WORKER. OF THE WORLD UNITE

IILITA

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FOR THE 4th INTERNATIONAL!

Appeal of the Communist-Internationalists to the Workers of the World

nationalists (Bolshevik-Leninists) of U.S.S.R., Germany, France, England, Italy, Spain, Holland, Belgium, the United States, South America, China and other countires turn to you, workers of the world, in an hour of impending danger, with this appeal.

Since the crushing of the Austrian proletariat and the bloody fights in the streets of Paris, it is clear even to the blind that old methods of struggle, based on peaceful development, are completely exhausted. Rotting capitalism has no other resort except to suppress the proletariat, smash its organizations, crush its will and reduce it to abject slavery. The bourgeoisie will not and cannot wait until the proletariat gains 51 per cent of the votes. The question will be settled by force. Finance capital is organizing and arming fascist bands. Mussolinism is not an Italian but a world phenomenon. The gangrene of barbaric reaction is spreading over one land after another. France is next in order. February 6th marked the first rehearsal of Fascist banditism. The same manifestations are in preparation in England. The prerequisites for fascism exist in the United States just as much as in Europe.

What a terrible degradation!

The proletariat is the only creative class in present-day society. On it depends the entire life of the country, its economy and culture. Together with the semi-proletarian masses, whose leader it is destined to be, the proletariat constitutes the overwhelming majority of civilized humanity. It is inspired by a great social ideal. During recent days in Austria as throughout all modern history, it has shown itself capable of great self-sacrificing heroism. Nevertheless, Fascism, basing itself on the worst, most demoralized elements of the petty bourgeoisie, on human dust, the scum of the nation, gains one victory after another.

The Bankrupcy of the Leadership

What is the cause of this?

This is the question weighing on the mind of every worker. The answer is written in the flames of the events themselves. The cause lies in the bankruptcy of the leaderhsip. The proletariat is betrayed, the social democracy, the Second International, bears the major responsibility. As long as the question was limited to peaceful parliametary and trade union struggles and settlements, the workers did not notice that the staffs were made up of narrow-minded pettybourgeois types, ex-reformists and semi-revolutionists who had become conservatives and, finally, common traitors. To these leaders (Wels and Hilferding, Vandervelde and de Man, Leon Blum and Renaudel, Lansbury and Henderson, Robert Grimm, etc.) the thoughts and feelings of bourgeois ministers, bankers, journalists and professors are incomparably nearer than are the thoughts and feelings of the proletariat, the unemployed, the small farmers, the starving youth growing up on the streets.

But a heavy responsibility rests also upon the Third International which once rose high under the banner of the October revolution but which, sinking ever lower and lower, has changed from the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat into an ossified bureaucratic apparatus. The Stalinist Comintern led the revolution in China and brought it to defeat. The Comintern took the revolutionary workers of the whole and thereby saved the conservative trade-union bureaucracy from collapse. The Comintern entered into blocs with individual bourgeois pacifists, chatterers, careerists while rejecting joint action with proletarian mass organizations. The Stalinist leadership of the Comintern says to the world proletariat: "Accept without dispute my commands or I will smash the fighting unity of your ranks and sabotage the defense for the resistance of fascism, for the defence of our against Fascism." This was the policy of the most powerful section of the Comintern, its German section, thru 1923-1932, and this policy led to Hitler's victory. In Austria, thanks to the chain of crimes and mistakes of the Comintern, the C. P. did not even succeed in raising its head. Finally, heedless of all tragic lessons, the Communist parties of France, England and other countries proceed slavishly to repeat the criminal policy of the German C. P., The combination of Marcel Cachin and Leon Blum will inevitably lead to the same Wels. Along this road complete and final catastrophe awaits the proletariat.

The result of the great October overturn in Russia was the Soviet Union. It showed the power and potentialities inherent in the proletariat. The Soviet Union remains today flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood.

State in the hour of need.

Under the pressure of world imperialism, internal difficulties and the mistakes of the leadership, however, a powerful bureaucracy has elevated itself over the workers' and peasants' soviets, and now makes a religion of its infallibility. The autocratic rule of the unrestrained bureaucracy today constitutes the chief danger to the further development of the peoples of the USSR and to the triumph of world socialism. The Communist International created by Lenin has fallen Soviet bureaucracy.

Which is the Way Out

A new party and a new International must be built. Although in these words many hear the voice "sectarianism" and "despair," this slogan is dictated by the situation in the world arena as well as in each individual country. There is no other way. Is it possible to reform or renew the Second International, pervaded by crimes and treacheries? The war and all post-war events answer: "No!" The matter stands no better with the Third International. We Bolshevik-Leninists, known hitherto as the left Opposition have tried for ten years to reform the Comintern, to bring it back to the road of Marx and Lenin. Colossal events in all parts of the world have confirmed our warnings and appeals. In vain! The conservative ideas and the interlocking interests of the privileged bureaucratic group have proven stronger than all the lessons of history.

It is imposible to rebuild the Comintern through the masses because it no longer depends on the masses. The Second and Third Internationals have played themselves out.

Now they are only obstacles on the road of the proletariat. It is necessary to build a revolutionary organization corresponding to the new historic epoch and its tasks. It is necessary to pour new wine into new bottles. It is necessary to build a genuinely revolutionary party in every country. It is necessary to build a new International.

The thinking worker must recognize the iron logic divided and rendered powerless from above. For this of these conclusions. But doubt born of the all too recent disappointments, rises in him. A new party! This means new splits. But the proletariat needs unity above everything else. This is simply a pretext, largely arising from a reluctance to face great difficulties.

We reply that it is not true that the proletariat is in need of unity in and of itself. It needs revolutionary unity in the class struggle. In Austria almost the whole proletariat was united under the banner of the social democracy; but this party taught the workers capitulation, not fight. The Austrian workers have demonstrated that they know how to fight. With them part of the old leadership also fought courageously, Nazis could not last two weeks. Mussolini would not but the responsibility for the defeat falls on the party as a whole. Opportunistic "unity" has proven itself to be the road to ruin. In Belgium the party of Vandervelde, de Man and Co. have the overwhelming majority of the working class behind them. But of what value is this "unity," when the general staff of the proletarian army crawls on its belly before the royal power, the patriotic bishop, the liberal city mayor, all the representatives of the class enemy? In little Norway, the opportunistic party led by Tranmael, which received 45 percent of the total votes cast world out of the trade unions, isolated the left wing in the last elections, is repeating every crime of the Austrian social-democracy, is crippling the proletariat and opening the door to Norwegian Fascism. Such unity is a rope around the neck of the working class.

The Proletariat Must Forge a New Weapon

We need genuine revolutionary fighting unity: right to live, for an irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois rule for the full conquest of power, for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, for the Workers' State, for the United States of Europe, for the Socialist World Republic. Social democracy is devoted in body and soul to the bourgeois regime. The Comintern has shown in practice its total inability to assemble the masses for revolutionary tasks. There remains for the proletariat only to bow its head under a slave yoke, a yoke even more terrible than that of the Middle consequences as the combination of Thaelmann and Ages, or to forge itself a new weapon for its revolutionary liberation.

"Where however is the guarantee that the new International will not suffer shipwreck in its turn?"

A miserable, philistine question. In the revolutionary struggle, there are no guarantees in advance and there can be none. The working class climbs up With all the power at our commond, we call on every steps that it hews for itself out of granite rock. Some-

dynamites the steps which have been cut, sometimes they cave in because they were cut of poor material. one must reascend; every step destroyed must be replaced by two new ones.

A guarantee of success—if one must speak of guarantees—lies in the fact that we are enriched by the experience of the Second and the Third Internationals which were of great service to the proletariat before they broke down. We stand on the shoulders victim to its slavish dependence on the degenerate of our predecessors. That is our greatest advantage. We gather all who today have realized the perniciousness of the policy of the two outlived bureaucratic apparatuses. The correctness of our methods, our predictions and our slogans have been incontestably proved through the entire historic development of the last ten years, that is, the period of the degeneration and decay of the Communist International. Correct theories and a correct policy will inevitably crear a road for themselves and gather the majority of the world proletariat under their banner. Thus is revolutionary unity forged.

> Here, however, we hear another answer which, at first glance, seems most convincing: "The Fourth International will not crystallize at once, and meanwhile fascist pestilence stalks over every land with seven-league boots; is this the time to divide the ranks of the working class?" To this we answer: "For the unity of the ranks in the direct struggle there is the Leninist united front policy. Bolshevism was victorious in October, 1917, thank only to the correct application of this policy. Marx and Lenin were not frightened by the splitting of opportunist bureaucratic parties while they welded the real revolutionaries into an independent vanguard; at the same time Marx and Engels were ready to make practical agreements with any mass organization for the defense of the daily interests of the proletariat. The wisdom and strength of Leninism lies, on the one hand, in the theoretic and political intransigeance of the party, and on the other, in the realistic attitude to the class, all its organizations and groups. Leninism did not try to order the proletariat from above to follow it, but neither did it dissolve itself in the mass—and precisely because of this it gained the leadership of the proletariat.

The Proletariat Can Crush Fascism

Yes, throughout the world Fascism marches forward with seven-league boots. But wherein lies its force? In the confusion of working class organization, in the panic of the workers' bureaucracy, in the treachery of its leaders. It would be sufficient for the proletariat of one country to offer merciless resistance to the reactionary band, to go over to the offensive, to seize power, for the attack of Fascism to turn into panicky retreat and go down in ruin. Between the USSR and Soviet France the dictatorship of the be long in following Hitler to inferno. Defense is possible and necessary; from an active defense there would emerge the attack. It is necessary to throw all waverers overboard and to free ourselves of the vacillating —they will follow later—it is necessary today that the vanguard close its ranks in the international arena. The masses harassed and made restless by terrible pressure and dangers await an answer and demand a leadership. That leadership must be created.

The greatest of all dangers is the war danger. The whole world listens to the indistinct subterranean rumblings of approaching international collision. The leaders of the Social Democracy and the trade union bureaucracy are preparing anew to assume the role of patriots, that is hirelings of imperialism, to become suppliers of cannon-fodder to the imperialist masters. Under the guise of "defense of the fatherland," they are preparing the slaughter of the peoples. At the same time the Comintern is replacing the revolutionary mobilization of the urban and rural masses with empty sound and fury, and tries in vain to hide its impotence by masquerade congresses. The proletariat can prevent a new war or shift its consequences to the shoulders of the exploiters in no other way than by re-grouping its ranks from the ground up on a new basis, under the banner of the new International. By taking the initiative, small minority can, under wartime conditions, play a decisive role. Think of Liebknecht! Think of Rosa Luxemburg! and think of

A Program of Action

The miserable philistines may speak of our "sectarianism." To prepare for the coming day is not sectarianism, but revolutionary realism. To all working class organizations we offer a program of action on the basis of the proletarian united front. Beginning Geneva, March, 1934

We, the representatives of the Communist Inter- honest worker to come to the defense of the Soviet times it slips down a few steps, sometimes the enemy today, we see active proletarian self-defense as the main task. Force against force! The workers' militia is the only weapon in the struggle against fascist After every fall one must arise; after every slip down bands, who sooner or later will have the aid of the official police.

> A workers' militia, however, is not for parades or theatre performances, but for fierce struggle. A workers' militia, that is the mailed fist of the proletariat. Answer each and every blow with two blows. Carry the struggle to the point of exhaustion, to annihilation. Do not let the Fascist enemy raise its head. Follow

> The general strike of February 12th in France was an impressive warning, but no more than that. Scenting the danger the enemy has doubled, trebled and quadrupled its efforts. The working class of France, like that of the whole world, will be able to hold its position and win new conquests in no other way than by heroic battles. The revolutionary defense must become a great school for attack. The workers of France have shown that the blood still runs hot with the flame of revolution which flared in the Paris Commune. But the meadiness to fight, as shown by Austria, is not enough. It is necessary to know how; organization is necessary, a plan is necessary proetariat necessary.

> On the 12th of February, on the day of the general strike and powerful demonstrations, the workers of France forced the two bureaucratic apparatuses into a united front for 24 hours. This was, however, improvisation, and for victory organization is needed. The natural united front apparatus in days of struggle is the body of proletarian representatives, the delegates from shops and factories, from working quarters and trade unions: the Soviets. Long before they become organs of power, the Soviets are the revolutionary apparatus of the united front. In honestly elected soviets, the minority submits to the majority. The powerful logic of the struggle pushes us in this direction. Our conscious efforts must be bent in this direc-

> Today proletarian France is next in historic order. Again in France is being decided not only the history of France but that of Europe and, in the final analysis, of the whole world. Should Fascism succeed in crushing the French proletariat, the whole of Europe will have to drink of the bitter cup. On the other hand. under present conditions the victory of the French proletariat would far surpass in significance even the October victory of the Russian Proletariat.

Workers of the World

You can help the French proletariat best and most surely by an irreconcilable struggle against your own bourgeoisie. Under the fire of the enemy gather the most intrepid, far-sighted, devoted among you, and weld them together into detachments of the Fourth International. Call upon and lead the toiling, the downtrodden, the unemploeyd masses into struggle. Penetrate every organization; Explain, arouse, recruit! Do not lose a day, not an hour!

HANDS OFF PROLETARIAN ORGANIZA-TIONS AND THE PROLETARIAN, PRESS!

FOR THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND THE SOCIAL GAINS OF THE PROLETARIAT!

FOR THE BASIC RIGHT—THE PIECE OF BREAD!

AGAINST REACTION! AGAINST BONA-PARTIST POLICE RULE! AGAINST FASCISM!

FOR THE PROLETARIAN MILITIA!

FOR THE ARMING OF THE WORKERS!

FOR THE DISARMING OF REACTION!

AGAINST WAR: FOR THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE PEOPLES!

FOR THE OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM! FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PRO-LETARIAT!

FOR THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY!

PROLETARIANS OF BOTH HEMISPHERES! The First International gave you a program and a banner. The Second International raised the widest masses to their feet. The Third International gave the example of revolutionary action. The Fourth International will bring final victory!

-International Secretariat, League of Communist-Internationalists.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Tammany Hall

Tammany Hall, which has become too discredited and too expensive to be an effective tool for the ruling class of New York, has editorial reply appeared in the been shaken and investigated to issue of March 24. Other contrianch an extent that we can get a fair picture of the inner life of the be printed regardless of the point "practical" working forces of a of view of the writers. capitalist political party. The "respectable front" has not been in To the Editor of The Militant: York.

one case of how the press played ment. many.

Al Smith, Senator Copeland, Governor Lehman, Postmaster General They made an imposing "front."

President Roosevelt sent a dignified message of sorrow and condolence to the McCooey family, thus rounding out and completing press, radio, and all the weapons tional. They always try to justify trade union, on the other hand, an sion of all "Trotskyites" for their the "front" behind which the Mc-

McNally and associates robbed unfortunate inmates of the "Home for the Destitute" of at least ered the votes.

Island Penitentiary cooperated with have been beaten and insulted. gangsters in selling drugs and grafting on prison food. From each according to his talents.

A. F. of L. fakers gave the endorsement of "labor" to Tammany politicians and did not lose thereby.

* * * *

The gansters manned and terrorized the polls and acted as strike breakers when needed. The gambling, alky, and red light concessions were theirs on a percentage basis. Just humble workers in a "noble" array.

* * * * New York's "finest" saw to it that squawkers were properly disposed of, clubbed "reds" who exposed the racket, etc. Uniformed members of the same gang.

Supplies to the City were paid for several times over. Conces sions were handed out to "friends." Payrolls were padded. Special privileges to transit and other corporations brought in the swag.

. . . .

From Roosevelt's telegraphing a message to the McCooeys down to the old sailor cutting ulcers from the legs of screaming paupers with a jack knife, each part fitted into the machine and each depended on the other. All had their price, from high positions and millions for the "high hats" down to a plug of chewing tobacco for the filiterate tar. All served-some unconsciously—but all served the utility, banking, real estate, and other corporations whose tools they were and are.

"Success" of British C. P.

In reporting for the C. I. to the Seventeenth Congress of the C. P. of the U.S.S.R., Manuilsky said that Stalin's inflexible, iron will was leading the toilers of the world to victory. One example was the British Party. But here it is in Manuilsky's own words: "If the students of the two most aristocratic universities strike horror into the whole of the English bourgeoisie by passing a resolution that they will not defend king or country in the event of war, that is a result of many years of anti-war agitation by our party . . . Stalin taught the Communists of all countries to fight and conquer. He taught them . . . to patiently accumulate forces and at the decisive moment to inflict upon the classenemy a crushing lightning-like blow.'

However, Stalin will have to contend with the Episcopalian Left Wing, the Baptist Church, the War Resisters' League, and every other pacifist and Ghandist in England for credit for the "aristocratic" resolution. But maybe it was a united front from below with Stalin at the head. And who are we to take credit from Stalin for such a "crushing blow to the bourgeoisie?" drive . Let's see how far over the

Letters to the Editor

Another Opinion on the Furriers' Situation

Ed. Note.-We print below another letter on the furriers' situation with a reply appended. The first letter was published in the Militant March 17 and an butions of reassnable length will

to complete the whole leprous body settled. Everyone acquainted with even though the latter is conservaknown as Tammany functioning the social composition of the work-live in some respect? for the financial interests of New ers who work in this trade must often wonder why it is the furriers'

who criticize the general policy of of the organization without run- in the choice of unions. the T.U.U.L. to find excuses for the ning into danger of being sneered policy of the Stalinists in the fur-at or have a howling mob set trade, because they claim to have against you. Many Trotzkyites re- of partiality for Stalinist organiza- this city have been threatening Farley and others of their kind the majority of the furriers behind ceived this medicine one time or tions. But we do not determine our turned out in silk hats and long them. Very similar reasons are another. faces and posed for the press pho-brought forward daily by the apol- I surely hold no brief for the by like asnd dislikes for the lead-the second meeting of the recently tographs at the McCooey funeral. ogists of Fascism because the Mus- Lovestoneites, because in my opinion ership and its methods. We choose olsinis and Hitlers too claim that they possess all the bad qualities a party by its program, its methods Fascism," which Stalinist dominathey have the backing of the large of the Stalinites and none of their of work and the quality of its lead-tion dooms to a still birth, these majority of their people behind good ones, being that they always ership, regardless of whether it has same functionaries did a little Trotthem, but how do they really know try to sneak, even through the back a majority or minority of the polisky baiting while condemning J. B. that this is the case, when the door, into the Communist Internatically organized workers. For a Matthews and demanding the expulting that "there ain't no justice!" be November by the boss magazine the "front" behind which the Mcof suppression are in the hands of
the adventurous policy of the Stalthe Fascist state. The fur workers
inist International. Their policy in
the adventurous policy of the Stalentirely different criterion is neccommon "anti-Communist" Party
essary. Here the mass character
stand on the recent Madison Square

Terroristic Methods

\$86,000. Instead of a surgeon and Workers Industrial Union was able gain power in order to convince to a radical one we are obliged to Fascist Trotskyites". a surgical ward, a sailor with a through the use of terroristic meth- Stalin that they, and not the offi- go with them, support their chosen jack knife performed operations. ods to intimidate the workers and cial Stalinist party, have the lead-organization and work within it for delivered his lecture on "Boss War Gangsters and "silk hats" cost monopolize the fur market, the ership of the American masses. And our ideas. By the same token, when or Workers' Revolution!" at Cenmoney, so dispense with surgeons. members of the Right union have still I maintain that in the furriers the majority decide in favor even tral Auditorium. A handful of who is hamstringing the relief of the strike." McNally and his kind also deliv- been met with riots staged by Stal-situation they did the most plaus- of a Stalinist union—and the case "Communist Party" supporters came serious attempt to defend the So- who is hamstringing the railroad workers by enoughing in advanced in the case of a stalinist union—and the inist cronies whenever they tried to lible thing. Every avenue of activory of the furriers is a rare example down, headed by the Y. C. L. "leadbring their message to the workers, ity in the Industrial Union was of such a choice—we are obliged ers" Gray and Gates. When the Stalinists could do was yell: "There of their negotiations that he favors with the representation of their negotiations that he favors with the representation of their negotiations that he favors with the representation of their negotiations that he favors with the representation of their negotiations that he favors with the representation of their negotiations that he favors with the representation of their negotiations that he favors with the representation of their negotiations that he favors with the representation of their negotiations that he favors with the representation of their negotiations that he favors with the representation of their negotiations that he favors with the representation of the representatio The administration of Welfare with the consequence that workers closed to them, and being a political to support the Stalinist organiza-

Almost over the top! eight of the goal of 1,000.

The subs received last week: Minneapolis Branch 16 New York Local Youngstown Br. G. Kotz Chicago Br. H. R. M. Hollod Los Angeles Br. New Haven Br. Davenport Br.

TOTAL

The complete record up	p to
follows:	
New York Local	404
Minneapolis Br.	128
Kansas City Br.	48
Boston Br.	3:
Pittsburgh Br.	3:
New Castle Br.	24
Youngstown Br.	20
L. Brown	20
Chicago Friends of	-
the Militant Club	10 10
Davenport Br. Chicago Br.	16
Oakland Br.	1
Philadelphia Br.	1
J. Hamilton	1
A Teacher	1
Q. Parker	1
G. Kotz	1
Los Angeles Br.	ę
F. Berensmeier	:
F. Simington	
M. Steinbach	:
D. Marcus	1
D. L.	1
J. Ruby	;
G. Papcun	•
S. Hardy	:
L. Goodman	1
M. Hurwitz	
Buffalo Br.	4
New Haven Br.	
H. R.	4
M. Hollod	•
G. Ellis	
D. Fogel	
M. Gendelman C. Hoffman	
T. Mill	
Salt Lake City Br.	
W. Toupin	
H. Sukut	
W. Sukut	
D. O'Dwyer	
M. McLeod	
St. Louis Br.	
L. Murphy	

M. Koehler

C. Genfan

R. Carlson

-BILL. top we can go.

TOTAL 992

Next week's report will close the

where no one is asked if he is in agreement with the latest theses of Manuilsky?

—LEON KOENIG.

Editor's Reply

Democracy in International

or prevented we get not collective the furriers' situation. judgment but ultimatums and instructions—and disastrous blunders every time. The furriers will not get out of the blind alley into which Stalinist as well as reactionary compulsion and terrorism has driven them until they conquer the right to discuss and decide their

problems freely.

Unconvincing Arguments view it appears to us that comrade of the needle trades as a whole. Koenig errs in his conclusions on the main points he raises.

sort to terrorism.

violence and terror. How the Left Wing Took Shape

bind the workers n a trade union machine when they are offered a better program and a better lead-

This, in our opinion, is the nut of the question. The rank and file of furriers, hating and despising The writer does not consider the the violence of worker against work-A. F. of L. as a fetish, but no one er, do not leave the Stalinist Union Shachtman spoke to a group of will deny that the vast majority of because they have no confidence in thirty advanced New Castle work- ness the General dictated a change the workers who are employed in the the treacherous leaders of the Interneedle industries, are members of national and their Lovestoneite tionary party and a new interna-were sent to the entrance to the A. F. of L. labor unions. Even if camp-followers. They have a good tional. In the course of his address disrupt the speaker with their bureaucracy as well. For in the it were true that the N.T.W.I.U. has memory. They do not trust the he showed very clearly how the pol- yells. The meeting started, and the majority of the furriers—and to saccharine promises of "democracy" my opinion a very disputable con-made now so glibly and freely by leadership and the Social-Democra-quate preparation had been made to fire and get "out of hand," thereby tention—is it the best policy for the isolated fakers and their "radthem to be isolated and detached ical" agents,

from the general organization of Terrorism is an abominable evil many. In Austria, where the offi-Out-witted and out-punched, the vestigated. The following items The controversy over the furriers workers and to resort to dual or in the labor movement. Every class capital Communist Party is almost Stalinists capital to our earlier may however serve to illustrate is still raging in the radical press, ganization when they could do bet-conscious militant worthy of the non-existent, the entire responsibil- offer to allow three representatives how the "respectable" and the "dis- and oceans of ink will be spilled ter work and gain more power in name will fight against it. Bu lity for the Fascist victory must be of the official "Communist Party" reputable" parts worked together before this question is satisfactorily the general organization of workers comrade Koenig is wrong when he placed on the leaders of the Austo enter. The delegates entered, battle will take on undreamed of says the furriers cling to the Stal-trian Social-Democracy. Since followed by a few more Stalinites inist Union only out of fear. If these two parties have shown their who suddenly decided they were no they really wanted to go over to political bankruptcy in these events, longer "unemployed workers" but With all the just criticism any the International, a single mass it becomes necessary to take steps quite able to pay. lot to be desined to become the one may have against the Right-demonstration would suffice to ac-When John McCooey, fat and evanguard" of the proletarian revo-wing union, no one can deny that complish the transformation. In ternational and new parties throughwealthy Tammany leader of Brook- ldtion; the furriers where each and every member can express freely the absence of such a demonstra- out the world, which will adhere to lyn's "democracy" died, all the everyone dreams to be some someday his differences with the policy and thon, or even of a serious group of the tested principles of Marxism in leading newspaper of New York a manufacturer or at least an incarried stories of his charity to the dependent contractor. And this running the risk of being ostracized ground for the assumption that the sion of the address, the speaker ans poor, his loyalty to his friends, his middle class element is boomed or abused by the zealots of the mass of furiers want to join the wered various questions from the love for his wife and family and daily in the Stalinist press as the "United Front." Is it possible for International. The indications are audience. Following the question his reverence for the church. Just cream of the revolutonary move a member of the Left Opposition to all to the contrary. We must gov. period the meeting was adjourned. stand up in a Stalinist controlled ern ourselves accordingly and reits part in giving a halo to Tam- It is a habit with many people organization and question policies spect the attitude of the majority

The Criterion of the Mass

Nobody will accuse the Militant to maneuver with one group or an- and leadership, is decisive.

other, as long as this will help If the masses elect to belong to did not believe in free speech for the evening. The Stalinist Needle Trades them to achieve their purpose, to a conservative union in preference the "counter-revolutionary, socialgroup with a desire to function in tion without relenting for one moa trade union, what else could they ment in our irreconcilable hostility Gray, the latter declared: "You do but to join the A. F. of L. union, to Stalinist ideas and methods.

Consistent Principle We are glad to publish the above riers because it employs violence night. Seventy three new Club Plan dissenting opinion on the compli- and terrorism, and go over to a subs came in last week, raising the cated problem of the furriers, and smaller organization because it is total to 992 and bringing us within other contributions to the discus- presumably more civilized and dem- ized a gang and went to the hall sion will be welcomed. Our remarks ocratic, what is to be done in the one-half hour ahead of time. But of those defending workers' demon the question are put forth as a building trades, the United Mine on arriving they found to their dispoint of view, not as an ultimatum Workers and many other similar may that a workers' guard was alor a law. Generally speaking, the cases? The left wing is up against ready on hand to keep them out of only way to arrive at an intelligent gangsterism, more or less, in a great the hall. So the hooligans headed collective judgment of trade union many conservative mass organiza- by Dallet and Gray waited for reproblems or any other problems tions. If that is taken as a ground enforcements and re-enforcements of the class struggle for that matter for splitting, the new left wing came—for the workers' guard! Seeis by free discussion, exchange would soon find itself isolated from ing our forces growing stronger as of opinion and comparison of ex- the trade union movement. Such the minutes passed, General Dallet periences. When this is prohibited a precedent should not be set in ordered his forces to make a sally at

> The Furriers and the A. F. of L. 2. The vast majority of workers employed in the needle trades as a ceived and often fanatical workers, whole are members of A. F. of L but workers just the same whose unions; the furriers should not be bread and butter and economic fuisolated from them.

The argument of comrade Koenig practically all the other organized struggles. That will be possible appear to us to be unconvincing de- workers in the needle trades are tanly on the condition that our own spite a number of indisputable in the A. F. of L. is a powerful program is correct and that we facts which he advances. In the argument for the furriers' union, fight for it consistently and tentrade union question it is necessary as a union, to apply also for ad- actously. to follow a principle line in order mission into the A. F. of L., with 3. The Right wing union perto arrive at the right conclusions the same autonomy and rights as mits freedom of criticism and inin regard to tactics. If one departs those enjoyed by the other unions. ternal democracy. from this method it leads to guess- But we cannot see the wisdom of work and contradictions in policy splitting the furriers for the sake changed its tune since it lost its at every step. From this point of of what amounts to a platonic unity membership. The record of this

1. The Stalinist bureaucrats re- a much greater meaning when a its membership by the officialdom This is true, as every furrier mate them all into a single organ- the workers are black and bitter knows and, as is always the case ization. The Furriers' Industrial memories. with such methods in the end, the Union ought to apply for an A. F. terroristic tactics are employed of L. charter. It ought to signify

it inside the Stalinist union. In the struggle against the gang- workers will respond to it. It cor- one. To enjoy democracy in a mass ster regime of Kaufman & Co. the responds to their vital interests and union the workers must conquer it left wing originally took shape and shows them a way out of the pres- for themselves by struggle. The gained the allegiance and support ent chaos. In reacting against the mere application for membership in This is the phone number of the spite of all they can do they con-If the great majority of the furriers. perverted functionaries of Stalinism the discredited International is too Militant, The Communist League Didn't this experience prove quite it should not be forgotten that their simple a formula. conclusively that terrorism cannot followers are workers-badly de-

Shachtman on Tour

NEW CASTLE

ning, March 14th, comrade Max guard, ers on the need for a new revolu- of tactics: two female comrades icies of the official Communist party the chairman announced that adefor the victory of Fascism in Ger-the question and discussion periods.

YOUNGSTOWN STALINISTS FRUSTRATED

For several weeks the functionaries of the so-called "Communist violence against individual memorganized "League Against War and are being faced daily with the same the trade unions is always designed of the organization, not the program Garden affair. At this meeting

Three days later Max Shachtman end to some filthy disruption by think you're going to hold a meeting here tomorrow night, but we'll The revolutionary left wing can see about that!" To everyone prebe reconstituted in the labor move-sent this meant that an official rement only on the foundation of presentative of the Stalinized Comprinciple, and its consistent appli- munist Party threatened to break cation. If one is to leave the dom- up the meeting at which Shachtman iant organization among the fur- was scheduled to lecture the next

Stalinist Hoodlums Mobilize On Friday the Stalinists mobilthe door. The General took a poke at the door guard and received in

ture are at stake. The revolution-As a general formhla, both the ary left wing has the task of gain facts cited and the conclusion are ing the sympathy of these Stalinist is as follows: unassailable. But it hardly covers workers and of re-educating and the concrete case. The fact that rearming them for the revolutionary

This only means that it has union is as rotten and reactionary Connection with the other needle as any that could be mentioned unions in the A. F. of L. will have The use of paid gangsters against movement is set on foot to amalga and their treacherous betrayals of

Sick-Bed Repentance

One should not take too seriously against members of the union as its readiness to merge with the In- the sick-bed repentance of the Inwell as against the rival organiza-ternational into a single union of ternational fakers. When the devil tion. But the Stalinists are not the the trade affiliated to the A. F. of is sick the devil a monk would be. originators of these degenerate, L. But under the present condi-Still less should one be deceived by anti-working class practices. As a tions and relation of forces, indi-the radical "face" which the Love matter of fact they are only slav- vidual militants should not jump storieites give to the union. They ishly imitating the methods of the over to the International. On the are only serving as come-ons for the reactionaries who ruled the Inter-contrary, they should put forward reactionaries. When these reacnational for years by methods of the program of unity and fight for tionaries—and the bosses who stand behind them-show their face it The idea is unassailable and the will not be a liberal or democratic

Private Table

return three healthy punches from New Castle.—On Wednesday eve-some young steel workers of the

After recovering from his dizzi-

Dealing with the Disrupters

this bunch of hooligans. The quesunusual. During the discussion period the Stalinists tried to play the sneaker" but this was not tolerated. When the six who had first asked to discuss had all either spoken or refused to take their time. Shachtman began to summarize and reply. Then one foolish C. P. supporter began to yell that he wanted his time NOW! And all the Stalinists joined the chorus with him. Quickly small groups of the workers' guard approached the disrupters. A motion was put and carried that Shachtman should constand on the recent Madison Square old, who had volunteered to defend their struggle that formed the prei-

bankruptcy of the Second and Third views, had a consirerable psychoaudience voted decisively to put an can be only one Communist Party the reretention of 10% wage "deand that is ours!"

that we will come to your assist-practiced on the workers. ance when you are threatened by similar hoodlums, regardless of whether they are of the Fascist or Stalinist variety.

Stalinist hooliganism has been checked again! The united forces ocracy have won another victory! For a United Front Workers' Guard!

---YOUNGSTOWN BRANCH REPORTER.

hachtman our

The schedule for the tour, in addition to the cities already covered, the better to attack later.

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.

Utah. Thurs., April 19-Salt Lake City,

Utah. Fri., April 20-Denver, Colo. Sat., April 21—Denver, Colo.

Sun., April 22-Kansas City, Mo. Mon., April 23-Kansas City, Mo. Tues., April 24-Kansas City, Mo. Wed., April 25-St. Louis, Mo. Thurs., April 26-St. Louis, Mo. Fri., April 27-Staunton or Gil-Sat., April 28—Springfield, Ill.

lespie, Ill. Sun., April 29-Davenport, Ia. Mon., April 30-Davenport, Ia. Tues., May 1-Chicago, Ill. Wed. May 2-Chicago, Ill. Thurs., May 3-Detroit, Mich. Fri., May 4-Detroit, Mich. Sat., May 5-Detroit, Mich.

GRammercy 5-9524 and the International Workers quicksand of corruption. - And -J. P. C. School.

MARCH OF **EVENTS**

The A. F. of L. Bureaucracy

The new wave of strikes sweeping the country alarms not only the capitalists but the A. F. of L. present situation militant action of the workers may spread like wildtenants of capital just as much as to the boses. Let the proletariat once signal their determination to pay off their oppressors for the agonies they have endured, and the proportions. The bosses are fearful that a strike, starting in the automotive industry, will quickly spread to the steel plants and to the railroads. And how much would it During the meeting a minimum of take to bring the miners to their weak heckling was tolerated from feet?

The class struggle is irreprestion period passed without anything sible but the A.F. of L. with its treacherous, reactionary leadership and its obsolete craft structural the old game of "conceding time to basis, acts at this juncture as a serious obstacle to militant action. By its policy of delay and fake "progress" with the aid of the NRA machinary, the bureaucracy plans to harness the profetantat substitute for the real battle on and hold it in chekc. The intend to the industrial field the sham battles in Washington.

The Role of Roosevelt

Roosevelt becomes the 'imclude the lecture without further partial" arbiter in this game played discussion. And the General and at the expense of the workers. cause there were "paid thugs" pre- "Automotive Industry" for his aid sent. To the workers, young and against the tool and die makers in our meeting this "paid thug" slan- ude to the present one: "Without der became the good-night joke of doubt President Roosevelt's recent communication to General Johnson. In concluding we want to record interpreting the NRA labor clause that Shachtman's exposure of the in line with automobile producers' Internationals was so thorough and logical effect in breaking the backcialist International and all the workers by announcing in advance duction." Roosevelt, who mobil-And finally, the Youngstown izes the nation's resources to branch wants to thank all the bolster up finance capitalism and workers, our sympathizers and to raise profits for the bosses while friends in other organizations, who beating down the living standards gladly helped us to protect our of the working class. To expose meeting against hooligans and dis-Roosevelt means to expose the rupters. In return we assure you entire fraud of class collaboration

The Philippines

Roosevelt has just signed the bill granting complete independence to the Philippines—ten years from now. It is strange that we leave our rejoicing till then? Meantime we prefer to watch how the United States will most likely not dismantle its naval bases and fortifica tions in these Islands of the militarized Pacific. The Philippines are merely a stepping stone to more distant shores for American imgeoisie hopes to solve its internal impasse, its desperate need for expanded markets, by challenging Japan for domination in China. The Philippines are the most trifling pawns in the bigger game of imperialism. The United States, in the maneouvering for "position," appears to retreat for the moment

The New York Post and Civic Virtue

The Post has been conducting an investigation to determine the state of knowledge of the masses regarding the names of "their" elected representatives in the city, state and federal governments. And the estimable Post editors have been scandalized to learn that the average run of person is abysmally ignorant of capitalist politics and Wed., April 18—Salt Lake City, politicians. |In itself this shows quite clearly that the capitalist government is not "theirs" ;i. e. that of the masses.

> We refer the Post to Engels' remarks on this subject: "There is no country in which "politicians" form a more powerful and distinct section of the nation than in North America. There each of the two great parties which alternately succeed each other in power is itself in turn controlled by people who make a business of politics, who speculate on seats in the legislative assemblies of the Union as well as of the separate states, or who make a living by carrying on agitation for their party and on its victory are rewarded with positions. It is common knowledge that the Americans have been striving for years to shake off this yoke which has become intolerable, and that in tinue to sink ever deeper in this nevertheless we find here two great groups of political speculators, who alternately take possession of the state machine and exploit it by the most corrupt means and for the most corrupt ends—and the nation is powerless against these two great cartels of politicians who are ostensibly its servants, but in reality exploit and plunder it."

Gala Spring Festival

PROGRAM: Chief Littlemouse in a recital of his American Indian native dance A Duncan dancer-Lifshitz Fortune teller Other special feature

Saturday, March 31st IRVING PLAZA 15th St. and Irving Place Get your tickets now, only 35c in advance at the International Workers School, 126 E. 16th St.

International Agitation THE BETRAYAL OF THE AUTO WORKERS For Deported Youth

test movement against its police were already in Germany! services to Hitlerism in deporting ments it is denying its guilt. The at the time! facts are clear, however, and the

The four workers turned over to international conference of workers Revolutionary Socialist Party of youth organizations called at Laren, Holland, Feb. 24. The conference was broken up by the Dutch police and the 16 foreign delegates deported. All the latter had passports the Rights of Man, Norwegian La-for the moment. in good order visaed by the Dutch bor Party, I.L.P. (England), Gen government. The papers of Kurt eral Confederation of Trade Unions Liebermann, Franz Bobzien, Hans (France), International Juridical Goldstein and Heinz Hose showed that they had entered Holland not Against Hitler Fascism. In the from Germany but from other countries where they had been living as exiles from Hitler's Nazi state.

When these four comrades were arrested, they were assured that they would be deported to Belgium. Deputy Sneevliet (Revolutionary Shachtman Tour Socialist Party) of the Dutch parliament demanded of the Minister of Justice the release of all the mans to leave via Belgium. Attorneys Stockvis and de Reuter, retained for the comrades, also informed the government of this demand. Three German comrades had been removed to Amsterdam jail where they were finger-printed and forced to sign a statement that they were being deported to Belgium as political refugees. They pointed out that the four other German delegates were in Laren jail and were assured that these would be sent to Belgium too.

At that very moment the mayor

Add New Names Sustain Militant

appeal to our readers and sym- raising manner, splashing the front pathizers to join us in our effort to pages with headlines like "FIFstabilize The Militant by pledging TEEN HUNDRED TEACHERS a definite weekly or monthly sum. In response, we received the following letter from Brooklyn, in addition to eight new pledgers from the

"Please include me in your Militant Pledge Fund for \$1.00 monthly. The Left Opposition Press has certainly been an eye-opener to me in the past few months. Enclosed you will find One Dollar.

We feel confident that there are many more of our readers and a swift death. The storm of protest sympathizers who feel keenly the which Altman's "exposure" aroused need of supporting the Militant. We forced him to retract the substance announcement in these columns of Comrades and sympathizers are trust that they will not delay their of his "scientific" findings. And in response to our appeal and will the same period of time the Econsoon join the members of our or- omy Bill was decisively defeated an impetus has been given to gether with donations to help place ganization in helping to sustain our for the fourth time in the N. Y.

THE PLEDGERS Brooklyn

1.	Paul King\$.25	
	m	onthl	
2.	City Subway Worker	1.00	
	Manhattan		
3.	G. Wright	.50	
4.	E. Konikow	.25	
5.	M. Beardslee	1.00	
6.	M. Sterling	.25	
7.	F. Victor	.50	
8.	J. Weber	.50	
9.	S G.ordon	.50	
10.	H. Stone	25	
11.	M. Kling	.50	
12.	S. Bleeker	.50	
Harlem			
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	veekl	
13.	T. Smith\$	1.00	
	A Teacher		

Bronx

THE MILITANT

18. M. Mendelson 1.00

weekly

matter November 28, 1928, at the the state to keep its hands off the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Un-teachers' standard of living. der the act of March 3, 1879. Published Weekly by the Com-

munist League of America 126 East 16th Street, New York, N.Y. Phone: Grammercy 5-9524

SATURDAY, MARCH 31, 1934 EDITORIAL BOARD

Max Shachtman Maurice Spector class in the twenties and thirties Arne Swabeck

Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year 75c for six months. Bundle rates one cent per copy.

tracks. By radio and press state- Dutch police. They were in chains field.

Holland, Socialist Labor Party of ic Party (Prague headquarters), Association, World Committee United States a protest statement is being circulated to which the Communist League of America, the Amerian Workers Party and other organizations have subscribed.

San Francisc "TOWARDS A NEW KEVOLU. TIONARY PARTY IN THE U. S."

LABOR COLLEGE HALL 1254 Market Street

"Expert" Deals a

A reactionary Board of Educa-

tion official and a rabid capitalist press joined this week in dealing the Last week we printed a special avidly, playing it up in a hair-

CRACK POTS." The attack upon the teachers could hardly have been better timed, coming as it did at a threatened salary cut in the form of a payless furlough contained in press, in treating the story as a "sensational disclosure," was, of the «New International» stantial bundle order has arrived on International Program all his conduct throughout the from far-off Johannesburg, South on International Program course, to discredit the teachers and thus weaken their fight.

A Storm of Protest

This miserable strategy received state legislature.

That is how the matter stands announcement on the part of the tion rate is \$1.50 per year. Subnow. The teachers have won the branches of the Communist League scriptions and donations can be first round. But they cannot afford as well as from sympathizers of the sent to: weekly to rest on their laurels. The bank- Left Opposition has been very graers the realty interests and the tiying. Every branch has respondother friends of education and ed, either with advance bundle oreconomy will soon be back with ders or subscriptions. A keen inother schemes to cut the teachers terest is evidenced in a new organ Bellussi Gets 30 Days Stay tandard of living.

Now is the time to prepare the lay and with great energy to orsome nineteen hundred members out of a potential thirty six thou- New International. sand employed and fifteen thousand y unemployed teachers. Number one on the agenda of the union should be a membership drive. The aim of the Union should be to plant its banner in every school in the city.

Organize the Unemployed Number two is the organization f the unemployed whom the Board of Education is trying to use as a lever to lower the pay and worsen the conditions of the employed.

A third important point in the union's agenda should be the organization of mass meetings to arouse the teachers to action in defense of their standards of living, Entered as a second class mail and to bring pressure to bear on

The issue of the defense of the institution of public education should be taken into the trade union movement by the union which is chartered by the State Vol. VII, No. 13 (Whole No. 217) Federatio of Labor. We have not forgotten that what is now called the free public school system was Martin Abern James P. Cannon fought for and won by the working

of the nineteenth century. On this road the teachers have \$0.50 per half year — Canada a fair chance of conducting a sucand Foreign: \$1.50 per year; cessful struggle. On any other they are sure to invite defeat.

The new strike wave of revolt against the exploitation foisted on them by the once-trusted NRA has received a definite check by the calling off of The Dutch government, feeling of Laren, however, was informing the threatening automobile strike. Tht entire capithe growth of an international pro- Attorney Stockvis that the four talist class of the country is delighted with Roosevelt's skill in conducting the negotiations on behalf Eye-witnesses have testified that of the Automobile Chamber of Commerce and full four German political refugees to the four comrades were turned over of satisfaction with the work of Messrs. Green and Germany, is scurrying to cover its to Godring's secret police by the Collins, their labor lieutenants in the automobile

"Had the strike begun," writes the N. Y. Times, Those who have joined the pro- it was regarded as likely that it would spread to protest movement is growing rap-test movement include the follow-scores of accessories plants and to the steel industry. ing: International Communist It would have affected the railroads, lumber, glass League; Dutch Socialist Party, and textile industries particularly, for these furnish Hitler's police were delegates to an Dutch Independent Socialist Party, a large part of the automobile industry with raw materials.'

> Instead of this enormous strike wave being loosed, Germany, German Social Democrat-there is now a temporary lull. On the heels of this settlement, the Budd workers who were already Italian Socialist Party, League of striking against fierce exploitation gave up the fight

A. F. of L. Sabotage and Treachery

The Militant has repeatedly pointed out that any rising movement of the workers against the NRA and capitalist exploitation would meet the sabotage and treachery of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. This forecast has been strikingly illustrated by the automobile settlement. The workers in the industry have been for years discontented with their working and living conditions. For years the A. F. of L. made no effort to organize them or to help them fight for better conditions. Not until rank-and-file discontent reached the boiling point and began to find a channel of expression in independent unionism (Mechanics Educational Society) did the A. F. of L. reluctantly come into the picture. With the funds delegates and freedom for the Ger-TUESDAY Evening, April 10, 1934 and powerful apparatus at its disposal, it organized automobile workers, put its mercenaries at their head, and began to speak in their name.

> The temper of the workers grew shorter and shorter and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats loosed a flood of demagogic strike talk. Only in this way were they able to hold the workers in line. The situation was ripe for the conduct of a militant strike. The work-Foul Blow at the ers in the industry were ready for it, the bosses were caught at the peak of production period with unfilled orders before them. Throughout the country, in N. Y. eachers railroads, mines, steel, millions of workers watched Detroit ready to march shoulder-to-shoulder with the auto workers as soon as the struggle would begin. The Role of Roosevelt

At the critical moment, of course, when the bosses could no longer hold the men in line, when the promcoulest sort of blow to the teachers ise to lead them into the fight made by the A. F. of of New York City. Dr. Emil Alt- L. bureaucrats was maturing, the government internan, chief medical examiner for the vened. Mr. Green is saying in the news-reels, "The public schools, made the announce-President dominated the entire proceedings." Acting to Pleage Fund to public schools, made the announce-president dominated the entire proceedings." Acting ment on March 26th that 1,500 of for the bosses, Roosevelt ordered the A. F. of L. the 36,000 teachers of the city were "strike leaders" to Washington. There Roosevelt and either emotionally unstable or in-Johnson, in constant touch with the bosses, chipped sane." The capitalist papers away for five days at the program of the A. F. of L. pounded upon the announcement Meanwhile lesser bureaucrats in Detroit kept the workers in line with promises of something good coming out of Washington.

> What finally came out was one of the rawest deals ever pulled by this Administration. Roosevelt calls it "a pioneer effort in human engineering on a basis never before attempted." The anti-labor N. Y. World Telegram comments on this remark with crucial moment in their fight against skepticism, pointing out that the workers have not

recognition. Everything is left up to a three-corn ered board made up of an automobile manufacturer, an A. F. of L. bureaucrat and a professor who was once Sideny Hillman's economic expert and is now an experienced strike-breaker.

regarding hours, wages and other matters. All that more demonstrated in Washington ending the CWA on April 1, put happens is that the A. F. of L. turns over its mem- on Saturday, March 24, presenting only a fraction of unemployed on bership lists to Mr. Wolman (wno promises not to their demands to Harry L. Hop-relief work at pauper wages avertip off the bosses' representatives) and the bosses agree kins, Federal relief administrator. aging \$7.20 to \$10. a week and to rehire those on the list who have been fired for Through snow-covered streets and gave the majority of unemployed union activities. The recent N. Y. hotel strike makes in a hail and rain storm, the work-families home relief at still lower it clear how little such promises are worth. In ers marched from Union Station rates-or nothing. With the hungaddition, the open shop is guaranteed and the com- more than two miles to Hopkins' er program of the New Deal expany union given a firm base.

An Old Lesson Taught Again

The workers got nothing and will get nothing from this settlement. For this job Green certainly deserves a bonus from the auto bosses. As for the government, it has made its most radical swing to open support of the bosses. Here is the old lesson taught again: the government is a class government, the existing government is that of the existing ruling class, the auto bosses and their fellow-capitalists. the season and a chance to prepare to fight future in. When a worker supporting a Also in the delegation were repre-The latter get a delay of the strike at the peak of strike movements.

ditions cry out for improvement. The bosses will how anyone was expected to live on ter County, Baltimore, Reading and For there will certainly be such movements. Conconcede nothing freely. Their recovery program is that wage or the still lower wages Berks County, Pa. and Camden, based upon ever sharper exploitation of the workers. or relief proposed after April 1, New Jersey. The four main de-Talk about a 30-hour week is so much syrup to help down the bitter draught prepared for the workers by Roosevelt, Green and Collins. Sooner or later the workers will have to fight or starve. There is every indication that they will fight.

When they do so they will meet the fierce opposition not only of the bosses but also of the government and the A. F. if L. bureaucracy. Now that they made their deal, Green, Collins and Co. are who had claimed that orders for ment insurance at the expense of against strikes in word as well as in deed. This means that in all likelihood the new strikes, bitterer and fiercer because postponed, will be an outlaw

The Task of the Militants

The place of the revolutionary in the auto field today is with the masses of workers. The greatest weakness of the auto workers in the recent situation was the lack of a class-conscious core in touch with the broad masses of the exploited workers. The Hotel Workers cialist kite. The publicity both in Auto Workers Union, an invention of the C. P., drew off into its ranks some class-coscious elements who thereby lost that contact. It muddled the situation and was itself impotent. When the A. F. of L. misleaders postponed and called off the strike, the Daily Field clique and the Stalinist dis-Worker called on the auto workehs to act over the rupters working in the interests of of the demonstration—namely to heads of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. Nobody moved, the Food Workers Industrial Union popularize the various organizations

the A. F. of L. and the Mechanics Educational Soci-split the Hotel and Restaurant relief workers as fighters in their ety. The latter union was unable to develop a branch of the Amalgamated Food interests. The "bodies" responclear independent line in the recent situation, but Workers. it probably has a future as a rallying point for

The answer of the class-conscious militant to the hotel strike and capitalizing on the gates while in Washington. combination of capitalists, government officials and justified resentment of the mem-A. F. of L. bureaucrats who put over this swindle bership against the conservative strengthen the organizations—the settlement is clear: We have barely begun to fight. and bureaucratic administration of A.O.P.E.E., the A.C.W.E.; the E. When there finally breaks the broad and powerful the Field clique, the Stalinists W.A.E. and the Workers Unemstrike wave now shaping up as a result of the growing gained the upper hand at a memdisillusionment of the masses with the NRA, the bership meeting and deposed the of- ranks masses of workers and fighteven won collective bargaining agreement or union auto workers will be in the forefront of the battle.

the La Guardia-Lehman "Economy Bill." The obvious intent of the Plan Early Publication of in Great Britain. In addition, a sub-

attentive audience of 500 at the of proletarian discipline. Irving Plaza Hall, presenting in broad outlines the fundamental Workers," the organization spons-Marxian principles upon which the oled by Field, is a craft union of Fourth International is to be cooks announced by the capitalist founded.

Speakers for the various tendencies in the labor movement participated in the discussion which followed the lecture. This only helped ed as a militant and progressive into bring out in bolder relief the dustrial union retains its strength clarity that characterized the pro- with the hotel and restaurant work gram as outlined by comrade Can-

Since the lecture we have received numerous requests that leaders. The vitality of the Amal-was the slogan. comrade Cannon give a lecture course dealing in greater detail with the fundamental problems of tion and throw off its authors. The the Fourth International and the pending election should witness the American workers which could not consolidation of the genuine proget an elaborate treatment in one gressive elements on a program of the conservatives (they are not evening. In compliance with these rebuilding the Amalgamated union really reactionaries) on such an requests, we are arranging for a and the unification of the food séries of six lectures to be held every Sunday evening, beginning April 22. In the next issue of the Militant we will announce all the par

Shachtman Tour Boyle Heights Lecture Sunday, April 15th, 8 P. M.

CWA Delegations March in Protest at Washington

sylvania Avenue, chief artery of a workers' program. Washington.

Exposing the "New Deal" Program

Attempts to Split Norman Thomas was brought in

Thriving on the demoralization which folliwed the defeat of the ficers. Removed from leadership ing for militant leadership and polimmediately attempted a split.

In this criminal adventure, as in strike, Field is adapting himself to Theoretical Organ of Revolutionary from China. In brief, there is evidenced a great desire for a theoreactions which brought about his expulsion from the Communist Comrade James P. Cannon spoke League, he demonstrates again his last Sunday night before a highly incapacity to submit to any kind

> The "Brotherhood of Culinary ress as an "anti Communist move." The lecture was arranged by the Besides adding to the demoralizavre of Field is a reactionary step Amalgamated.

The split, adding to the general demoralization and resulting in the withdrawal of large numbers of hotel workers from any kind of union activity, directly facilitates the game of the Stalinists who never had any other aim than to in corporate fragments of the Amalgamated union into the Food Workers Industrial Union. The best militants in the union, however, remain equally hostile to the Stalinist machinations and the conservative, craft union split of Fields.

The tradition of the Amalgamat-sion to communists. ers despite the defeat in the strike. definitely with the backward el-It is not the union that has been discredited but a clique of unworthy scare. Keep the reds out! That gamated will undoubtedly enable it to survive the present demoralizaworkers under its banner.

OPEN FORUM

PROF. JAMES BURNHAM

FASCISM AND THE NEW DEAL Sunday, April 8, at 8 P. M. International Workers School

126 E. 16th Street New York City

A Mass delegation of 900 CWA1kins, under questioning by the workers and unemployed from New workers, made clear that the Gov-No provisions are made for adjudicating contracts York, Camden, Reading and Balti-ernment intends to go through with office and back, partly along Penn-posed, the workers must fight for

> The Washington delegation was Earlier in the week, Hopkins had arranged by a Joint Committee of refused to see the delegation, but the Associated Office & Professional had backed down. When the com- Emergency Employees, the Associamittee of 24 came in, Hopkins de-tion of Civil Works Employees, clared he wanted a private confer- Emergency Workers in Adult Eduence, with no reporters present cation, Tenement House CWA Em-This was indignantly refused, and playees, and the Workers Unem-Hopkins was forced to let the press ployed Union, all of New York. family of seven on CWA wages cut sentatives from CWA and unemto \$13.44 a week asked Hopkins ployed organizations in Westches-Hopkins answered that millions of mands raised by the Joint Commitworkers in private industry had tee are: 1. Continuation of CWA at been liiving on less for generations. living wages, with a minimum of \$20 a week; 2. Extension of CWA to include all unemployed workers; Inadvertently revealing the im-3. A public works program at trade portance of local struggles, Hopkins union wages on socially necessary gave the direct lie to the New York work, especially Federal housing officials, De Lamater and Daniels, for workers; 4. Federal unemploywage cuts and abrogation of sick employers and government at living pay came from Washington. Hop- wages for all workers for whom whom work is not made available.

A Tail to the Socialist Kite

the Amalgamated by Socialists and Lovestoneites as the leader of the delegation and thus it was made a tail to the So-Washington and throughout the country centered on Norman Thomas, with no mention of the par-The combined activities of the ticipating organizations. This served to defeat one of the purposes The task of the militant fighter is to penetrate have culminated in attempts to to the unorganized unemployed and sible for this also did all in their power to put a damper on the militancy and enthusiasm of the dele-

The task of the hour is to ployed Union by drawing into their

The Opportunists Workers Body

To the Editor of the Militant: The article in the Militant con-

cerning the Home Relief Bureau Workers, while accurately describing the role of the party in the Association, does not, however, say a word about the activities of the Lovestonites.

The Lovestonites play a special role in the Labor movement and their activities in the Emergency Home Relief Bureau Employees Association is no exception.

When the party captured the controlling positions in the organization, and by subtle maneuvering. tried to draw the Association into "United Fronts" with the Relief Worker's League and the Unemployment Councils the workers emphatically rejected their proposals. A few conservatives, seeing the

tremendous pressure that the Stalinist officers were using to get them into the Relief Workers League, utilized this to declare that they did not want to have anything to do with any "red" organization, and in general showed their aver-

The Lovestonites used this reaction for their own sectarian purposes. They alligned themselves ments on the basis of a "red"

It is true the Lovestonites did not instigate this campaign, but they certainly encouraged it.

This unprincipled alliance with issue should be condemned by every honest militant. There are certainly enough issues with which to combat the incompetent Stalinist hacks without resorting to such methods.

I therefore welcome the suggestion of your correspondent that a progressive group be formed on the basis of a really militant program. Here we can find a common meeting ground on which to rebuild the Association into an effective weapon against the administration.

A Home Relief Worker. Brooklyn.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL Station D.-P. O. Bod 119 New York City, N. Y.

stantial bundle order has arrived

Africa, as well as subscriptions

tical organ of revolutionary Com-

munism, which The New Interna-

In the past few weeks, since the tional confidently expects to fulfill

the forthcoming publication of urged at this time to send in their

The New International magazine, subscriptions and bundle orders, to-

the early issuance of the theore- The New International magazine on

tical review. The response to the a sound foundation. The subscrip-

A delay of 30 days in the execudefense. The Teachers Union tional Committee to issue the first tion of the deportation order against which led the teachers' fight up number of The New International in A. Bellussi has been secured and till now has a breatning spell in the month of May. This definite efforts are now being made to sewhich it should begin without de-announcement of the date of pub- cure his release on bail. An appli-damental problems the working lication will no doubt meet with cation for the right of voluntary ganize the defense against the added enthusiasm upon the part of departure to a country other than its struggles in the present period next assault. Today it has only those who are active in building Fascist Italy has also been filed. of wars and revolutions. He point up circulation and support for The The bail for comrade Bellussi has ed out where the Socialist and Stalbeen deposited and his release is inist Internationals have failed to expected this week. Friends and meet these problems, and the solu-Cities that have responded are: comrades of Bellussi are working tion offered by the Fourth Interna-Chicago, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, New to arrange an affair to raise funds tional. York, Yougstown, New Castle, Bos- to provide for his passage. Details ton, New Haven, Parkersburg, Dav- will be announced in next week's enport, Cleveland, Los Angeles, San Militant.

Greek Workers' Club LECTURE

Sunday, April 1st, 8 p. m. | Protofront in the advance work for the magia Club, 633 8th Ave. (bet. 40th magazine, sending in seven bundle and 41st Sts.)

This Sunday, April 1st, Comrade also come in from England-Lon- Albert Weisbord, sec'y of the Comdon, Hull, Cornwall, from Glasgow, munist League of Struggle, will Scotland and Dublin, Ireland. The speak on War and the Fourth In-British comrades feel that The New ternational as scheduled above. All International can be of special value workers welcome. Admission free.

Just Off the Press!

of revolutionary Marxism.

It has been decided by the Na-

Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, Det-

roit and other places. In Canada

there has been an exceptional en-

thusiasm for The New Internation-

al. Toronto has been in the fore-

orders. Bundle order responses have

Accuse Stalinism!

MARIA REESE

3c in bundle orders of 5 and more PIONEER PUBLISHERS, 84 East 10th Street, New York City, N. Y.

enced a great desire for a theore- Follow Successful Meeting

New York Local of the Communist tion of the hotel workers and weak-League as a follow-up to the debate ening the struggle to rebuild heir between Cannon and Lovestone, held organization, the splitting manoeuseveral weeks earlier, at which comrade Cannon, speaking on the need away from the principle of indusof a new revolutionary International, trial unionism represented by the annihilated the position of Lovestone and his group, who have set themselves up as attorneys for bankrupt Stalinism.

In his lecture, comrade Cannon took up one after another the funclass has been confronted with in

Los Angeles

25262 Brooklyn Avenue Speaker MAX SHACHTMAN

International

One Year of Roosevelt's New Deal

blamed for so much anyway.

ican people, to use that term, that standard for wages and other pro- in motion a greater concentration is, the exploited and exploiters alike visions, from which other codes in industry and a greater centraliin their overwhelming majority, proceered with as little variation zation of finance, all at the expense But as it swings into operation on could get away with. a large scale, the attitudes toward Now we can add to this wage high pressure sales and for adverit begins to divide on class lines. standard the combination of in-tising purposes tends to go into soeconomics of the New Deal with ers fortunate conugh to have a job. sary to the productive forces. its general inflation schemes hit the For the working class as a whole, workers below the belt. It increases and that includes the unemployed the money available—for those who millions, the total inlome remains in the minds of the thinking workown the means of production-by vastly reduced. forcing the rate of exploitation of Unemployment and Reduced Hours a series of measure to save the the workers upward due to the How do matters stand in regard capitalist system which was so badlowering of their real wages. The to the other aspect of increased ly dislocatel during the crisis. The realities of a stronger monopoly masses by the spread of employment does not aim to improve the concapitalism functioning under gov-through a reduction of working ditions of the workers regardless

Aid to Big Financiers

The very first steps in the New deprivation. Hoarding and exportation of bullion or currency were prohibited under presidential emergency powers. The Emergency Banking Act reopened the closed big banks and authorized their issuing new preferred stocks to obon the heels of this came a whole series of legislation.

First, the Securities Act which established federal supervision over sales of investment securifies. Then came the project to refinance farm mortgages on the plea of helping the farmers. It was well known that there could be no more farm foreclosures because such would hurt the bankers more than the farmers. The bankers had already too much farm property on their hands, so it was much better for them to obtain refinancing and interest on the farm mortgages. Next, followed the Home Owners Loan Act to secure the interest payments to the bankers on outstanding mortgages due from small property owners. Then, the Bank Insurance Act which established a guarantee on bank deposits. It also provided for expansion of credits and authorance Corporation to invest one billion dollars to "strengthen the mer many more such camps will be begun. banks and make it posible for them established. I have just returned to respond to the credit needs of from a visit to several such camps back to camp with frost-bitten ears the country."

But, as they many wailings and lamentations have since proven, the ed. bankers cashed in on the dough but Most of the boys at work in Minn- warning to the rest of the men. to lend unless they could see some- from Kansas. The government makes protect themselves." What a sooththing profitable to ues their money a fixed policy of sending the young ing philosophy!

Government Money Flows

Government money began to flow easy and all the pilfering pirates were gathering to get their share farm staring them in the face. of the loot. The Reconstruction For working 8 hours a day, five The boys, almost without exception, organizations are searching for new join this union and instructed them from the same premise, a very remost obviously, the Labor Party is Finance Corporation was also au days a week, these boys receive come direct from farm homes. None roads and are standing face to face to create small trade unions in each markable premise, to wit, because needed. theorized to aid the "hard-pressed" thirty dollars monthly—twenty-five has ever worked in a factory, has before new re-alignments. In this factory. The disastrous results of of the immediate need "to divorce" insurance companies, who gobble of which is sent home to their par- ever stood face to face with his ex- chaos the Left Opposition tries— this tactic were soon demonstrated the workers politically from the up the small savings of the gullible ents. In this way many Kansas ploiters across a picket line. I and with success—to create nuclei At the recent congress of the capitalist class" (Connor); because sand and first time lecture investors. Railroad companies and families are removed from local re- found no evidence to indicate that of the new coming party from the Warsaw metal workers, to be sure of "the necessity for the political to the American Brandlerists the other monopoly enterprises got lief. This peculiarly ingenious plan any boy had the least understand- cadres of the Communist party, the bureaucratically prepared by the separation of the working class from A. B. C. of Marxism. A politically their heavy share until this orgy has a double merit, then, in Roose- ing of the economic forces at work social democracy and the trade socialist officials, there was not the capitalist class." (Jonas & Vau- conscious worker is a class-consciof credit expansion, through the veltian eyes. By making one mem- in the world which were condemn- unions. First of all the causes of a single Communist delegate. And ghan). R.F.C. subsidies and loans, reached ber of the family support his par- ing him to an empty futureless defeat are being discussed. the stupendous sum of six milion ents and brothers and sisters in the life. They, and their fathers, had dollars at the end of 1933.

ard and the dollar devaluation cli self-respect. Likewise, the C. C. C. for existence. Then came the New ried on, a discussion which first of ent group. Their few delegates maxed the series of inflationary worker himself receives a tidy bit Deal, with its shabby offer of six all takes up international questions. were so fearful of being known as schemes. They were all designed to of pocket money. For working 40 months of camp life; and, poor as The SAP, as is known, is by its Communists that all the reformist raise the commodity price level at hours weekly, he receives the muni- the work was, these boys jumped at origin a centrist organization which resolution were adopted unanimoushome and thus to reestablish the ficent sum of \$1.25—or slightly over the chance to escape from the has undergone an evolution towards ly. profit inducement for capital invest-3 cents an hour. ments. In addition they also befor the things the workers need.

commodities compiled by the Bu-camp cooks for subsequent meals these 300,000 young men, 99% of successful turn towards illegal work blows of the Fascist police. But the reau of Labor Statistics has ad- was given to the Indians—soup, the rifles would be caught and drill- under new conditions. It escaped comrades who were arrested or party would be revolutionary. It of several years the Russian Menvanced 23% and the more sensitive bones, crusts, vegetables—all were ing could immediately start. At the decomposition and demoraliza- forced to emigrate were soon reindex of The Analyst 33% during thrown in the greasy pails making present, the army staff makes a tion of big organizations. Only in placed by fresh recruits from the point of all workers "regardless of a so-called Labor Congress which the lrst year of the New Deal. Since the most filthy, garbage-like olla- great show of the lack of military small towns, where our comrades former social democrats and Stalin- individual differences". Of course was to replace the revolutionary farm prices, helped by the outright podrida to be eagerly taken home discipline prevailing in the C. C. C. were widely known, were the groups ists. The illegal publications of the in the very next sentence, our theo-party of the working class; all kinds destruction of wheat, meat, and cot- and eaten by the Chippewa braves camps. No saluting, no of the German opposition routed by German Opposition testify irrefutton, have risen more than those of and squaws and tubercular papoos- court-martial, etc. But let war ap- the police. In the majority of large ably to the fact that this "rejuvenanon-agricultural products, it is quite es. Thus does Uncle Sam provide pear on the horizon: how the pic-cities the German oppositionists is tion" of the cadres did not at all afeasy to get an idea of the advanc- for his First Families. ing cost of living which means a A word about the forestry work. department of war must be well lets. The weekly organ of the Ger- work. Out of seven Regional orlowering of real wages to the These Kansas boys are not used aware of the fact that, if occasion man Bolshevik-Leninists "Unser ganizations existing at the time the let us pass in silence this vision of unions instead of a political party."

Deal program as a means of re-decided that this was too cold and at a moment's notice. "prosperity" equilibrium. It hovers minutes later the officer in charge ter now than were they back home. events. around the industrial code minimum strode in and paused in the center In the evenings in camp they have The spread of the ideas and the joined the banner of the Left Opwage of \$11 to \$15 weekly. Is this of the room. 30 years ago?

Quite cleverly, the first of the names."

codes to be adopted was that for are available are being manipu-"The program comes from the the textile industry. In that indus-lated. Facts and figures are turned American people," said President try wages had always dipped the upside down, inside out, and Roosevelt in his message to Cong- lowest. The code provides for a squeezed until they bleed from ress on the New Deal, January, 3rd, forty-hour week, the magnificent every pore. Yet they cannot hide 1934. And why not blame the sum of twelve dollars in the South the enormous numbers on the un-Ameircan people. They have been and thirteen dollars in the North employment market. With the Being the first code adopted, it NRA in operation and the suspen-It is quite clear that the Amer- tended immediately to become a sion of the anti-trust law, there is

ernmental regulation and support. hours? In administration circles of what temporary advantages they shorter work day. Each reduction of these measures the workers face Deal program constituted an aid to the big financial overlords who had to the big financial overlords who had the big financial overlords "suffered" so much from crisis and helper forth to the codes go creased rate of exploitation. Mass and many remain above the forty-nent form, and the workers are hour maximum.

As compared to 1929, when the average work week was forty-eight course, is the real aim of the New hours, this would even have some Deal. significance, but when compared to tain additional capital. Following the crisis, none whatever. The American national economy to refive months of 1933 in manufactur- In the program as a whole are eming industry, for full time workers bodied the active preparations for and part time workers put together, further imperialist expansion. For were 34.7 weekly. Thus the code that, tranquility of class relations regulations of working hours at is required. But this is another tained so far could not appreciably aspect of the New Deal program, increase employment. With the to be dealt with separately. Mean-Civil Works schemes at an end, the while one important lesson must unemployed army, according to all sink deeply into the minds of the reliable estimates. will remain workers:

about as large as before. Statistics on unemployment have ist expansion as a means of issuing become exceedingly scarce since out of the crisis lead directly on the drop which followed the early the path of war. That ,we can rest flush of business revival, artificially assured, is taken fully into account stimulated by the various NRA in the New Deal program. schemes. Now whatever statistics

pany unions arise. Code regulations devaluation of the dollar. As a con- elimination waste, which in reality tie the workers to the crisis level sequence unbearabe conditions have means more speed-up and further of wages. And, besides that, the become the lot even of those work- elimination of labor power neces-The Real Aim of the New Deal

There should be little doubt left ers that the New Deal represents much has been made about the may offer. In the objective results cretinism in Austria. below forty-hour weekly maximum unemployment remains in permabrought face to face with a stronger

It means a reorganization of

Preparations for further imperial-Arne Swabeck.

Inside the C. C. C. Camps

in Minnesota, and would like to tell and cheeks. After bandaging the must be completely unmasked before unions. To be sure these 300 were the Militant readers what I observe

workers far from home: in this way the potential rebels and deserters away, with a long trek back to the

The suspension of the gold stand- customed, it preserves the domestic ground every year in this struggle Party of Germany) is being car- legates did not form an independ-

One of the camps at which I stay- farm. come preparations to facilitate the ed for several days (in the Chip- I was particularly interested in ternational. The unification of the ously with the loss of the party's incompetition of American capitalism pewa National Forest) was located the attitude of the recruits towards German opposition with the SAP fluence in it. Instead of encouragin the world market. Such is the near an Indian reservation. After war. Would they go to war if Am- would have been an important stage ing criticism from the membership picture of one side of the New Deal every meal, a throng of dirty, rag- erica should become embroiled with on the road to a new party. But to find the basis of the mistakes, the in operation. An enormous flow of ged Indian boys and men would a foreign nation? Yes, almost to the discussion showed that the SAP party bureaucrats used every possieasy money for finance monopoly throng themselves at the kitchen a man, they would. "There's noth-still has some Rightist tendencies. institutions with the resulting in- door, carrying large cans and ing doing back home," they say. Therefore, a deepened discussion a break with reformism and against flated credits and rising price level buckets. They were waiting to re- "Might as well fight as rot on the must precede unification. ceive the scraps from the meal. All land." Should an emergency arise, Armed with correct policy, the The slow moving index of 784 that could not be garnered by the and the Government throw rifles at German Left Opposition made a opposition was subjected to serious

not distinctly the crisis level of "Any man not reporting for work tory, in military tactics, etc. Sub-Opposition are by no means limited German workers. A supplementary wages? Is it not a wage level as this morning, will be fined \$20," he they have been filled with the to a layer of critically thinking edition of "Unser Wort" carrying not the revolutionary wing in the low if not lower than that of 20 to announced. "Just follow me back insidious nationalistic ideology. Communists, but on the contrary the declaration of Maria Reese was labor movement. Like all opportunities." to the office and I'll take your Here the greatest danger lies.

Minneapolis.—Today there are, The boys thought of their families ization to the Reconstruction Fin- 1,522 C. C. c. camps in this country back home, destitute, starving. The with over 300,000 recruits. By sum- putsch was over almost as soon as

> injured parts, the camp medico ob- the Lithuanian workers. served, "The bandages will be a

Notes

LITHUANIA.—

ian Bolshevik-Leninists published Issues of labor unions versus com- creased commodity prices and the called scientific management and in Document to a different end: the discontened a series of Left Opposition pamrades printed a first issue of their periodic illegal organ in the Lith-lonly the leaders but also the prouanian language under the name letarian masses of Poland have be-"Lenin Kelin" (In Lenin's Steps). hind them a glorious past of rev-The issue contained the following olutionary struggle. To that can years ago in Poland. Without forarticles: An editorial on the Lith- be added the conditions in the counarticle "On the building of the of the Communist movement. Pol- the Opposition raised demands on Fourth International", "The De- and is still the weakest link in the all the national and local quesclaration of Four"; a warning to chain of capitalism. workers come face to face with the purchasing power of the broad economic part of these measures the Stalinists on the provocateur character of their publishing the

In the discussion which took serious that the frequent demonplace on the question of the Fourth strations of the peasants bear a ditions of illegality.

opened up a slanderous campaign tasks and employed a correct Leninagainst them, not stopping even belist line. Unfortunately their tacthe leading Bolshevik-Leninists. For And since the tested leaders of the instance, the Stalinist illegal press movement have been eliminated, in the student party organ, the and those at its head now are in-Aurora (No. 2-3)—published an ar- capable of giving it leadership the ticle: "Trotskyism—the advance results are not very gratifying. It guard of the counter-revolution". can even be said that in Poland slanders of Trotsky carries informal sense of the word, but a party aption on the activity of the Lithuan- paratus which is completely isolatian "Trotskyites". They have alled from the masses legedly the most backward workers with them and are carrying on Trotsky's line directed against the P. P.? We can only give some of for the dictatorship of the prole of the Profintern instructed the tariat, "ignore" the peasantry, etc., Polish party to build its own trade stoneites. in the same spirit. In conclusion, unions. That was grist to the reas stated above, they mention by formist mill. Of course the party name "as a traitor" a leading com-did not succeed in building its own rade in order to draw the attention trade unions. Two examples: (1) rades find themselves between two are organized in Christian and refires; the Stalinist provocateurs and formist trade unions. The party At noon a handful of boys came the Lithuanian police. The pro- recruited but 300 of these workers vocateur work of the Stalinites in its attempt to build its own trade

GERMANY.—

unist as well as the social-dem While at the camps I had the ocratic workers. In the general workers strike in Lodz the reformopportunity to talk to many of the chaos in which the German working ists built a union with a memberwill think twice before they run boys. I should like to report that class movement found itself after ship of 10,000. This is the largest icians". many were militant, class-conscious Hitler's coming to power, the rem-union in existence in Poland.

Parallel with this a discussion where the Communists had the style to which they have become ac-slaved on the farm, had been losing with the SAP (Socialist Workers majority two years ago, their dewretched gray existence on the Communism. The SAP signed the The Internal Regime in the Party Declaration of Four for the new In- Mass discontent grew simultane-

ture would change overnight. The sue hectographed papers and leaf-fect the level of our propaganda to the bitter weather of northern arises, they have a third of a mil-Standardizing on a Lower Level | Minnesota winters. One day it was | lion young men in first-class condi- abroad since February, as well as | ground, systematic uninterrupted We have presented to us the New 27 degrees below zero. Eighty boys tion available for fighting forces a number of other publications work is carried on in six of them penetrating by various ways into to this very day. The loss of old much more essential aspect to the challing Cominton the Touristics of the Cominton the storing and stabilizing the purchas revolted. After breakfast they re The C. C. Workers have be Germany, have given great impetus elements is replemished by the ining power of the broad masses. But turned to barracks instead of climb- come accustomed to having the to the spread of the ideas of the flux of new. The fact that MARIA this is, of course, to be on a dis- ing on the trucks which were to government take care of them. Poor Left Opposition, the correctness of REESE, former member of the tinctly lower level than the former convey them to the woods. Ten as the pay is, they are living bet which had been proven by living Reichstag enjoying a wide popular. Itical separation (or divorce) of the

attended classes in American his-growth of the influence of the Left position found a wide echo among -CARLOS HUDSON. | cial-democratic cadres standing for Germany

According to recent documents ble means to suppress it. Every cmic and political questions. In and resolutions of the Comintern criticism was considered and brand that way we won the sympathies of and particularly to Piatnitsky's arti- ed the work of renegades, and every the Communist and non-party cles the Communist Party of Pol-critical member expelled from the workers who follow us to this day. and (C. P. P.) is the best Commun-party. The seizure of power by We also have contacts in various The Lithuanian opposition is ist party in the Comintern from Hitler was communicated to the groups in reformist organizations. growing stronger and gaining ad- which all the sections can take ex- membership as a mere piece of We have oppositionist organizaherents among Lithuanian workers ample. One might really believe news and no discussion on this tions in all the trade unions. We as well as among the student youth. the veracity of this statement be question was permitted. In the have about 300 members, equally A few student-propagandists lead cause the founders of this party same manner the resolution of the young and old comrades. We have workers' study circles on political fought with Lenin against Czarism. Comintern on March 5th, 1933 on two weekly papers, one in Polish economy, history of the revolution- Under the leadership of Rosa Lux- the united front was conveyed to and another in Jewish, which are suported the New Deal program. as little variation as the exploiter of the workers. What was formerly spent by big concerns for opposition. On the 16th anniversary Poland was a model of revolution munication. The bureaucratic party nificant that our papers are better of the October revolution Lithuan- ary proletarian internationalism. In apparatus, which has made every sold than the party's. spite of the theoretical differences criticism impossible, brought things

The Left Movement in

The Opposition was created two

closest to Russian Bolshevism. Not together to build an opposition.

Effects of Crises

Trade Union Debacle

at the railroad workers congress,

joining the Stalinites.

In July of last year the German

What caused this ruin of the C.

uanian Fascist overturn of 1926; an try favorable to a strengthening of their struggle, the leaders of had no desire to break with the tries. The agrarian crisis is so sharpened the contradictions in the have been bought.

The Opposition

International not one voice was near revolutionary character. More in Russia and the seizure of power sion for five months and disclosed raised against the new orientation. than 40% of the population consists by Hitler have shown the Opposi-serious differences in the organiza-We have now in Lithuania 20 ac- of national minorities and of these tion that the struggle is not limited tion, is now about to be definitely tive members of the opposition or 80% are Ukrainian and White Rus- to local questions but must be decided. The leadership of the organization, the majority of whom sians who hate Polish imperialism broadened to the international field. ganization and the majority of the monopoly capitalism. That, of are workers. The work has to be and are striving for national libera- We solidarized ourselves with the membership have taken a firm posicarried on under the severest contion. Poland does not lack in cadres Left Opposition and decided to tion for the Fourth International. and reserves for real revolutionary educate our members in this spirit. The official entry of the Polish Op-The Stalinites have begun to feel activity. Piatnitsky's prognoses We struggle against the Stalinists position into the League of Interthe influence of the Lithuanian op-could be realized if the Communist on the basis of the interests of the nationalist Communists will soon be average working hours of the first store and increase capitalist profits. positionists and have therefore leaders were fully aware of their workers and in all the daily econ-consummated.

The Polish Opposition has issued In December the Lithuanian com- Socialist party of Poland stood members have grouped themselves phlets in the Polish language: "The Key to the International Situation", "What Next?" a pamphlet by Trotsky on the Amsterdam Congress with the declaration of the Left Opposition, Lenin's "Left Communism" with an introduction by Trotsky, the declaration by the Left Opposition on the Paris Anti-Fascist congress, a pamphlet on the Fourth tions. They did this because they International (which was confiscated), "The Fourth International and All of the post-war crises lasted party. The party bureaucrats ans- the Soviet Union" (also confiscatnames of our comrades; Workers longer and had a more catastrophic wered these demands by expelling ed) and a pamphlet on the "Bund". Correspondence; On parliamentary effect in Poland than in other countries the best members. That further 20,000 copies of these pamphlets

The question of the Fourth Inter-The aggravation of the situation national, which was under discus-

The Right Wing and Labor Party

Today, in America, we have enter-|Lovestoneites minimize the elements the class struggle. With the sharp- the elements of spontaneity. This article, outside of the usual there is not a party in the real nature of classes, and political part Menshevik theory preached by Maries or tendencies stand out in ever of all are the political perspectives within the working class. Let us

> historic need of the present moment? class-consciousness. According to the Lovestoneites "the fight for a Labor Party."

In the Workers Age (March 15, 1934) two articles appear proclaim- Jonas, Vaughan, Lovestone and all the best revolutionaries but they ing this perspective: one by H. other Martynovs further propose to were demoralized by their impot Connor who deals with the Labor Agitation for a new party which ence, and the broad masses remained Party in Fort Wayne; the other by means of the same Labor Party. failed to "respond." They refused esota forests have been imported Now they will take more care to at first met with certain difficulties under the influence of the Christian S. Jonas & H. Vaughan who deal "It is obvious (!) that no progress gained ground among the Com- and reformist trade unions. (2) Fol- with the Labor Party in general. can be made in building a revolulowing their victory in the textile Connor reports as an "activist"; tionary movement until workers Jonas & Vaughan on the other hand, have first BECOME politically conapproach the question "as theoret-

Both the activist and the theoret- revolutionary parties have failed to workers; but such is not the truth nants of the former working class The party forbade its members to icians argue for the Labor Party accomplish this" (our italics). Ergo,

From such a premise a Commun- "politically conscious as a class" in ist would argue not for a Labor the process of the class struggle by Party but for a genuine revolution-themselves, not even if they all ary party. Beginning with the Com- joined or voted for a dozen Labor munist Manifesto, all Communists Parties. The revolutionary party is have proclaimed the necessity of that historical organ by means of separating the proletariat politically which the class becomes class confrom the bourgeoisie, i. e., "the or-scious. The workers as a class do ganization of the proletarians into not first become politically conscia class, and consequently into a pollous and then build a revolutionary itical party"; and it is equally an movement; just the contrary, only if ABC of Marxism that this task can a revolutionary party exists "which be achieved only by organizing the does not fail to accomplish" its hisvanguard into a revolutionary party toric task of mobilizing the over-Only the revolutionary party can whelming majority of the workers divorce the workers from the cap under its banner can progress be italists politically.

But the Lovestoneites are not of movement. the opinion that the proposed Labor In 1920, the Leninist Comintern Party would be revolutionary. No. said, "After the defeat of the rev-Jonas & Vaughan deny that such a olution in 1905, during the course should only serve as a rallying sheviks proclaimed the necessity of reticians proceed to contradict them- of "laborites" of England and Amselves by insisting that such a party erica, while consciously carrying "will become more and more rev- on a bourgeois policy, are propagatolutionary in its outlook" in the ing among workers the idea of creatprocess of the class-struggle. But ing indefinite shapeless workers' revolutionary. There is another and feat of the German and Austrian

The Labor Party, not being revolutionary, cannot achieve the poliworking class from the capitalist ity among the German workers, class. Why then do the Lovestoneites propose its formation? Because they represent the opportunist and a genuine Communist party. The find a considerable echo among so-published in hoctographed form in ists they drag at the tail end of ternational. events; and like all tail-enders the

ed upon a new and higher stage of of class-consciousness, and worship

tynov-the theory of "organizationsharper relief. In the light of sharp-process"; the theory of the sponening contradictions, most revealing taneous growth of the revolutionary party; and of the spontaneous put forward by parties or tendencies growth of class-consciousness. To-Lithuanian peasants since they stand the reasons here. The 5th Congress apply this touchstone to the perspectives put forward by the Love- again the thrice-digested cud of Menshevism. They counterpose the What is the task facing the rev- Menshevist concept of the spontanolutionist today? According to the eous political development of the Lovestoneites: "to agitate and pre-class to the Leninist concept of the to this "traitor" of the Lithuanian There are more than 90,000 Polish pare the ground for the formation vanguard, organized as a party, perpolice. Thus, the Lithuanian comminers in Upper Silesia. They of a Labor Party". What is the meating the working masses with

After proposing to divorce the workers politically from the capitalists by means of the Labor Party, make the workers class-conscious by scious as a class. It is equally obvious (!!) that the tactics of the

In the period of civil wars and revolutions one must for the thouous worker. Workers do not become made in building a revolutionary

In 1934, after the disastrous deites can only repeat the perspectives of the Mensheviki in 1905, and of the "laborites" of England and America in 1920.

The task facing the revolutionist in America today is the building of historic need of the present moment

—J. G. WRIGHT,