

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America

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Toward the Fourth International

Revolutionary Youth Meet In International Conference

Another Step on the Road to the New International

(Ed. Note.—Albert Glotzer, the author of the following article, has just returned from the International Youth Conference held at Luxemburg, Belgium which he attended as the representative of the Spartacus Youth organizations of the United States.)

The international youth conference, called by the youth section of the Independent Socialist Party of Holland for the purpose of discussing the international situation and the tasks of the youth, was dispersed two hours after convening by the Dutch police, acting under the instructions of the Minister of Justice.

On February 24th, noon, delegates representing independent socialist and communist youth organizations from over fifteen countries of Europe and America, gathered at Amsterdam, and in a body proceeded to the town of Laren, one hour away.

The police entered the conference while it was in the stage of organizing itself, arrested the 19 foreign delegates and drove them away by bus to the Laren jail. There the delegates were divided into two groups, one remaining at the Laren jail and the bulk of the delegates transferred to the investigating prison at Amsterdam.

German Delegates Landed over to Hitler Police

Four German comrades who remained in the Laren jail were summarily handed over to the Hitler police by the mayor of the town, despite the active intervention of comrade Sneevliet of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland and a member of the Dutch Parliament. The delegates transferred under heavy guard to Amsterdam (three Germans, two Norwegians, two Americans, one Frenchman, two Belgians one Swiss and one Pole), were deported to Belgium, after remaining for two days in prison where they were severely cross-examined, photographed and fingerprinted.

If the "democratic" Dutch regime thought that by this dastardly act they had thereby prevented the actually convening of the conference they were to be rudely disappointed. While in prison the confined comrades prepared for the reassembling of the deported delegates and the holding of a conference. Luxemburg was chosen as its meeting place. On Monday, February 26th, the deportations were effected and on Tuesday evening a plenary session was held by the deported delegates under illegal conditions at Luxemburg.

Conference Reorganized

The original conference was initiated by the Independent Socialist Party Youth of Holland. With the events in Holland, it became clear that the conference would have to be completely reorganized. The plenary session decided that the conference, while having its origin in Holland was actually a new conference, and resolved to hold it in

the name of the International Communist League and the Socialist Workers Party of Germany. The plenum agreed upon an agenda for the conference and decided to issue a manifesto to the international working class movement denouncing the actions of the reactionary Dutch regime and calling upon all organizations to voice their protests.

On Wednesday, February 28th, the conference convened. The following organizations were represented by delegates:

1. The Youth Secretariat of the International Communist League, representing the youth sections of

(Continued on page 4)

National Tour of Shachtman Builds For the New Party

Reports of preparations for Shachtman meetings in the important cities all the way to the Pacific coast via the reports of successful meetings already held on the national tour. Outstanding is the fact that he has, amongst the many other important activities, spoken upon invitation before various workers organizations. In Dorchester, Mass., a well attended meeting of the shoe workers club listened to the viewpoint of the League on trade union questions. In Tonawanda, N. Y. a fine meeting of the local Unemployment League, with about one hundred in attendance, voiced its approval of the message presented by comrade Shachtman by insisting upon another engagement on his return trip. In Chelsea, Mass., he spoke to a meeting of the Labor Lyceum having an attendance of 120.

The biggest and most spirited meetings so far were held in Canada. In Toronto a mass meeting of 300 was followed by a banquet netting some funds not only to help cover expenses of this widely extended tour, but also to finance some initial steps toward establishing our Canadian section on an autonomous basis. In Montreal over a hundred workers attended Shachtman's meeting.

The main subject on the tour covers the new party project. The tour is part of a concerted drive by the League. The problem of the new party and our views in regard to it are being presented to the American workers by comrade Shachtman in the public meetings.

In St. Francisco and Los Angeles big preparations are under way to utilize to the fullest extent the first League speaker to cross the continent. The balance of the schedule on the outgoing part of the tour appears on page two.

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Dutch Police Deport Youth Delegates to Germany!

The international conference of revolutionary youth organizations, for the purpose of discussing the present international situation and the tasks of the youth, was called for Saturday, February 24th, at Laren, Holland, to last for three days. Many delegates from Europe and America were present. At 10.00 p. m. on Saturday, this conference was raided by city and state police. The orders for this disruption came from the chief prosecutor in Amsterdam, acting under the direction of the minister of justice. Passports were inspected. About twenty foreign comrades were arrested, allegedly because they had no residence permit. After being questioned at the Laren prison, a majority of the young comrades were taken to the police headquarters at Amsterdam and deported to Belgium two days later. Four German comrades were held in the Laren police station. The four comrades, Kurt Liebermann, Franx Bobzien, Hans Goldstein, members of the Socialist Workers Party of Germany, and Heinz Hose, a member of the International Communist League of Germany, were handed over directly by the Dutch police to the Hitler police.

Democratic Holland has been guilty of the same crime which once earned for imperial Germany the contempt of the masses of the world. Just as Bismarck and Bulow turned Russian revolutionaries over to the Czarist Ochrana, so the Dutch government has delivered young German revolutionaries into Hitler's hands. That means they have delivered these revolutionaries up to jail, concentration camp, the terror dungeons of the Nazis—perhaps to death.

This is not the first case. Only a short time ago an anti-Fascist who had escaped from a concentration camp was driven back over the German border by the Dutch police.

It is not alone the International Communist League and the Socialist Workers Party which are affected by this shameful persecution. Every German enemy of Fascism, every exile, whatever his political position is also menaced. This atrocious act, should be a warning to the international working class. Taking place in "democratic" Holland, it is a signal begin at once, without delay, to resist this march of reaction.

Workers of all countries, all anti-Fascist parties and organizations must raise their voices in protest against this accomplice's service to the bloody Hitler regime. There must be brought upon those responsible a pressure so powerful that such crimes must not and cannot be repeated.

The rates will be at a minimum of 30c an hour "provided that weekly earnings shall not exceed the budget", employment is limited to 24 hours a week, and Hopkins estimates that wages in large cities—where in theory are to have the highest wages—"will be about \$12 a week." And for the overwhelming majority of the unemployed, if they can get it—Home Relief.

Faced with this pauper wage under pauper conditions, the CWA workers could have chosen no more propitious time for marching on Washington. The New York delegation is being organized by a joint committee of the Associated Office & Professional Emergency Employees, Association of Civil Workers, Emergency Workers in Adult Education, Tenement House CWA Employees, and the Workers Unemployed Union. Mass meetings and rallies have been and are being held throughout the city and scores of thousands of leaflets distributed.

In order to leave and return the same day and spend as much time as possible in Washington, the Joint Committee has chartered a special train. The fare is \$4 round trip. All CWA workers are asked to come and raise funds to send other workers from their job. A drive is being made to get indorsement and funds from trade unions and other workers and fraternal organizations to pay or supplement fares of the lower-wage CWA workers.

The Stalinist-controlled "United Action on CWA" responded to the Washington call by going into competition with it. At a mass meeting March 18th at Stuyvesant Casino, the previous "face" for the Stalinists, the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, receded into the background and the Unemployed Councils came forward. The Stalinists shoved through a motion to boycott the Washington delegation. Instead, the Unemployed Councils decided to send its own "United Action" to Washington a week later! This is a typical continuation of the disruptive activity of the Stalinists in the unemployed movement during the years of the crisis.

The answer of all militant workers is to support the Joint Committee's "On to Washington" drive and join the delegation on Saturday, March 24. Any time up to Friday night, arrangements can be made to go, at the headquarters of the Joint Committee, 22 East 22nd St. —EMERGENCY EMPLOYEE.

Buy a PIONEER PUBLISHERS' CERTIFICATE. It's only \$5 and entitles you to 40% discount on our publications and to a 20% reduction on any book published by other publishers.

The New Strike Wave

The Automobile Workers Revolt

THE automobile workers, poised for a mighty struggle for the rights and demands which the "New Deal" promised but did not give, are heralding the advent of the new strike wave which will most likely swing hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of rebellious workers into aggressive action. "The worst epidemic of strikes in our history", which General Johnson foretold and tried to head off, is knocking at the door.

The new strike movement will be deeper than last year's, more militant and more difficult to pacify with empty promises and patriotic demagoguery. It will encounter fierce resistance from the industrial overlords and their mercenaries, and this, in turn, will call forth great resources of working class courage, endurance and sacrifice. The impending class battles will mark an important step on the road to the class awakening of the American workers and, consequently, to their political organization.

The emergence of the automobile workers as the vanguard of the impending struggles invests the entire labor movement with a new force of incalculable energy and power. The machine proletariat, the most powerful and dynamic section of the class, hitherto unorganized and quiescent, is bestirring itself and organizing for action. No wonder the politicians and the conservative labor leaders scurry like rabbits in fear of the strike! Once the machine proletariat gets into mass action the relations of capital and labor, as well as the internal situation of the labor movement, will undergo a pronounced change. A trade union movement dominated by the factory proletariat would be too wild a horse for Green & Co. to ride.

The NRA machinery, as such, failed to satisfy the auto workers or to hold them back. It required the direct intervention of President Roosevelt to effect a postponement of the general strike scheduled for Wednesday. The breakdown of the NRA in the situation is a powerful blow to its prestige. The express determination of the automobile workers to strike for the enforcement of their demands signals a profound change in their attitude toward the NRA.

Last year they believed a promise—now they proceed to independent action. The greatest danger to the strike movement now comes from Roosevelt directly. His strategy of delay is the strategy of the bosses. Now is the time to strike. The workers will make a great error if they allow the action to be delayed while the bosses continue their preparations and the edge is taken off the strike spirit in endless negotiations at Washington.

The forces are lining up along the whole front for the greatest labor struggle since the post-war days; possibly, as General Johnson predicted, "the worst epidemic of strikes in our history". In this impending struggle the masses will confront a different attitude on the part of the Roosevelt administration, the NRA and all the rest of the governmental machinery. Once the strike wave takes on real scope and militancy, once it becomes clear that the old game of ballyhoo and promise does not suffice to stop the strikes, the iron hand will come out of the velvet glove. The Government will demonstrate very quickly whose side it takes.

All the forces of the capitalist order will be lined up against the workers. These include not only the Government from top to bottom, but also the entire upper stratum of the official labor leaders. In breaking through the net of the NRA and coming directly to grips with the capitalist masters, the revolting workers will also collide at every turn with the constricting barriers of the A. F. of L. structure and the treacherous policy of its leaders. At the crucial moment these leaders will fight the strikes openly. Many of the strikes will be branded as "outlaw" movements and will have to proceed independently.

In this prospect of stormy struggle of the masses, with enemies assailing them from every side, with the government taking off the mask and the labor leaders showing their true colors—in this stormy movement the working class of America will find itself, clarify its aims and march with seven league boots on the path toward revolutionary action. The formation of a revolutionary party which could aid and guide this process is the most important task of the hour.

New York Taxi Drivers Continue Militant Fight For Union

The taxi drivers of New York City are striking back at the growing menace of company unions. The Panken-Ernst "settlement" of the February strike left the men without recognition of their union and constituted an encouragement to the fleet owners to proceed with the organization of company unions. One of the largest, Parmelee, presented the men with an ultimatum: Either sign up in the company union, or get out. The men struck.

After eight days of an indecisive struggle, the union called a general strike. The estimates of the response vary from 27 to 45 thousand. The main demand is recognition of the union and abolition of the blacklist. Economic demands have been put forward and are substantially the same as those advanced in the last strike, providing for a minimum wage of \$22 a week on the day shift, and \$25 on the night; maximum hours, no discrimination against negro drivers who are allowed to drive only cabs which by their distinctive markings are recognizable as having negro drivers.

Picketing has been organized at the garages and squads are out on the street to prevent scab cabs from trying to break the strike. The spirit of the men is militant and they are clear on the central issue involved; a working class organization controlled by them, or a company union.

The greeting rate are as follows: One inch, one column—One Dollar; Two inches, one column—\$1.50; Five inches—\$3.00; For two column greetings the rates are double. Individual names—\$.25. May 1st, as always, will be the occasion for demonstrations, parades, mass meetings, lectures, forums, and social affairs. The opportunity for the distribution and sale of *The Militant* will be exceptionally great. From the political point of view it is a first class opportunity to strike a blow for the New Party. The machinery required to sell the paper on this day should be carefully organized now. You will need a much larger number of papers than you take now. Please send in your order for the additional copies as soon as you can and MAKE SURE THAT IT IS ACCOMPANIED BY PAYMENT FOR THEM as our financial situation is still such as to make it impossible to undertake the printing of a larger issue unless it is paid for IN ADVANCE. The bundle order rate for this issue will be the same, one cent a copy.

A complicating factor is the independent owner-driver, for whom a strike against the fleet owners are an opportunity to reap a golden harvest. There are enough independent cabs in New York City to break a strike. In the former strike the union attempted to prevent the independents from working. In the present strike they're trying to work out a sort of compromise arrangement. The union is trying to organize the independents into the union and has come to an agreement with them by which the independents pay three dollars a day each into the treasury of the union.

There is yet no sign of an attempt on the part of the union to spread the strike to other sectors of transportation. In our opinion this is a necessary step which should be carried out without delay. The workers of the Fifth Avenue Coach Company are smarting under the tyranny of the company which has imposed a company union on them and through the use of spies prevented them from voting for an independent union in the recent NRA elections. The issue for which the taxi drivers are fighting is the same one for which the Fifth Avenue Coach Company will struggle tomorrow. An appeal to them must find a warm response. Serious and energetic efforts to pull them out on the same issue have more than a fair chance of success. A common fight would

increase the chances of both to win against the bosses.

Hostile to NRA

The general strike of the taxi drivers during the preparation of a local code for the industry, the code provides a twelve dollar minimum, and its other provisions are of a similar generous nature. The attitude of the taxi drivers toward the NRA is one of hostility. The Regional Labor Board, which functioned so well against the hotel strike, is trying to intervene by arranging conferences to settle the strike. The union has expressed its willingness to attend the conferences, but the fleet owners have not. The men should be on guard against any attempt on the part of Herriek and Golden to play the same tricks on them which they played on the hotel strikers and other workers.

The impending strike of the auto workers is of the utmost importance to the taxi drivers. Not only is the issue of the right of workers to organize in their own organizations the same, but both have exactly the same enemies in the most direct and immediate sense. The Parmelee Company is owned or controlled by Cord Motors, makers of the Auburn and Cord cars. General Motors owns outright the Terminal cabs and controls, through a weighted mortgage coverage system, the Radio cabs.

The strike of the auto workers will shake the auto industry to the ground and increase the chances for a successful outcome of the taxi strike. The two struggles are really one. The workers should be united in fraternal bonds of solidarity.

Court Hits At Substitute Teachers

About 700 New York City high school teachers, fully licensed, but compelled by an "economy"-seeking Board of Education to work as substitute at a lower rate of pay than the regularly appointed teachers, were turned back in their fight for permanent jobs by a decision of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court on March 18th.

Several months ago the teachers went to court to compel the Board to make appointments in conformity with the law. Supreme Court Justice, Wasservogel handed down a decision in favor of the teachers. The Board of Education appealed the decision and won its case. The teachers are now making preparations to carry the fight further.

There are some lessons which the teachers can draw from the fight which they made. One of the most important is the fact that they conducted a divided struggle. The proceedings were instituted, both by organizations of unemployed teachers, the High School Eligible Association influenced by the Lovestonettes, and the Unemployed Teachers Association which follows a Stalinist policy.

The Eligible Association conducted a strictly legal fight placing its faith in the "processes of justice",

In this struggle it was assisted by the conservative administration of the Teachers Union which contributed funds and sent a speaker to a mass meeting. The administration of the union, saw in the factional division of the unemployed an opportunity to strike at the U. T. A. which is hostile to it and to which it is hostile. While it supported the fight of the Eligible Association it refused to have anything to do with the case of the U. T. A.

The Unemployed Teachers Association tried to rally mass pressure behind its legal fight. It held a number of mass meetings, organized protests at the sessions of the Board of Education, and was instrumental in getting a number of organizations to send protest telegrams to the judges who heard the case. Like its prototypes, the Unemployed Councils it succeeded, more than anything else, in demonstrating its impotence in face of the serious issue and its sectarian isolation from the main stream of the teachers movement.

Of these facts the teachers should take careful note. The first prerequisite for a successful struggle to secure relief is unity, unity among the unemployed, and unity of the employed and unemployed. —E. L.

The Strange Adventures of Insull

The doings and goings of Samuel Insull, formerly of Chicago, more recently resident of Athens, Greece, and decidedly well known to certain United States utility stockholders, has flared excitedly on the headlines of newspapers these past few days. It seems that on Wednesday afternoon, March 14th, 1934, the 74 year old gentleman surreptitiously slipped out of his Grecian home. Although reported sick in bed suffering from heart attacks, the indomitable Insull was not the man to be kept down.

With the police guarding the building, how he managed to make his getaway is subject to various versions. One story has it that he escaped through the back door, while another states he left by the front door in disguise. One can have his choice or develop his own hypothesis. We are inclined to think that the two versions are credible. Back in Chicago, Samuel had learned that a front door disguise plus a back door method could accomplish something, and why not in Greece?

Insull was to have been deported from Greece under the Undesirable Aliens Act. There had been several postponements due to his alleged sickness. Instead of waiting to be properly and legally deported in accordance with all the Greek regulations, the ungrateful Insull

secretly departs by himself, away from the freighter Malotis, and away he sails.

Such flaunting of Greek regulations could not be tolerated by the Greek government. When the ex-millionaire's disappearance was discovered a wireless was dispatched to the captain of the ship ordering his immediate return. An airplane with machine guns was placed in readiness in case the captain should prove stubborn. The cables from Athens failed to mention whether the navy war vessels were mobilized, but we assume as much. Anyway the ship returned.

Now, it was believed, Insull's recall would mean that the agents of the United States Department of Justice would at last get him. But alas! The Malotis had been recalled but not for that purpose. The ship returned, Insull's papers properly stamped, the prestige of the Greek government saved, the regulations duly observed, and Insull sailed away again.

For what port is Insull sailing? It is rumored he wishes to go to Abyssinia. There it is said they want him as an advisor in the building of power interests in Africa. The spirit of emulation has seized some of the Abyssinian officials. If it can be done in Chicago, why not in Abyssinia? —G. E.

The Question of the Hour!
**THE PROGRAM OF THE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**
a Lecture by
JAMES P. CANNON
IRVING PLAZA HALL
15th Street and Irving Place
SUNDAY, MARCH 25th, 8 P.M.
Admission 15c Questions and Discussion

Organized Labor Under the NRA

Company Unions Gain Under the NRA

A survey of collective bargaining under the NRA was made by the Industrial Conference Board. The survey showed that Company Unions made bigger gains since the inauguration of the NRA than the unions of the workers, and that individual bargaining still hold the dominating place in the American scheme of class relations.

A canvas of 3,814 companies, employing 2,585,740 wage earners, estimated as 27% of the total number employed in manufacturing and mining, showed the following percentages:

Individual bargaining	1,181,000	45.7%
Employee representation		
Collective bargaining	1,164,000	45.0%
Labor union agreements made	241,000	9.3%

Their report says, "the most striking result of this survey is the relatively small proportion of employees found to be dealing with the employers through an organized labor union". "Employee representation (company unions) appears to have made considerable progress in the large companies". "It is clear that individual bargaining has not in any way been eliminated by Section 7-a of the Recovery Act". "In the contest for popularity between the two methods of collective bargaining, the employee representative plan appears to have won the initial advantage."

Green Admits the NRA Cannot Help Real Wages

The March issue of the American Federationist admits that the NRA cannot help the workers obtain an increase in real wages and that the trend of real wages is downward. Of course the Federationist does not admit that one of the many things the NRA was designed to accomplish, is a real wage reduction of the workers with as little resistance and as few strikes as possible. Green and Company, as agents of the capitalists in our ranks, carry out this task through the NRA class collaboration machinery.

The Federationist says: "In general there has been no increase in real wages. The codes will not safeguard real wages. The government monetary policy points toward diminishing real wages."

Green and Company do not howl because the wages of the workers will be reduced. They howl because they are afraid, if the capitalists do not give them a greater share of collaboration in the Code Authority bodies and the Industrial Relations Board, they will not be able to keep in check the rising discontent and strike struggles in the making.

International Workers School Notes

Two New Courses Are Being Started This Week

1. **Elementary Russian:** This is a course for beginners to be given by comrade S. Weber. The first session will commence at 4 P. M. next Sunday, March 25th.
2. **Public Speaking:** This course is exclusively for Left Oppositionists and members of the Spartacus Youth Club. It is intended to train speakers for our SPEAKERS' BUREAU. The thirty members who have been assigned are requested to be on time next Sunday, March 25th at 1 P. M. The course will be conducted by comrade J. Weber.

All other classes are well under way but each lecture is self-contained, thus permitting those interested to attend individual sessions.

Trade Union Strategy and Tactics

Comrade Swaback will present interesting material in his next two lectures:

1. The revolutionary struggle in the labor movement.
2. The movement for the eight hour day.

History of the Russian Bolshevik Party

Comrade Wright will deal with events that every class-conscious worker should understand thoroughly:

1. 1905—the Dress Rehearsal for the October Revolution.
2. The Years of Revolution (1905-1907).

Fundamentals and Communism

Comrade Abern continues his course with lectures on:

1. The Bourgeois Revolution and the Working Class
2. The Marxian Analysis of Capitalist Development.

Grammercy 5-9524

This is the phone number of the Militant, The Communist League and the International Workers School.

Organizing the Home Relief Workers

About three months ago a group of workers in the Emergency Home Relief Bureau, under the pressure of intolerable working conditions and miserable wages, called an open meeting of Home Relief workers for the purpose of laying the basis for organization.

As a result of this meeting an Initiative Committee was elected and the E. H. R. B. Employees Association was formed. For two years prior to the formation of the Association, the C. P. members working in the Home Relief Bureau, although constituted as a UNIT, never called any open meetings of Home Relief Workers. The extent of their activities consisted in issuing wild, ultra-Left leaflets distributed by the Unemployed Councils, calling for a general strike, etc. No address was given where workers could communicate with them. Everything was done in a very secretive and underhand manner. Later they began signing the leaflets with the name of PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE, giving the address of the Office Workers Union. Needless to say these tactics had a very disastrous effect on the workers who became very wary and suspicious when later approached by the Association.

Seeing the tremendous response

919 New Subs!

Sixty-five more new subs came in last week bringing the total up to 919 and bringing us within 81 subs of our goal of one thousand.

The subs received last week:

Boston Br.	16
Oakland Br.	12
F. Berensmeier	8
Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	8
Q. Parker	5
W. Sukut	4
New York Local	4
Philadelphia Br.	4
Davenport Br.	4

TOTAL 65
The complete record up to date follows:

New York Local	388
Minneapolis Br.	106
Kansas City Br.	48
Boston Br.	32
Pittsburgh Br.	32
New Castle Br.	24
L. Brown	20
Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	16
Oakland Br.	12
Philadelphia Br.	12
Davenport Br.	12
J. Hamilton	12
A. Teacher	12
Chicago Br.	12
Youngstown Br.	12
Q. Parker	11
F. Berensmeier	8
F. Stimming	8
M. Stalnbach	8
D. Marcus	8
D. L.	8
J. Ruby	8
G. Pagnua	8
S. Hardy	8
L. Goodman	8
G. Kots	8
Los Angeles Br.	8
M. Hurwitz	8
Buffalo Br.	4
G. Ellis	4
D. Fogel	4
M. Gendelman	4
C. Hoffman	4
T. Mill	4
Salt Lake City Br.	4
W. Toupin	4
H. Sukut	4
W. Sukut	4
D. O'Dwyer	4
M. McLeod	4
St. Louis Br.	4
L. Murphy	4
M. Koehler	4
C. Genfan	4
R. Carlson	4

TOTAL 919
Can we reach the goal of 1000 new subs on the Club Plan this week? We are counting on it. What do you say?

WHITHER ENGLAND?

Pioneer Publishers have just received a supply of the English edition of "Whither England?" by L. D. Trotsky. Price 95 cents per copy postpaid.

SPECIAL NOTICE

The full page article by comrade Trotsky in a recent Militant, with its devastating summary of the 18th Plenum of the E. C. C. I., has evoked a demand for its re-publication in cheap pamphlet form. One sympathizer has offered to contribute \$10 for this purpose. If \$15 more can be secured we will proceed immediately with the publication of this brilliant article as a small pamphlet. Send contributions to PIONEER PUBLISHERS 64 West 104th Street New York.

WHITHER ENGLAND?

—SOME RELIEF WORKERS.

Greek Workers' Club "Protomagia"

The Greek Workers' Club "Protomagia" now has its own headquarters and reading room at 635 Eighth Avenue, Manhattan (between 40th and 41st Streets).

The headquarters are open from noon to midnight every day. Food and refreshments are served all day at the counter. All comrades are invited to drop in any time.

Next Sunday night, March 25th, at 8 P. M., Arne Swaback will lecture at the Headquarters on "The Lessons of the Austrian Events". Admission free. Questions and discussion.

The Club intends to hold regular lectures every Sunday night and to conduct an agitation among the Greek workers to enroll them for active participation in the class struggle.

Announcements of other activities will appear in subsequent issues of The Militant under this heading. Watch for them.

Shachtman Tour

Schedule
The schedule for the tour, in addition to the cities already covered, is as follows:

- Sat., March 24th—Minneapolis & St. Paul Minn.
- Sun., March 25th—Minneapolis.
- Mon., March 26th—Minneapolis.
- Tues., March 27th—Minneapolis.
- Wed., March 28th—Duluth, Minn.
- Thurs., March 29th—
- Fri., March 30th—Winnipeg, Can.
- Sat., March 31st—Winnipeg, Can.
- Sun., April 1st—Winnipeg, Can.
- Mon., April 2nd—
- Tues., April 3rd—Williston, N. D.
- Wed., April 4th—
- Thurs., April 5th—Portland Ore.
- Fri., April 6th—Portland, Ore.
- Sat., April 7th—
- Sun., April 8th—San Francisco.
- Mon., April 9th—San Francisco.
- Tues., April 10th—San Francisco.
- Wed., April 11th—
- Thurs., April 12th—Los Angeles.
- Fri., April 13th—Los Angeles.
- Sat., April 14th—Los Angeles.
- Sun., April 15th—Los Angeles.

Shachtman Tour San Francisco

MASS MEETING
"TOWARDS A NEW REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN THE U. S."
TUESDAY Evening, April 10, 1934
at
LABOR COLLEGE HALL
1254 Market Street
Questions Discussion
ADMISSION FREE

TROYANOVSKY -- 1916 AND 1934

In 1916, when Lenin and Trotsky were struggling to reorganize the collapsed international labor movement, Alexander Troyanovsky, now Soviet ambassador to the U. S. A., published in Zurich, Switzerland, a pamphlet entitled *Do We Need An International?* There he vigorously assailed Karl Radek and his "dis-ciple," Lenin for their theory that only a socialist revolution could defeat imperialism, called them "extremists" and deserters of the class struggle, criticized the Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conferences for being insufficiently internationalist, and offered instead a program, formulated according to Troyanovsky's statement, by Kautsky.

There is no need to go into all that old dispute. History has refuted Troyanovsky if nothing else has, and now he takes off his hat every time Lenin's name is mentioned. There is space, however, to quote a few important passages from Troyanovsky's pamphlet. According to our author, Lenin's theory of imperialism led to an attitude of offering "no resistance to imperialism, to the exploitation of one country by another, or even to the domestic reaction growing out of imperialism." He continued thus:

Troyanovsky Accuses Lenin

"This abandonment of resistance to imperialism not only does away with the necessity of the international as an organization of international proletarian action. In principle, it leads to an estimate of socialism as a national task to be carried out within the confines of existing states by the working class forces of such states. The social revolution thus ceases to be an international matter, the result of a unified international struggle of the proletariat of the entire world, and becomes a goal to be reached by the separate efforts of the proletariats of separate countries, independent of the nature of existing international conditions. (p. 7.)

"If the highest goal of all our work, socialism, can and must be achieved by the workers of each

Australian Youth Organizations

Despite the existing conditions, which are favorable for organizing the youth, we find that the majority of the young Australian workers are unorganized.

The small section of the youth which is organized, is chiefly centered in the bourgeois sports organizations or other sporting bodies which pretend to remain neutral, such as the Y. M. C. A. and factory teams.

Even the Australian Labour Party, which has the support of the majority of the workers in Australia, has only recently established A. L. P. Younger Sets. However, these Younger Sets are essentially social clubs, which occasionally pass resolutions of confidence in "Jack Lang" the leader of the A. L. P., and sell buttons during election campaigns. They are neither more nor less than sporting and electioneering outfits.

Vain attempts have been made by the Young Communist League—Australian section of the Young Communist International—to organize the youth at various times, and it is these attempts that we shall endeavor to deal with in this article. Since the Y. C. L. claims to be the political vanguard of the youth section of the working class, and maintains that it is based on Marxism-Leninism, it is necessarily an expression of internationalism, and only by comparing its Australian section with other sections can we arrive at a correct estimation of its work.

MEMBERSHIP

From what we know, there is no country in the world, except the Soviet Union, in which the Y. C. L. is in any way strong numerically, or near the size of the Party. Its membership is continually fluctuating and has no ideological level.

In Australia, numerous young workers have been attracted to the League, but it has never managed to retain any but the careerist elements and a few sincere comrades. This is mainly due to the fact that the Y. C. L. has established itself as the "Communist Party of Youth", which drives out elements who, though class-conscious, are not yet prepared to be so active, or to accept discipline, as a party member would be. The sincere young revolutionaries, who are prepared to make sacrifices, soon become disgusted with the political passivity of the Y. C. L. and want to join the party.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE Y. C. L.

The League reflects all the internal diseases of the party. Bureaucracy is rampant. We find that individuals possessing no political ability, are elevated to the leadership because they are willing to carry out the instructions of the C.

C. of the party without question. No critical thought is allowed unless it is in accord with the party decisions. The unit meetings are a replica of party meetings; the same lengthy reports and these are discussed, and the same amount of activity is expected from the young worker recruit as from a party member.

YOUTH SECTIONS

For several years there has been much talk within the party of organizing a youth section in every fraternal organization. The Y. C. L. drafts a few of their none too numerous comrades into a fraternal organization, and these represent the youth section. They busy themselves around their office, issue a few circulars; possibly recruit a few petty bourgeois elements who haven't the courage to join the Y. C. L., and that is the sum total of their activities. Why? Because there is no basis for such youth organizations. It is just as hopeless as forming youth sections in strike committees or defense committees. Some of the organizations that are supposed to contain youth sections are:—the Minority Movement; United Unemployed Councils; League Against Imperialism; F. O. S. U.; I. L. D., W. I. R., etc.

On the basis of what is mentioned above, coupled with practical experience of working in the Y. C. L., we have come to the conclusion that the Young Communist League which sets itself up as the political vanguard of one section of the working class; is simply a juvenile Communist Party in a mutilated form.

SUGGESTED ORGANIZATIONAL FORM

The following is a brief outline of what we consider a superior method of working among the youth. That the youth question be taken up by a youth department set up within the party.

Such depts. to have the task of organizing youth clubs on similar lines to the Spartacus clubs, embracing social and educational activities.

The youth dept. would pay attention, to anti-militarist work, organizing the children, and all other such phases of youth work. The political lead should come from the political party, thus doing away with duplication and confusion.

On the question of a new Y. C. I. we are of the opinion that the work of the Y. C. I. could well be managed by a Youth Bureau within the Fourth International.

We hope that you will print this as a discussion article in the Militant or the youth paper *Young Spartacus*.

(Submitted by Australian comrades of the International Communist League).

CUBA—

The situation of the organizations of the Cuban workers, the trade unions in particular, has become desperate. Mendieta, the "strong" man, the puppet speaking with the voice of Wall Street is attempting to carry out the mandate granted him by U. S. imperialism. He aims to break the backbone of the Cuban working class by first smashing its organs of struggle on the economic front, the trade unions.

The Cuban Revolution, the achievement of the Cuban masses, is at stake in the present struggle. Only the working class, leading the peasants and the oppressed masses, can save the Revolution by carrying it forward. A strong united front of the workers of town and plantation must be cemented by the building of Soviets, the weapon of defense of the workers. The united front of the oppressed has the immediate aim of defending the democratic rights won by the downfall of Machado, in particular the right to organize and strike. The workers are now on the defensive but, despite the Caffery-Mendieta machinations, the struggle has not yet terminated. Mendieta can still be prevented from consolidating power completely if the masses can be rallied in the struggle for democratic rights. But this struggle must be directed along the road to Soviets.

THE JAPANESE-ENGLISH TEXTILE NEGOTIATIONS

In the war of currency depreciation for the purpose of extending foreign markets, Japan started the earliest and gained the most. She gained the most because her foreign trade forms so large a percentage of her economy and since inflation made her goods dirt-cheap in world markets, she was able to drive all competitors out of the market. The bulk of Japan's exports are textile goods, cotton and to a less extent silk. The cheapness of Japanese cotton goods has resulted in an amazing loss of business for the British textile mills. The largest Empire textile market, India, was flooded with Japanese textiles until the outcry of the English capitalists brought the threat to close this market completely to Japan. Japan retaliated by declaring a boycott on Indian raw cotton.

The negotiations for a "truce" on a world scale continued in London but the Japanese, in the superior position, wanted to limit the truce to British Empire markets only. The result was the breakdown of the conference and the problem has now been taken from the hands of the capitalists into those of the diplomats. Unquestionably the Japanese will lay down political conditions for concessions in trade that will involve the stand of England in the imminent war. If Japan can obtain England's promise to checkmate the U. S. in the matter of allying with the Soviet Union against Japan, the latter may hesitate no longer in her planned attack.

—HARRY STRANG.

MARCH OF EVENTS

MANHATTAN HOUSING.

East side, West side, the firetraps of Manhattan have taken their toll of sixteen lives of women and children in recent weeks. Horrified working class mothers and children, aroused to realization of their awful plight, have demonstrated against these conditions brought about by the landlords' greed and have demanded enforcement of the law. And in good old muck-raking style, so effective in capitalizing misery to build up circulation, the *New York Evening Post* investigates and exposes the landlords responsible, none other, of course, than the elite of society, the wealthiest families, the Stuyvesants and Astors and Wendels.

These old tenement houses "paid for themselves" many times over with the exorbitant rents squeezed out of the poor. But the landlords have ever an eye for the main chance, in this case the unloading of an investment that no longer pays on the city. So Vincent Asor, "liberal" host during Roosevelt's vacations, comes forward magnanimously to offer his many tinder-boxes to LaGuardia at any price at all—say, "to be fair", two-thirds or three-quarters of assessed value, immediately fifty other landlords follow suit. To understand this overwhelming burst of generosity one need only remember that assessed values are far higher than present real values; that the high land values in Manhattan act as an insurmountable barrier to the rehousing of families in the slum districts; that whereas dwellings have increased in all the other boroughs, they have decreased by more than five thousand in Manhattan in the past five years; that "recruiting" for the slums has decreased through the lowering of immigration. The mouths of the landlords water for the cash to be handed out by the R. F. C. for slum clearance. On top of this the City offer to tear down free, the landlord, with the aid of CWA workers, all firetrap tenements which should have been razed years ago by the landlords. Yes, charity does begin at home!

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—HARRY STRANG.

One Year of Roosevelt's New Deal

The Technique of Serving the Exploiters and Fooling the Masses,

The Demagogy of Roosevelt Program

On the first anniversary of the New Deal four thousand gentlemen in control of industry and finance gathered in Washington to be harangued and cajoled. "We must consider immediate cooperation to secure increase in wages and shortening of hours," said President Roosevelt. Verily, that must have been spoken entirely in defense of the forgotten man—at least so it appeared.

Before the same gathering General Johnson argued against the company union. But he made his reasons perfectly clear. "We know," he said, "something about what is toward in this country—the worst epidemic of strikes in our history... I would rather deal with Bill Green, John Lewis, Ed McGrady, Mike MacDonough, George Berry, and a host of others I could name, than with any Frankenstein that you may build up under the guise of a company union."

"In fact—take it from me and a wealth of experience—their interests are your interests and under the law and in this modern day, it is the best and quickest way to economic peace."

Fear Collapse of System

That is the rub. Essentially these statements are all motivated by the fear of decay and collapse of the capitalist system. They mean to convey the idea that it is time to do some serious patching of the kind which will reinforce its basis, consolidate its most essential parts and strengthen its whole structure. This, at times, can be accomplished most effectively by means of apparent concessions, presented in the terms of glamorous demagogy. Keep the workers at a level where they can endure exploitation without too convulsive revolts. Work closely hand in hand with your agents in labor ranks, the respectable labor leaders, and discard your company unions lest you actually pave the way for new and more serious strikes and for militant unions. Such was the real character of these admonishments.

To say bluntly that these statements are motivated by fear of the decay and collapse of the capitalist system may seem entirely unsubstantiated. Are not the authors of the New Deal enjoying the confidence of the vast majority of people from all walks of life? Is not the President still extremely popular even in the humblest of working class homes? Does he not seem to represent their fears and their desperate hopes? Undoubtedly this must all be answered in the affirmative. But it does not in the least settle the question of what the New Deal is, for whose benefit it operates, and the motivation behind it.

The Ballyhoo Technique

One of its brilliant critics has said that it is suggestive of an adventure on a rocking horse, that it is unreal, and that it does not remove the causes of "social injustice". Standing alone, that is of course not sufficient as a characterization. The New Deal is not intended to remove the causes of "social injustice". Only the successful conclusion of the class struggle can remove this. And here is the important question: What does the New Deal mean to the workers? To understand this it must be examined in its economic aspect, from the point of view of its function in social and class relationships, as well as from the point of view of its ballyhoo and demagogy, expressed both in words and action, which is intended to maintain illusions in the workers' minds. Each one of these aspects requires separate treatment. In this article we confine ourselves to the demagogic aspect, leaving the others to subsequent articles.

While the New Deal machinery creaks and groans as it is put into motion, there is a certain revolutionary flare attached to its basic philosophy. It is acclaimed by some as "a new social order", by others as "disciplined democracy". President Roosevelt calls it "an economic constitutional order". It has even elevated to a basis of respectability the method of abbreviation of names by initials, formerly considered to belong only to the Bolsheviks. We have now the NRA, the AAA, the PWA, etc. An ingenious middle-class mind has suggested the addition of a tax-payer's SOS.

Not a "Revolution"

Donald Richberg, the counsel for the New Deal, says that it is "a revolution not in purpose but in method." Such statements are intended to catch the gullible worker, disoriented with things as they are. The New Deal could, of course, not be a revolution in purpose, a revolution which does away with capitalist property rights and the power of exploitation. This is the only revolution which means something to the workers. Such a revolution is not engineered by the capitalist rulers themselves. They are its bitter opponents. Nor do revolutions come about peacefully. Those in possession of the capitalist property rights and the powers of

exploitation do not yield them without a struggle.

President Roosevelt declares that social conditions had previously been permitted which allowed vast sections of the population to exist in an un-American way, which allowed a mal-distribution of wealth and of power. In his book "Looking Forward", he says: "I believe that the government, without becoming a prying bureaucracy, can act as a check or counter-balance of this oligarchy (the few hundred corporations and fewer than three dozen banks which control our economic life) so as to secure initiative, life, a chance to work, and the safety of savings to men and women, rather than the safety of exploitation to the exploiter, safety of manipulation to the manipulator, safety of unlicensed power to those who would speculate to the bitter end with the welfare and property of other people."

Wall Street Not Really Disturbed

And so we have the New Deal, supposed to check and counter-balance the oligarchy. Moreover, has not Wall Street been investigated? Was not a whole section of this crew of capitalist pirates headed by J. P. Morgan summoned to appear before a senate investigation committee and tell why they had evaded tax payments to the government? (That is perfectly true. But it is one thing to investigate Wall Street and dress the investigations up in radical sounding demagogy in order to catch the uninitiated. It would be quite another thing to attempt to dislodge Wall Street from its economic power.)

This, of course, is not at all intended by the investigations. On the contrary, we shall be able to prove that in every respect Wall Street has been strengthened, and its power and all it stands for has been consolidated, by the advent of the New Deal. President Roosevelt said in his anniversary address: "No one is opposed to sensible and reasonable profits." This means that profits are to be rationalized. In other words, the right of exploitation is to be stabilized on a basis which will insure it against too violent disturbances and shocks.

The Big Interests and the Codes

We are not unmindful of the fact that the big fellows, the steel trust, the automobile corporations, and others like them, resisted the industrial codes of the New Deal. But they resisted them in order to obtain the modifications they desired, to insert their company union clauses and merit system clauses, by which they could more securely maintain their power of exploitation and prevent counter-action by the workers. Even now the apparent pressure put upon them to give up their company unions presents the substitute of reliance upon their own agents in labor's ranks—the Greens, the Lewises, and the Berrys—as a more effective means of keeping the masses in subjection.

On the whole the demagogy woven around the New Deal policy has a distinct purpose. It is under its cover that the real measures to salvage the badly dislocated capitalist system of production are being put over. In the make-up of this policy and amongst its executors, including the 'brain-trust', there is very likely a mixture of various currents. One of them is made up by the traditional radical liberalism which becomes so indignant at the effects of "social injustice" when they fear that this may bring retaliation from the workers, but fight might and main against the abolition of its causes. They believe in the soundness of capitalist economy, but want to save it from the few "bad" and "greedy" men who have brought it out of gear. But another, and far more important one, is the hard-headed current of aggressive capitalism, of ruthless capitalist expansion ready to crush all opposition which stands in the way of a greater capitalist empire. That is the current which, in the final analysis, determines the policies of the New Deal. In this sense its main features are of a permanent character and will count in the shaping of the future economic developments. But as the realities of life remove its demagogic smoke-screen, the working masses will become entirely disillusioned. That process began already during the first year of the New Deal.

—ARNE SWABECK.

Discussion Article

On the Resolution of the National Youth Committee

The thesis of the National Youth Committee contains the formulation: "It is essential in the educational and propaganda of the Spartacus Youth Clubs and Young Spartacus, American revolutionary traditions, bourgeois and working-class, play a predominant role."

It is my opinion that this formulation is confusing right from the start, and serves only as a hindrance to the education of the youth. My reference is particularly to the phrase, "bourgeois revolutionary traditions." One encounters these days many references to these "bourgeois revolutionary traditions". Demagogues and reformists of all shades exhort the misery-stricken workers and farmers to find salvation by following the footsteps of their "revolutionary forebears", the Madisons, Adamases, Jeffersons and Company. They lay claim to the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the American flag itself. "All this", they say, "belongs to the American people. This is what they understand." Away with the imported Marxism of the Reds. There is a rich experience of late with this sort of stuff, with the latest "Continental Congress", and the flag waving at unemployment and trade union conferences. Because of this, it seems to me, our thesis should strive more than ever to explode, with the weapons of Marxism, this spurious Americanism for the American working class.

Liberal Phraseology

The liberal phraseology of the Jeffersons and Madisons is essentially the same as the Liberal phraseology of the Roosevelts. Just as Roosevelt, in the interests of bourgeois private property, deludes the masses with words, and tries to cover up the class struggle, so the Madisons and Jeffersons, in their time, acted in a similar manner, the difference being that at the time of the Madisons and Jeffersons, these demagogues had a progressive role to perform. The fight for independence from England was a progressive fight. But what is even more important for the proletariat of today to remember is that it was the artisan and farmer who in the main formed the fighting forces of the Revolution, and tried to make of it a social revolution. The aim of even the most extreme bourgeois revolutionists were linked up with the institution of private property, which institution, of course, it is the aim of the proletarian revolutionary to overthrow.

The establishment of capitalist

private property was a progressive step historically as compared with feudal private property. But when the bourgeoisie try to put the word, finis, on human history, now that their aims are realized; when the bourgeoisie calls the proletariat who try to go one step further and totally abolish private property "the coarse rabble", it is the Marxists who beg to remind these gentlemen that force has always been the midwife of history; that the bourgeoisie accomplished their aims, as had the feudal lords before them, and slave lords before them, by forcible means; and that they could not have done otherwise. And that we "reserve the same right" to accomplish our greater aims. Does that justify our including in the thesis a call to study "bourgeois revolutionary traditions"? No, that only helps to confuse the matter. For what we emphasize, above all, is that they utilized revolutionary means to accomplish their aims, with which the proletariat can have nothing in common, just as they utilized the extravagant rhetoric of the Declaration of Independence when they needed to mobilize the masses for the revolution but that once the masses accomplished the revolution, they sought to consolidate their power and foisted the adoption of the Constitution upon the masses with all the fraudulent means we now designate as Tammany and at which our "revolutionary forefathers" were masters indeed.

What we emphasize is what Marx emphasized in 1849, when the National Assembly passed the Faucher bill against the right of association, although the constitution guaranteed all Frenchmen the right to organize:

"What the constitution, first of all, was to have constituted was the rule of the bourgeoisie. Evidently, the constitution could therefore mean by the right of association only such associations as were in harmony with the rule of the bourgeoisie; i. e., with the bourgeoisie order. If, for reasons of rhetorical decorum, it expressed itself in general terms, was not the government and the National Assembly there to interpret it in specific cases? And the Constituent Assembly decreed that the violation of the text was the only adequate realization of its literal sense."

Lenin on the Jacobins

There are comrades who think that because Lenin said the Bolsheviks were proletarian Jacobins that justifies our calling the Mad-

isons and Jeffersons consistent revolutionaries whom we have to save from the "misinterpretation" of the bourgeois professors. Space does not permit me to go into an explanation of the Great French Revolution, its similarities and dissimilarities with the American Revolution. Suffice it here to state the following facts: there were really two revolutions within the scope of what is known as the Great French Revolution: that of 1789 led by the bourgeois Girondes and that of 1793 led by the petty-bourgeois Jacobins. Our Revolution of 1776 was not followed by a revolutionary Jacobin wave, but by reaction, for the Constitution was, broadly speaking, the document of the counter-revolution. The Jacobins, though they cleared the ground for the bourgeois order, were trying to represent the sansculotte. It was exactly this contradiction in internal make-up plus, of course, the fact that there were not the material requisites for such a transfer of power that caused the downfall of the Jacobins.

Long ago Plekhanov correctly estimated the Jacobins:

"Private property and the petty bourgeois purposes closely connected therewith, forced themselves into the programs of even the most extreme revolutionaries of that time... The Party of the Mountain failed just because of that innermost contradiction between its petty bourgeois conceptions and its endeavor to be a representative of the proletarian interests... To the present-day representatives of the working-class, these contradictions are foreign, because modern, scientific socialism is nothing but the theoretic expression of the unbridgeable antagonism of interests between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat."

Exactly. And Lenin was very careful in explaining what he interpreted Jacobinism to be; he defined it "as the transfer of power to the revolutionary oppressed class, for that is the essence of Jacobinism."

The Struggle of the Masses

Our predecessors, the artisan and poor farmer, though weak in organization and not constituting as clear-cut a class as the proletariat of today, accomplished the revolution, and tried to make of it a social revolution; it was through their pressure that even such democracy as we now have was established. They accomplished this in bitter struggle against the bourgeoisie. It is this heritage of the struggle of the masses (the people) that we accept. Once more I refer to the French Revolution and how Marxists interpreted bourgeois achievement.

Listen to Trotsky:

"In general the bourgeoisie, in the proper sense of the term, opposed the peasant revolution with all the power it had... Through the five years (1789-1794) the peasantry rose at every critical moment of the revolution, preventing a deal between the feudal and bourgeois property holders... The Parisian sansculotte, pouring out their blood for the republic liberated the peasant from his feudal chains."

I repeat: it is this heritage of struggle of the masses everywhere that we accept. And this heritage will find its realization when the now full-grown proletariat will sweep aside the now impotent and reactionary bourgeoisie from the historical scene. It is this message that we bring to the American working-class youth. When we Americanize Marxism, we bring to the American working class the message of Marxism, of proletarian revolutionary internationalism, not a vulgar flag-waving speech. We do not make the confusion of the youth that is trying to free itself from the bourgeois point of view foisted upon him more confounded by speaking of "American revolutionary traditions, bourgeois and proletarian". At best, this is a misleading phrase, an unfortunate wording, and ought to be stricken out from the thesis, which should be a guide to action, not confusion.

—RAE SPIEGEL.

WILLIAMSBURG MASS MEETING

Friday, March 23rd, 1934
WHY A NEW COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL?
 Prominent Speaker
 Auspices: Communist League of Am.
 Williamsburgh Branch
 58 Manhattan Ave.
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Communism and the Intellectuals

2. A Program for the Intellectuals

(Ed. Note.—This is the second of two discussion articles by one of the signers of the Open Letter to the Communist Party on the Madison Square Garden affair.)

It is the credit of the Left Opposition that it sees the problem of the intellectuals who are in a state of open or suppressed rebellion against the Communist Party as a serious challenge to all working-class groups who believe they hold the keys to the revolutionary future. The article in the Militant offers the aid of the Left Opposition in rearming "in the service of the proletariat these intellectuals who... might otherwise lose contact with the militant working-class."

The Militant offers a concrete proposal which not only constitutes an excellent first article for a revolutionary program for intellectuals, but can serve as an essential basis for future activities. The Garden incident, the Militant asserts, has deeper roots and consequences than the signers of the Open Letter seem to recognize. A proper understanding of its full implications, it maintains, must lead to such revolutionary conclusions as the fundamental responsibility of the "doctrine of socialism in one country" for the disastrous "united-front from below" tactic, and the immediate necessity of building a new Party and a new International. It invites intellectuals to meet with members of its group in free discussion on this and on other topics, and it offers its columns to intellectuals for the publication of their opinions, and for mutual criticism. No doubt numbers of writers will avail themselves of the guest, or should we say fellow-traveler privileges of the Militant columns, as this writer has hastened to do.

The Militant article, with its often severe but always comradely criticism, sets the seal of a good example on the promise. (No doubt you will permit us a criticism. Perhaps we are a little shell-shocked on the subject, but we think you might indulge a little less in mere routine invective. We dislike the title of your article, "The Intellectuals Revolt against Stalinist Hoop-

lism," and some phrases in the article.) We trust that other articles will follow, and honest discussion. From them many intellectuals will emerge with a clearer, more fundamental political understanding, the essential basis for true revolutionary action.

Discussion Not Enough

But the major part of the problem still remains. Discussion is not enough. The bedrock of any program for intellectuals must be practical, concrete work with and for workers on the class-struggle front. Concurrently there must be discussion of the Marxian theory and its application: free discussion, criticism and democratic decision upon proposals and plans are an essential part of sound action. But activities for working class ends are both the core and goal of any revolutionary program.

And the fact is, though the Party sneer who shouldn't, that the intellectuals want to work. The chief challenge of the intellectuals to the Left Opposition and similar groups is that they offer organizational channels for this impulse.

The Left Opposition is too intelligent to make the easy answer, "Join our group," although no doubt it looks forward to including within its ranks of the new party qualified intellectual elements. To join a revolutionary party one must feel himself a full-time, professional revolutionary, and we believe that the great majority of the intellectuals would agree that they are fellow-travelers, sympathizers, intellectual allies of the revolution, not full-fledged revolutionaries. Indeed, they have never claimed to be professional revolutionaries. That some will grow in time to Party calibre we firmly believe; there is material here that time and experience could temper into useful theoreticians and cadres.

Indeed, this is an important reason for having an organized program of activities for intellectuals. The revolutionary movement needs their work above all, but secondarily it needs them, the best of them. And no other training and testing

ground has been discovered than concrete activities within class-struggle organizations.

Does that mean that we must organize intellectuals into private, separate intellectual organizations? A thousand times no! No sincere revolutionary party will repeat the completely impermissible practice of the Party in organizing intellectuals' committees, leagues, etc., as permanent political bodies. These cribs of the revolutionary demagogue have served only to infect intellectuals with a host of diseases: snobbish condescension; political sophistry, cynicism, and ignorance; isolation from workers; self-distraction; "juvenile Machivollianism"; toadyism. This does not mean that intellectuals should not be encouraged to join economic struggle organizations in their separate professions. Unions for teachers, writers, etc., yes. But no more intellectual's clubs.

Mass Organizations a Necessity

The only healthy solution of the problem is the building of sound mass organizations. Here the intellectual can work with workers. This would be the fulfillment of the need and desire that attracted him to the revolutionary movement in the first place, the desire to escape the frustration of the merely intellectual life; the hope of finding, in alliance with the only vital, productive class, the proletariat, roots in substantial soil and a renewed creativeness.

In a mass organization, the intellectual no doubt will find political guidance and education, not in abstract, theoretical form, but in the job, in the struggle. He will find there revolutionaries not only wise and experienced, which he is not, but willing to lead him and reach him not by terrorism or mechanically or by faith, but by patient, comradely discussion and criticism, permitting him, also a full vote in making decisions. In the process, he will become not only an increasing useful member of his mass organization, but he will be developed so that in many cases he may consider and be qualified to take a further political step.

But more important than the need of the intellectual and his political future is the crying need of the working-class itself for such mass organizations. There are tremendous immediate problems facing the working-class; the defense of class-war victims, relief to strikers and their dependents, the fight against war and Fascism. Only mass organizations built on the sound basis of union of all elements willing to fight on a common limited program of activities can enlist the forces necessary for militant and successful broad struggles. Today the working-class movement is hamstrung because no such organizations exist.

The responses of the puny sectarian groupings to the increased needs of the past years have revealed their impotence. Yesterday, such organizations as the W. I. R., the I. L. D., the League against War and Fascism were parodies of "united-front" mass organization. Under the impact of recent events they lie today in ruins.

Build Mass Organizations Now!

It is not too much to say, we believe, that the test of all political groups who claim to know how to build revolutions lies in this problem. Mass organizations are the most imperative need of the working-class today; through them runs the road to a new party and the revolutionary future.

Intellectuals are ready, we believe, to join with all political working-class groups who will join with them in a sound mass organization. Intellectuals do not ask for leadership in such an organization; they will take their places in the rank-and-file, and if and when they earn responsible posts they will be proud to fill them. They are not altogether unexperienced; they have fought at Harlem, at Washington, and at Scottsboro. They have useful gifts: they can write publicity and pamphlets; they can raise money; some of them can do minor organizational jobs. And they are willing to learn.

Many of these intellectuals would prefer to work in a mass organization whose purpose is defense. Their interests and their experience happens to lie in the struggle for class-war prisoners, and against Fascism. They would be interested to know if the L. O. and other militant political groups think this is the most fruitful field in which to begin.

In any case, we urge on the L. O. that it consider this problem as urgent and immediate. We should like to hear whether it is willing to join with other political groups, and with the intellectuals, on an agreed program for defense (or some other important need) in a non-partisan, united-front mass organization, based on militant class-struggle principles, democratically carried on and controlled? Comrades, we await your answer. And your concrete proposals.

—A SIGNER OF THE

THE BRITISH HUNGER MARCH

On Saturday, February 24th, 2,000 hunger marchers from all over the country moved into London and at the same time 1,400 delegates from trade unions, political parties, cooperatives, etc., assembled in Bermondsey for the Congress of Action. From North, South, East, and West, the unemployed marchers brought greetings from their fellow-victims of capitalism and despite a bitter yellow press campaign, the local trade unionists and cooperatives had rallied to the aid of the marchers all along the road.

"Congress of Action"

On the same day, the Congress of Action passed a resolution calling for work or maintenance and the delegates pledged themselves to use every means in their power, including strike action, to smash the new unemployed insurance bill. The marchers stayed in London for a week and a deputation headed by Maxton, MacGovern, and Hannington called at 10 Downing Street in order to interview the Prime Minister. But Ramsey MacDonald was enjoying himself at the British Industries Fair and so the unemployed were denied the opportunity of seeing the Premier.

The I. L. P. representatives then raised the question in the House of Commons and they obtained the support of the Labour Party. They desired the approval of the members of Parliament for a deputation of the hunger-marchers to address the House and also that the Prime Minister shall receive the marchers in Downing Street. Both proposals were turned down by the Tory majority and when Buchanan, Maxton and MacGovern taunted MacDonald with episodes from his past career as the alleged champion of the underdog he replied by pointing to the Labour Party Conference and Trade Union Congress—those two bodies had also refused to allow deputations from the unemployed, and Ramsey finished his speech by loudly denouncing the hunger-marchers as dupes of the Communist Party.

Having tried constitutional methods without result, the leaders of the marchers now attacked the ruling class with vague threats of "other and more militant tactics" but all that happened was a demonstration in front of Buckingham Palace and a further spurt of oratory at Hyde Park, after which the members went home by train.

A Peaceful Demonstration

In contrast to previous hunger-marches this latest venture was a most peaceful demonstration awakening a considerable amount of sympathy for the hard lot of the unemployed but leaving them just where they were before the march started. The parliamentary leaders of the I. L. P. were the real victors of the march, for not only did they

confine the main activities of the marchers to the vicinity of Parliament but they also obtained the full flood-light of the press for themselves, a very necessary thing for Maxton and company.

So far as the Bermondsey Congress is concerned, it is hard to conceive of anything substantial coming from so loose a body of representatives who merely represent the fringe of the movement, the real machinery being safely left in the hands of the bureaucracy of the Labour Party and Trade Unions. The Congress declared for strike action but before this line could be successful it would have to be carried out upon a national scale combining political with industrial action in the form of a political general strike. This requires not only a thorough permeation of the trade unions but also a powerful political party capable of leading the masses in a direct struggle for power. But in Britain there is neither a party or a communist-permeated trade union movement, and unfortunately Bermondsey was a poor substitute.

Comintern Reply to I. L. P.

At the Congress the I. L. P. and the C. P. endeavored to keep on good terms but the arrival of the Comintern reply to the I. L. P. letter has opened up hostilities again. Signed by Kuusinen, this latest epistle from Moscow contains nothing new. To become a sympathizing member of the Communist International, the I. L. P. need not accept the 21 conditions as formulated by Lenin but must prove in practice that it is assisting the work of the C. I. and it must carry on a fight "against the Second International and the reformist leaders of the trade unions and come out decisively against all attempts to create new internationalisms"

The leaders of the I. L. P. are accused of being anti-Soviet and to actually "reflect the foreign policy of the British Government". They are also accused of holding back the rank and file of the I. L. P. from joining the Third International.

I. L. P. Conferences

Meanwhile, the divisional area conferences of the I. L. P. have been held in London, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Lyneside. All these conferences rejected affiliation to the Third International while the proposal to form a Fourth International was also turned down. The present middle-course position of the party found favour everywhere but in Lancashire a resolution calling for a return to the Second International was carried by 21 votes to 16. The leaders of the I. L. P. have not yet revealed their attitude but the Easter Conference of the party may follow the divisional conferences in favour of a waiting policy.

T. C.

EDITORIAL

The Furriers' Problem

Many respects the situation in the fur trade, reported by a correspondent in last week's Militant, presents a unique trade union problem.

On the face of it the attempt to impose the International on the furriers is an attempt to force them to accept an organization chosen for them by the bosses.

An exactly analogous case is not to be found anywhere in the American trade union movement.

Besides that, the leadership and internal regime of the furriers' section do not speak for its future either.

The role of the Lovestonites in this situation is particularly revealing, both as to the ultimate logic of their trade union policy and as to the essentially opportunist political character of this group.

The Lovestonite policy of supporting the A. F. of L. at all costs, which led them to an objective support of Lewis against the heroic struggle of the Progressive Miners, has brought them to the shabby role of agents for the fakers in the case of the furriers.

the perspectives of the Stalinist union, must respect the attitude of the majority of the workers who support it and fight in the ranks beside them.

Inside the Stalinist union, however, the militants should fight for a realistic policy that would open up the perspectives for success in the struggle which are not too bright with the present policy and leadership.

The heart of such a strategy is the fight for unity, not only of the furriers but of all the needle trades workers.

In order to do so it is necessary for them to overcome prejudices against affiliation to the A. F. of L.—prejudices against the course of a mass movement are quite futile anyway.

First, it can demand a charter from the International with only one condition: that the local retain its autonomy and the right to choose its own officials.

If such proposals are made known to all the furriers, and combined with a widespread agitation for unity throughout the needle trades, they will awaken a hearty response from the workers, strengthen the sagging morale of the Left wing and put an enormous pressure on the officials of the International.

The Stalinist bureaucrats in charge of the Left wing furriers' union, of course, will oppose such a strategy and will try to suppress any free discussion of it in the union.

Revolutionary Youth Meet in International Conference at Luxembourg

(Continued from page 1)

the I. C. L. which could not send delegates.

2. The American, French, Belgian, German and Swiss sections of the I. C. L.

3. The Socialist Youth Association of Germany (SAP).

4. The Workers Youth Association of Norway (NAP).

5. The Mot Dag group of Norway.

6. The Revolutionary Youth Association of Holland (RSP).

7. The Socialist Youth Association of Holland (OSP).

8. The Youth Group of the Communist League of Struggle, U. S. A.

By a transfer of mandates, the youth organization of the PUP of France, and the Roumanian Association of United Socialist Youth were represented. Holland had refused to admit the representatives of the Independent Communist Youth organization of Sweden, who had sent telegraphic greetings of solidarity from Copenhagen, and transferred their mandate to the Mot Dag group of Norway.

Reports of National Sections

With the opening of the conference it was found that while a smaller number of delegates were present, actually, all the organizations assembled in Holland were represented at Luxembourg.

Standpoint of I. C. L.

These proposals were unacceptable to the delegation of the I. C. L., which decided to reject the motions. To us it was inconceivable that the proposed Paris bureau could carry on an intense activity for the new youth international without at the same time working and agitating for it on the basis of the principles of communism, which could not and should not be separated from the question of the new international.

Agreement on Amended Thesis

After an intense and protracted discussion, agreement was reached between the two tendencies at the conference. The representative of the Socialist Youth Association (S. A. P.) proposed them to include in their thesis the clauses for the new youth international and the new international, to elect one bureau with its secretariat at Stockholm, which would have the task of realizing the decisions of the conference in practice.

Proposals of S. A. P. Youth

The representatives of the SAP, elaborating on their thesis, presented the unique, and not entirely new, point of view, that it is necessary to win the broad masses of workers

and worker youth to the support the and following such an event to then conference on principled questions declare and work for the new international. The comrades argued that while they agreed to the necessity of the new international, it was not the decisive question. They proceeded to divorce the question of the new international from the agitation for the principles of communism, as if such a separation was possible.

The SAP concluded their discussion with the proposal: to accept their thesis which did not contain the necessary declaration for the new international and the new youth international. Following the acceptance of this, to elect a bureau, with a secretariat located at Stockholm which would have as its tasks the work of rallying the broad masses of youth around the banner of the principles contained in the thesis.

Great Tasks Ahead

The real work lies ahead. Everything depends upon how the bureau and its secretariat proceeds to realize the conference decisions in life. This, after all, is decisive. In our opinion, the executive must emulate the activities of the International of Socialist Youth during

it possible, with the acceptance of our proposals on the new international, to agree to the motions.

All the other organizations present — with the exception of the Norwegian Workers Party — accepted the theses. As a result the basis for the creation of two bureaus became non-existent. These decisions of course remain provisional, dependent upon the actions of the organizations represented at the conference.

Appeal to All Revolutionary Youth

With the above political basis laid, the conference proceeded to the more practical questions of the future. It was decided by the conference to extend invitations to all independent revolutionary youth organizations, including those organizations within the official international, who show leftward tendencies, to attach themselves to the decisions of the conference.

March Young Spartacus

The March issue of Young Spartacus contains articles interesting both to militants in the movement and the young workers coming to Communism. It features the lessons of the Austrian events and includes several articles on the war danger, the hotel strike, the tasks of the Spartacus Youth Clubs, and report of the New York Yipsel convention.

Salt Lake City

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Auspices: Communist League of A.

continued to carry the banner of internationalism and proletarian revolution. It must be an active body alive to the needs of the hour.

Because of the hurried character of the conference it was unable to discuss separately, nor to work out a concrete program of action on the war danger. Similarly with the question of Fascism and the struggle to win the mass of working youth. These are fundamental questions that have to be acted upon and solved by the leading body.

The youth organizations of the International Communist League will do all in their power to further this work. The bureau can rely upon our active initiative and support in this direction. We feel confident that an application of the decisions of the conference, a persistent and intense activity on the part of the bureau and the sections adhering to the conference, will make possible the creation of a mass Communist youth international based on the principles of Marxism.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

Correcrion

To the Editor of The Militant:

Dear Comrade: In cutting down my article "Organizing the CWA White Collar Workers" (March 17th) to about half its size, the blue pencil produced some errors. Particularly, in telescoping the last part of the article into one paragraph, I was made to say: "The Lovestonites must be forced to break their bloc with Socialist and reactionary elements", etc. As a matter of fact, in this particular situation, the Socialists are very valuable elements; and though some of them are following the Lovestonites in their unprincipled bloc, others of them are with the Progressive Group. What I said in its original form was that the Lovestonites must be forced to break with the reactionaries. The Socialists belong in a progressive bloc in this organization.

EMERGENCY EMPLOYEE

(Ed. Note.—The error complained of above was made in the editorial office. Our correspondent was not responsible and we are glad to make the correction and to concur with his opinion regarding the socialist workers in the CWA.)

Shaehman Tour Los Angeles

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HONOR AMONG THIEVES

Postmaster General Farley, the former prize-fight commissioner, who promoted Roosevelt into the presidency, stated Sunday that there was more honesty and truthfulness among politicians than any other class of his acquaintances.

The recently deceased Moe Rosenberg, second-hand dealer and pay-off man for the Insull-Capone gang in Chicago revealed to the Federal Income Tax Department that he had on his pay-roll the former mayor, Tony Cermak, to the tune of \$95,000, and numerous aldermen and other democratic and republican politicians.

In Welfare Island Prison, politicians of the Farley stable were shown to be on a somewhat lower plane than the imprisoned gangsters and the degenerate male prostitutes who cooperated with them in robbing the general run of prisoners.

Finally there's the New York City Home for the Destitute, where the honorable Mr. Farley's "most honest and truthful" politicians robbed the aged, the crippled, the blind, and the feeble-minded. Savings of old and illiterate scrub-women stolen by trusted officials. These officials using the unfortunate inmates' dread of a nameless grave in Pottery Field as a threat, forced them to turn over insurance policies and savings accounts into their hands.

When, by accident or otherwise, the veil is removed from the political life of the nation, corruption, graft, and thieving is shown. These are but the sores which, breaking through the skin, give evidence of the rotten condition in the body of capitalism. And hars, crooks, and grafters, though they be, we may grant to Farley that the politicians are just as "honest" as the Insulls, Morgans, Staviskys, Rockefeller, Krugers, Mellons, and Harrimans, whose creatures they are.

Minor and Stalin Bob Minor can always be depend-

dlemen of the Blue Grass country. Almost an Eden of contentment, peace and refinement. The federal report shows a different picture. Sanitation of the worst type, unimproved outdoor toilets, water carried by hand, unpainted, miserable shacks, abject poverty. Slums for the builders of cities, shacks for the growers of food, while hundred of thousands of building trades workers tramp around vainly searching for a job. That is capitalism in its most highly advanced state.

"Party Life"

A letter in the "Party Life" column of the Daily Worker of March 7th states that the writer joined the party in June 1932, was made unit organizer, member of the section committee, and put forward as an aldermanic candidate without every knowing what it was all about. "On several occasions I was called into the office by the Section Organizer and told about some opposition force and to vote this way or that. But I was never drawn into any discussion concerning the grievance. It was always cut and dried. All that I was to do was to vote so and so. I think the section was a little too bureaucratic. Now the party just exists. There are no struggles, no unemployed movement...."

Rural Housing

That the New York song writer who had the country "Crying for the Carolines" a couple of years ago would be crying a different tune if he lived there is indicated by first reports on rural housing released by the Department of Agriculture. Unpainted one-story frame shacks lacking the most elementary sanitary facilities are the general rule for the "great American farm home". Out of 2,311 houses in Duplin County, North Carolina, only 3 had central heating plants and 2,052 depended for heat and cooking on fireplaces.

Who has not been thrilled by songs, stories, and movies of old Kentucky homes and Kentucky gen-

MILITANT PLEDGE FUND

Our call for weekly or monthly pledges to help sustain The Militant has brought some immediate results as evidenced by the list printed below. Thus far, the response has been from the members of the Communist League, with one exception which is from a sympathizing school teacher.

We take this opportunity to make a special appeal to our readers and sympathizers to pledge definite weekly or monthly sums as a concrete manifestation of their interest in The Militant and the cause it represents.

In spite of the many difficulties, The Militant has continued publication regularly over a period of five and a half years, coming out as a tri-weekly on two special occasions. This was made possible only by tremendous sacrifices. But this condition must now be stopped. Worry about paying the linotype; worry about paying electric, gas and other bills; worry about raising the necessary funds with which to mail the paper in addition to worries about personal economics, are not conducive to the production of the kind of a Militant we visualize.

The Pledge Fund, if promptly and regularly remitted, can help to overcome these difficulties, stabilize the paper, and permit us the hope of making it a bi-weekly soon. We hope that our readers and sympathizers will participate in this action by sending in their pledges at once.

- THE PLEDGERS BROOKLYN BRANCH, LOCAL N. Y. 1. Paul King .25 weekly MANHATTAN BRANCH, LOCAL N. Y. 2. G. Wright .50 weekly 3. E. Konikow .25 weekly 4. M. Beardslee 1.00 weekly 5. M. Sterling .25 weekly 6. F. Victor .50 weekly 7. J. Weber .50 weekly 8. S. Gordon .50 weekly 9. E. Stone .25 weekly 10. M. Kling .50 monthly 11. S. Blecker .50 monthly HALEM BRANCH, LOCAL N. Y. 12. T. Smith 1.00 weekly SYMPATHIZERS 13. A Teacher 1.00 weekly

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N.Y. Printers Demand Unionization

RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY MASS MEETING OF THE INDEPENDENT PRINTING EMPLOYEES Thursday, March 15, 1934.

WHEREAS The code signed by the President for the Graphic Arts Industry promises to improve conditions among the unorganized but fails to provide the means to achieve this betterment, and WHEREAS This code does not meet the burning problem of unemployment since it refuses to grant a thirty hour week, and WHEREAS The code as well as previous conditions in the typographical industry causes a deadly competition between union and unorganized men setting up different wage scales to the detriment of all THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED That we, 500 printers assembled in mass meeting in Stuyvesant Casino, 142 Second Avenue, New York City, March 15th, 1934, under the auspices of the Independent Printing Employees. RESOLVED That the only way to eliminate the competition between printers and the deplorable conditions among the unorganized as well as to take advantage in any way of code provisions is by complete unionization of the industry and BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED That complete unionization can be attained only by the opening of the books of the union of the Allied Printing Trades Council and the admission of all the unorganized printers, and BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED That this meeting calls upon the unions to proceed immediately to open their books to every employee in the industry.