpretations of Section 7a of the NRA. Under this Bill labor would NRA. Under this bill to to to to to the set of th be placed in its highest status. On fact that the A. F. of L. leaders are uine united front. The Communist more from him or the I.L.D. until contains none of these objectives and give their services, but they are a youth demonstration?



20% increase in pay, but was hold-| they confess their sins", replied the ing out on union recognition. Only fanatical followers of "Father"

The Wagner Bill presents nothing terrific pressure from the A. F. of new to the American way of hand-L. headquarters in Washington was

Twenty thousand workers turned and Fascism.

out for the torchlight parade Fri-Boards fully in control of the capi-talist monopoly owners and their onstration in the history of Toledo. But the A. F. of L. leaflership, general strike.

The torchlight parade was thor- be damned as disrupters. Their

tions.

that might effect commerce or ob- were left leaderless, to mill around. ing the genuine united front. They

Democracy, the Communist Youth Opposition, the Youth Group of the Communist League of Struggle. had less than 1,000 demonstrators.

Perhaps it was a united front demonstration against war and Fas--HUGO OEHLER. | War and Fascism, the "Socialistrenegade committee"-but with the reactionary fanatic, "Father" Devine. Not the slogan "For the Release of the Four Deported German Youth"-they are "renegades", that is, non-Stalinists—but the cry of "Father Devine is our God", "God means Peace" was heard throughout the demonstration!

> "Free the Scottsboro Boys", shouted the militant youth. "The Scottsboro Boys will be freed if Devine!

The Other Youth Demonstration

In contrast the demonstration. held in Harlem, showed a militant youth spirit. The shouts of "Down with bosses' war", "Down with Fascism", the enthusiastic singing of workers' songs, the entire conduct of this small but united demonstration of youth showed the will and determination of the demonstrators for common action against war

The Harlem demonstration was only a partial united front. The Stalinists had rejected united acjoin their "National Youth Day" or

But more than a few Stalinist youth are ashamed of the so-called

paration for the much greater class battles to come. The real test of etc.,-or God forbid, should anyone the revolutionists lies today in their attempt to make a down payment ability to establish such organiza- on a Rolls-Royce-no sooner done day after the Minneapolis truck tions and to weld them firmly into than that individual will be back drivers' strike ended, a group of a movement against the class en on commodity relief.

emy. In Minneapolis the revolu- The funds for the unemployed the different phases and aspects of tionists set to work in earnest and will be exhausted in about two the struggle. In the course of the organized a union with such a rapid months, and as yet the city adminsweep that it counts today some istration resists every effort to have remarked: "Where did the truck sweep that it counts today some instration resists every enort to have 7,000 members and is gaining new open hearings on what is to be the recruits daily. And rarely has such lot of the unemployed in the future. a determined and fully united bunch a determined and fully united bunch At a conference held May 15th, in ers in the group informed him that of men been welded together into which the Workers' Unemployed the leaders were all local men he one local union. A tribute to its Union, League of Office and Profes- was still in doubt and raised anleadership speaking far more forcesional Employees, and the Associa- other question: "But where did Nobody ever answered these letters! fully than the hollow, vapid rant-ings that all the Stalinist bureaurats put together could produce in dimensional and a problems were organize and lead such a strike?" the Daily Worker. This tribute extends to the strike which gained adopted. The continuation comthe central objective—union recog- mittee was empowered to work for Where did they come from? Where nition. It is one of the first of the new unions to gain actual recogni-ployed and Relief workers organiztion. This is its capital number ations in the near future which in by the thousands, here and elseturn is to lay the basis for a na- where, will also raise. two.

The Minneapolis strike was not tional conference. A proposal to in-The correct answer to the quesa revolution. It fell short of being clude unemployment councils on a tions posed are to the effect, that which cooperated with the A.C.L.U. a revolution. To this we plead unanimous vote basis, it having a the leaders were not imported. and later with the Provisional Coma revolution. 10 this we plead vote only as an organization, was They are men who make a serious for Non-Partisan Labor De-guilty. We are interested only in vote only as an organization, was They are men who make a serious former (b) and a series former (b) a the world of realities. We have carried, and was referred to the study of all labor struggles in this fense. These organizations were tion for concrete workingclass A. F. of L. having adjourned the nothing in common with the Stalin-Continuations Committee for action. country and elsewhere in an effort instrumental in getting bail, getting struggle was afforded by the en-meeting, leaders of the Unemployed ed States" in 1930 but slunk back others. into their true opportunist position

in the ignominious capitulation in face of the deadly fascist enemy in couple, and \$3.00 extra for every Germany. But it is the strikes such dependent. as the one in Minneapolis that be-The dependence of the leadership

gins to prepare the basis for the on the good will of this or that liberal or group of social workers has THE MILITANT

not lessened, and more than ever a Entered as a second class mail militant policy and leadership are matter November 28, 1928, at the necessary for success.

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Vol. VII, No. 23, Whole No. 227) enough as it is. Who knows but picketing and the wonderful patrol II D more also influenced in its at SATURDAY, JUNE 9, 1934

EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Abern James P. Cannon result in a retreat for them? Only dollars worth of gasoline daily in

Mar Shachtman Maurice Spector the workers can and will give that keeping the city streets clean of and I ask you to give space to them. answer! The place of every militant scab truck drivers. Arne Swabeck

Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year worker is in these organizations to Good leadership always produces \$0.50 per half year - Canada help build them and to make them good followers. The Minneapolis and Foreign: \$1.50 per year; a militant weapon in the hands of truck drivers' union can be congrat 75c for six months. the workers. ulated upon having both. -RELIEF WORKER. Bundle rates one cent per copy. -RAILROADER.

what is here somewhat concealed ers! With a crowd reaching 25 wrote Stern, Philadelphia organizer of the I.L.D. as follows:

Minneapolis, Minn., May 28.-The "You say you are working to worked very hard in my defense. railroad workers were discussing I think you must have ruined quite a number of shirts with the sweat of your labor in my behalf. With all your work and labor it

was too much for you to drop me a line to let me know what you were doing. So I think you had better take a long rest.'

I sent other letters of complaint to Attorney Mullen of the I.L.D. latter represent chiefly the mono- the A. F. of L. The issue of the The next word I had was March 25 when the Immigration Service The questions raised by this informed me I was to be deported

bothered to inform me that they tary departure! I never heard from

them again. I informed the Communist League

The Conference also unanimously to draw the proper conclusions from me out of the foul county jail, thusiastic mass meeting, held in League, Seelander and Pollock who General Strike Sentiment Growing which saw a "revolutionary upsurge decided to demand the same condi- them. The leading and directing winning the right of voluntary de- Germania Hall, New York City, in had saved the auto strike by mass of the working masses of the Unit- tions for homeless men as for minds of the truckmens' strike in parture, getting several extensions behalf of the class struggle fighters picketing and breaking the injunc- over the heads of their reactionary Minneapolis were those of workers of time necessary because no gov- of Toledo and Minneapolis, and in tion, raised the call for the general international officials to issue a

for a single person, \$15.00 for a and study them and not merely read and raising money to finance my vomit gas and bullets to terrorize sels present, as "disrupters." about them to forget them the next trip when I finally get a visa. The meeting was under the aus-

day. They are leaders who not only study other strike struggles but I sat in a foul county jail, month pices of a genuine united front comalso their causes in the light of after month. No bail was raised, mittee, comprising official repreno letters were sent, I never got a sentatives of the Communist League

Workers by the thousands will penny for a package of cigarettes, of America, the American Workers draw valuable inspirations and lessons from this strike and the way at best. Once I lost patience with sition (Lovestoneites), the I.W.W. it was organized and directed the I.L.D. and turned ensewhere, the Left Poale Zion, the Socialist

The unanimous opinion of the throughout those ten memorable things began to move. conference was that the present days. They will learn from the Among the evidence which the tee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense period is the calm before the storm various important details of the U.S. government used as an excuse all of which organizations sent in the relief situation. A new on-strike, such as the organizing of the for trying to deport an anti-Fascist speakers. The American Civil Lib-

that the present forward march of system of cruising picket cars the bosses and their agents will not which burned up over four hundred I.L.D. was also influenced in its at-titude by my political views. In any case the facts are clear Fraternally.

ANTONIO BELLUSSI.

"STEVEDOBE"

must be settled for at once. ling of the International.

will stand out very clearly. It 000 at the least, one speaker at The Spartacus Youth Clubs will means that the Board will have each end of the crowd could be help me and that you have powers to outlaw strikes. The heard by only a fraction of those not stop at a partial united front. Board wil be a national institution present. Milling around, those who They will continue their efforts in fully backed up by the forces of could hear heard no talk of the building of a genuine common the State, the courts, the police, the general strike. The subject had action of youth against war and become taboo. army and the navy.

Why Labor Leaders Support Bill Socialist Party Does Its Part While it is true that a large section of the advanced capitalists are

in favor of the Wagner Bill it is was Leo Krzycki, just re-elected naequally true that a very large sec- tional chairman of the Socialist tion are opposed to the Bill. The Party, and Milwaukee organizer of

poly concerns in which trades un hour was general strike: Krzycki ions have the least foothold. Their gave the workers an educational main opposition was expressed to speech on the NRA and socialism. cities, in Oakland, San Pedro, Portthe Bill in its original form. Now The next day he told the Socialist land and Seattle. worker: Who are those leaders? in 48 hours. The I.L.D. had never that it has been revised the opposi- convention that the parade was a

did they get their experience? are, or what to do about getting volun- New York United Front in the crowd asked him: What the strikers have declared for a

about the general strike? Mr. fight without quarter against the In Support of Strikes Krzycki declared his neutrality. "I am not an official of the A. F. of L. and telegrams to the acting govern-Further proof-if further proof in Toledo. I cannot advise you. or, Merriam, demanding the right

The budget as adopted was \$12.00 who take labor struggles seriously and relation of the serious of militia, strike, they were booed by the Yip- call to all other unions asking them

Such were the contributions of did their bit to help the A. F. of L. -A STRIKER. Toledo.

A special anti-war, anti-Fascist ment is expressed concretely in reissue of Young Spartacus was dis- solutions from a number of unions.

ANTI-WAR ISSUE OF

YOUNG SPARTACUS

slaught is in sight against the work- commissary department, the medi- worker to Fascist Italy, were copies through Bogor Boldwin Erough Port at the United Youth Demers' living standards, miserable cal department, the effective mass of the Militant, organ of the Com-Palmer of the Federated Press was tained a popular analysis of bosses' the chairman. The official Com- Memorial Day, the capitalist war munist Party was invited to join plans and the advance of Fascism, in the meeting, and flatly refused. as well as the statement of the Resolutions were passed in sup- New York City Committee of the port of the class-struggle fighters Spartacus Youth Clubs on "Why out the most outstanding militant in Minneapolis, Toledo and the Two Demonstrations?" West Coast. A collection was tak-

Young Spartacus was eagerly vidual removal from their positions en towards supplying much needed defense funds in these struggles, read by the youth, particularly the in order to weaken their influence Tickets for June 18th Theatre Party The meeting closed with the sing- Young Socialists. A few subscrip- and paralyze this growing strike tions for the paper were obtained. wave.

The chief speaker of the evening Strike on Pacific Coast Extends

(Continued from page 1)

There were serious clashes in other

In answer to these vicious atfailure in arrangements; in Toledo tacks upon their demonstrations he said nothing. Finally workers and picket lines in San Francisco police. They have sent delegations is needed-of the possibility of es- The decision must be made locally." to bear arms in protection of their attacks upon them.

The I.L.A. unions are preparing

sentiment for such a general strike the Socialists to the radicalization grows steadily. A united strike of the Toledo workingclass. They committee has been set up and the union militants are calling for the retreat from the general strike of formation of a General Waterfront Workers Federation to include all unions on the water front and in the marine industry. The united strike committee is still very loose and the federation remains as yet only a sentiment. But this senti-

> The main danger to the strike front comes from the reactionary international officials and such lieutenants as they have. They are working might and main to stop the further development of the strike. One of their methods is to single elements for attacks and for indi-

-F.C.

