



Left Currents in the S.P.

The Revolutionary Policy Committee

Note: This is the first of a series of articles by comrade Cannon on the program of the Revolutionary Policy Committee of the Socialist Party.

Under the impact of the second historic debacle of social reformism on the international field—Germany and Austria—and the sharpening of the class struggle in America, the ferment in the Socialist Party is deepening and a process of differentiation along principle lines is clearly evident. Most significant, among the many groupings, a left wing current is now taking shape inside the party.

This current, which differentiates itself in many important respects from the lukewarm radicalism of the "Militants", calls itself the "Revolutionary Policy Committee of the Socialist Party". It has recently issued a programmatic statement of aims and principles with 47 signatures under the title: "An Appeal to the Membership of the Socialist Party". In this pamphlet, for the first time since 1921, a group of more or less influential party members takes issue with the reformist position on fundamental principle questions and approaches the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism, that is, of Communism. Declaring against any "middle road" and demanding that the Socialist Party change "its present principles and tactics", the new Left group attacks the traditional reformist policies of Social Democracy all along the line.

The statement of the Revolutionary Policy Committee is somewhat lacking in clarity and incisiveness on certain fundamental issues which permit of no ambiguity. The document also leaves other essential programmatic questions untouched and omits the necessary critique of the various groups and tendencies in the Socialist and Communist movements.

Despite these defects, however, the declaration of the Revolutionary Policy Committee indicates the emergence of a substantial group in the Socialist Party which is obviously breaking with the policy and practice of social reformism. If the group preserves on this course it will undoubtedly attract the revolutionary elements of the party, especially the Socialist youth, and play an important role in the reconstitution of the revolutionary movement in America.

Dangers Facing the Left Wing

Many dangers will beset them on this path. They can overcome them, and avoid the fate which has befallen many other radical groupings in the parties of the Second International—that of serving as a wind-break for social reformism and an apologist for its treacheries—only on the condition that they round out their program and develop its implications to the very end.

For this, as theory and all experience have demonstrated, clarity and precision of expression are needed. And, in addition, a course which suits the action to the word is needed. The break with reformism must be complete and lead to a fusion with the revolutionary Marxists, or it is no break at all in the real sense of the word.

The Revolutionary Policy Committee has taken the first, but only the first, decisive steps in such a break. Needless to say, every intelligent Communist can but welcome this significant development in the Socialist Party and aspire to aid its further evolution in a revolutionary direction. The first prerequisite for this is frank and straight-forward criticism. After that, direct proposals to the Left Socialists to apply their programmatic declarations in practical action follow as a matter of course.

Those who mean their declarations seriously can have no objection to such criticism and such proposals. They are doubly necessary at the present time when, after the manifest bankruptcy of reformism in Germany and Austria, reformists of all shades are covering themselves with the mantle of radicalism in order to return to the old ways again tomorrow. One of the first obligations of honestly revolutionary Socialists is to mark themselves off, in word and deed, from these false prophets and centrist masqueraders.

The State and Revolution

Under the chapter heading, "The Road to Power", the statement of the R. P. C. is remarkable, both for what it says and what it leaves unsaid. On this fundamental question of the state and revolution,

which has divided the Social Democracy and Communism most sharply and irreconcilably, the R. P. C. rejects the conception that the bourgeois democratic state can serve as the instrument for the transformation of the social order. The program assigns this function, as Marx and Engels did, to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In order to bring out the position clearly we quote as follows: "It is necessary (says the statement of the R.P.C.) to acquire possession of the state power so as to transform capitalist society into socialist society by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Further:

"The class character of a capitalist society means that no institution or instrument set up by the capitalist class can be depended upon to establish the Workers' Republic. Therefore the working class state will be an entirely new type of state based on workers' councils, historically suited to serve as the organs of liberation"

For Arming the Workers

On the function of the workers' state, the declaration of the R.P.C. says:

"Once socialists are in possession of the state machinery by the mandate of the workers, their task is to secure and insure the governmental power for the victorious revolution by arming the workers for its defense against all possibility of a counter-revolutionary resistance and to proceed to transform the economic

(Continued on Page 4)

Leader of the Spanish C.P. Resigns Post

According to a Barcelona despatch printed in the New Leader, organ of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, the leader of the official Communist Party of Spain, Jose Balbontin, has resigned from the Party because it refuses to unite with the Socialist Party, the Anarcho-Syndicalists and the Communist Opposition in resistance to Fascism. The C. P. has rejected with the other working-class organizations under the phrase "united action from below".

In a letter to the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party, Balbontin says it is "inimical to the solidarity of the working class to continue fighting Socialism as if it were a wing of Fascism". He continues:—

"I do not believe that Fascism in Spain has been defeated, as Comrade Stalin stated in his last speech. It seems to me that Fascism in Spain marches apace, and has one foot in the Government already, and it will soon succeed in monopolizing the Government completely if we do not hurry to stop it by a sincere united front against Fascism. . . ."

"It seems evident to me that Spanish Socialism and Anarchism want sincerely to fight against the Fascist danger, and that in this critical moment the Spanish Communists must join loyally with the Socialists and Anarchists in a united front from below and from above, suspending all internal factional struggles in answer to the demands of the masses. . . ."

"We must suppress effectively the advances of Fascism; and only then shall we be able, without fear, to dedicate ourselves to the tasks of organizing a Workers' and Peasants' Government based on Soviets. . . ."

"At this moment in Spain, it seems to me too premature to insist on imposing upon the great revolutionary mass the leadership of a Communist Party which has hardly begun to sprout. If you insist on an immediate displacement of Socialist and Anarchist leadership, in place of treating with them provisionally, you are preventing a proletarian bloc and you are facilitating the complete triumph of Fascism, just as was done in Germany".

The resignation of Jose Balbontin has aroused great interest among the Spanish workers. There is not the least doubt that he will have the support of many workers within the Communist Party.

IN THE NEW YORK MAY DAY PARADE



MARCHING UNDER THE BANNER OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Capitalists of All Countries Close Their Doors to Leon Trotsky

The attempt of comrade Trotsky to find asylum in some country has thus far proved fruitless. All doors are closed to him. Latest reports indicate that he must remain in France "under constant police surveillance". The New York Times of May 3 prints the following despatches:

Wireless to The New York Times.

PARIS, May 2.—France, which two weeks ago ordered Leon Trotsky to leave the country, will be obliged to keep him. No other country will take him off her hands.

Since the order for his expulsion was issued the arch-conspirator, who admitted he was engaged in trying to organize a fourth international, has carried on negotiations with many governments, with a view to obtaining asylum. But today, when the time limit put on his sojourn in France was reached, he informed the French Government that he had not succeeded. No other country would permit M. Trotsky to cross its frontiers.

Under these circumstances the French Government has decided upon his virtual internment. The Council of Ministers agreed to assign a residence to him where he would be kept under constant police surveillance. Authorities stated tonight that M. Trotsky would occupy that place of residence tomorrow, but they would not indicate its exact location. It will be at least 185 miles from Paris, it was stated.

Meanwhile, M. Trotsky will continue negotiations in the hope of obtaining a place of refuge. He has solicited the hospitality of several Central American republics, from which he has not yet had responses.

DEMAND THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM FOR LEON TROTSKY IN THE UNITED STATES.

SUDDEN DEATH OF A. A. BUEHLER

Just as this issue of the MILITANT went to press we received a telegram with the shocking news of the sudden death at Kansas City of comrade A. A. Buehler, the beloved veteran of the American Communist movement, one of the foundation members of the Communist Party and an active member of the Communist League since its inception. The death of comrade Buehler is a heavy blow to our cause. Coming on top of the death last week of comrade Cora Duff the passing of comrade Buehler inflicts a particularly severe loss on the Kansas City Branch. The laconic telegram of the Kansas City Branch comrades: "We are grief-stricken but will carry on", gives a true expression of the spirit of comrade Buehler.

TERROR IN HITLER GERMANY

Berlin (T.I.S.)—Hitler justice closes its balance sheet for the first month of 1934 with a total of three new death sentences and 447 years of prison and hard labor. Four earlier death sentences were executed, including the one against van der Lubbe, the unwitting instrument for the establishment of Nazi mass terror. Four well-known anti-Nazi leaders were shot dead by the police while "trying to escape" although it is conclusively proven that the men were deliberately murdered. According to January statistics which are, however, incomplete, 123 enemies of the Hitler regime suffered heavy penalties from the hands of Nazi justice.

Greatest May Day in the History Of New York Labor Movement

"America First" Parade is Fiasco At Minneapolis

Minneapolis, April 30—The dark forces of reaction catch at straws these days. The surge of labor's ranks toward the organizations of struggle has a meaning for the profit-mad bosses. They understand that the temper of the workers, who have suffered long years of hunger in the bread lines, is mounting. They look upon the rapid spread of the strike wave as a certain signal that the workers in industry, even though faced with unemployment, have determined to fight for a better living standard. These bosses do not mean to give up a single penny unless they are forced to do so.

The "America First" parade and demonstration in Minneapolis, organized by the Hofstads and Labos as a counter demonstration to the May Day parade, marched in perfect step with these labor-hating bosses and their tools in the Welfare Board. Whether inspired directly by the business men's associations, the Citizens Alliance and like organizations or not (and there is plenty of reason to believe that it was) does not matter greatly. What must be made crystal clear, is that a number of active workers, members and, in some cases, officials of the M.C.C.W., played an active role in the work organizing this disgraceful performance. The Minneapolis Central Council of Workers must lose no time in cleaning its ranks of these twilight elements.

Traitors in the Labor Ranks

When Shay, McKinzie, Lindberg, Hofstad, Labo and others announced, through channels best known to them, that they were constituted as a committee to arrange this "America First" parade for the unemployed, all the forces of reaction leaped to their posts. What! an unemployed "loyalty" parade! With American flags—and all that! And—just think—best of all—to start from the Auditorium at 9 in the morning, THE DAY BEFORE—MAY DAY!!!

What a perfectly splendid idea. Here was an opportunity to deal a crushing blow to the real workers' International holiday. A good chance, so they reasoned, to cut the May Day Demonstration to pieces. To teach the militant workers a lesson. The local press gave this project plenty of publicity. The Journal, the most reactionary of the lot, fairly outdid itself, carrying two column pictures of the "committee" on the front page, and giving, also on the front page, a detailed account of the preparations. It listed the slogans: "We have faith in America; all we want is work". "Lets have fair play". "Merchants, farmers, factories—our problems are your problems". "Lets pull together—" etc. etc.

The Journal stressed the announcement that a loyalty program would be conducted at the Parade Grounds where the parade was to terminate after a march through the downtown streets. It proclaimed that speakers from the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars would address the expected crowds. Former GWA project contingents were to form and march as separate units. All in all, the press and certain radio stations did the best they could under the circumstances to trick un-informed workers into participating in this counter-demonstration. Bands were promised. American flags for the coat lapels, banners, patriotic symbols, police escort and the rest.

It must be clearly understood. This "demonstration" was cooked by the people mentioned and according to their own statements, behind the back and without the knowledge of the M.C.C.W., the organization to which most of them belonged. They asserted that they knew "such proposals would be defeated". They chose, rather, to go out as individuals and get aid from the only place that aid is forthcoming for such an affair, from organizations and individuals whose purpose is to divide, confuse and throw back the gathering forces of labor.

It goes without saying that a few workers were misled into participating in this sorry mess. Let them (Continued on page 4)

By far the largest and most impressive May Day demonstration that New York has seen took place this year. From one o'clock until after six the parade passed before the speakers stand in Madison Square, singing the militant songs of labor, shouting the slogans of unity and struggle and hailing the imposing beginning of a great united front of the workers in the fight against war and Fascism.

Despite the division of the movement and the holding of a separate parade and demonstration at Union Square under the auspices of the Socialist Party, the May Day Labor Conference, which united all the other tendencies in the progressive labor movement exceeded all previous demonstrations and all expectations in the size and spirit of its demonstration.

May Day this year was not the occasion for a holiday festival. The shadows of war and fascism hang too heavily over the world to permit a spirit of festivity in the working class movement. The demonstration was permeated, rather, with a sober and determined spirit of struggle and the powerful urge for unity in the labor ranks against the threatening reaction. The Young Socialists especially expressed this spirit and presented an impressive spectacle as they marched behind a huge banner bearing the motto: "We will fight to the death against war and fascism!"

As the divisions of the Communist League, the Communist Party Opposition, and the I. W. W. marched into the square they were greeted by the assembled Socialist workers, particularly by the Young Socialists, with resounding cheers and shouts of "Long Live the United Front!" The fraternization of Socialist and Communist workers, the comradely spirit of unity and solidarity in the common struggle against the common enemy, which is the cement that binds the united front together, found a powerful expression at Madison Square this May Day.

The International Communists wound up the day with a rousing mass meeting at Irving Plaza where a number of speakers reviewed the event and outlined the program of struggle for the united front for the ensuing period. Our speakers at the Madison Square meeting—J. P. Cannon representing the League and M. Garret representing the Spartacus Youth Clubs—hailed the great occasion for the real progress toward the united front which it represented and urged that every conscientious effort be made to extend it to include all the organizations of the workers, including the Stalinists. While continuing to fight for this line, our speakers made it clear, however, that the International Communists will continue to participate in the existing movement that was launched so auspiciously with the May Day demonstration at Madison Square.

Attacking other Communist groups, the Trotsky pamphlets protested against the French government's decision to expel Trotsky, calling this action "the first direct step toward complete fascism of France and western Europe." Trotsky's presence in that part of the world, it was said, "is most important for the workers, since leadership is needed to transform the next war into a civil war and revolution."

Com. Cora Duff Dead

Kansas City, Missouri, April 23—Comrade Cora Duff, aged 25, died early this morning at the Research Hospital. Her death came as the end of nearly six months' suffering from an inflammatory condition of the arteries. Throughout her long and very painful illness Comrade Duff fought bravely and uncomplainingly.

Comrade Duff was secretary of the Kansas City Branch of the Communist League of America and organizer of the Kansas City Young Spartacus Club.

The revolutionary movement suffers an irreparable loss in the death of Comrade Duff. She was a leader of young and old. Her mind was keenly active. She had an artistic appreciation of life; she had a warm, affectionate nature; she was courageous, optimistic, and militant. To the last she was steadfast in her principles and convictions and in her devotion to the high cause of social revolution.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

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Shachtman Speaks at St. Louis Meet

St. Louis—Max Shachtman addressed one of the largest meetings arranged by the Communist League in St. Louis recently when he spoke on the need for a new revolutionary party at the Crunden Branch Library auditorium last Wednesday.

Almost 100 workers were in attendance, mostly from the factories, unions, and other workingclass organizations. They were so attentive to the discussion that ensued and so eager to learn about the principles and history of the International Communist League that a large amount of literature, Militants and pamphlets was rapidly disposed of.

Practically the entire membership of the Y.P.S.L. attended the meeting en masse, after having been visited by the writer and urged to be present to help prevent an anticipated Stalinist hoodlum attack. In order to be able to attend Shachtman's lecture, the Y.P.S.L. by unanimous motion, omitted their regular circle meeting which was supposed to have been held on the same night.

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REVIEWING THE NEWS

"Democratic" Traditions

Secretary of State Hull assures publishers New Deal will conform to traditions of Democracy...

Tricks of the Press

The World Telegram, April 27, prints the following cable from Paris:

All foreigners who participate in May Day demonstrations Tuesday will be expelled from the country...

The government is particularly anxious to get Trotsky out before Tuesday, because Socialists and Communists, after years of enmity, have made common cause.

The staff of the Daily Worker, April 28, rewrites the cable as follows:

All non-citizens who participate in the May Day demonstrations Tuesday will be expelled from France immediately.

The new restrictions are seen as expressions of the French bosses' deadly fear of the growing unity of Communist and Socialist workers.

Of course all reference to Trotsky was omitted. The coupling of the deportation of Trotsky with the United Front between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party in France doesn't fit in with the idea of "the advance agent of the bourgeois".

If the May Day edition had ten times 24 pages and if every bureaucrat in the Stalinist wrote it, still it would not be able to explain away the Stalinist united front with reaction in the hounding of Leon Trotsky.

Bert Wolfe

Answering a question on Trotsky's "theatrical personality", Bert Wolfe says, "Trotsky has personal attributes that are not altogether desirable in a leader."

Trotsky was the head of the first Soviet established in St. Petersburg in 1905. He organized the October insurrection in 1917.

Browder has apparently earned the spurs bestowed upon him from above. He became one of the early and very ardent exponents of the fallacies of Stalinism in this country.

Shachtman Meeting at K.C.

Kansas City—As a result of Comrade Shachtman's visit impetus was given to the work of the League in Kansas City, Mo.

On Sunday, April 22, Comrade Shachtman gave a talk on the need for a new revolutionary party in America.

On April 23 Comrade Shachtman gave an informal talk to about 30 sympathizers and members of the "Left Opposition", during which he discussed the world-wide drift toward the idea of a Fourth International and answered many questions concerning the tasks of building a new party both here and abroad.

The Kansas City Comrades are well pleased with the results of Comrade Shachtman's meetings. In addition to substantial collections at both meetings, several new friends were won for the Left Opposition and 4 young and decidedly capable sympathizers were added officially to the ranks of the Kansas City branch of the League.

Old and New Organization Forms

The class struggle of the American workers has been known throughout the world for its militancy and its sudden flare-ups. Likewise, among the workers of the advanced capitalist countries, the American workers have been known as the most politically backward.

The highest developed capitalist nation with the lowest percentage of organized workers in the elementary trade union form of organization, and with a Socialist and later a Stalinist party that were no more than caricatures of their European sections, clearly revealed this backward organization state of affairs.

Remoulding Workers' Organizations The old organization forms used by the American workers for elementary industrial struggles up to the highest political struggles have existed so long that every one takes them as a matter of course.

The old forms primarily revolve around the craft structure for the trade unions, language and territorial structures and local and national central bodies. Conferences and permanent bodies, that were formed on a city-wide or national issue, merely knitted together the existing forms, which meant merely heaping together a quantity of the same backward forms.

A class that is politically backward, with a low class ideological level, can tolerate such antiquated forms. But a rapidly developing class in motion, such as we find in America today, already shows signs of a struggle to grasp new and higher organization forms.

The higher forms must work toward revolve around the shop meeting and the shop committees as the basic units of the industrial union. This form has been propagated for years. Now it is within reach of fulfillment.

The shop committee and industrial union call for a new centralizing and co-ordinating structure if we are to be effective in combating the centralization, the concentration and cartels developing through the aid of the NRA.

Cleveland Convention of the C. P.

(Continued from Last Issue)

We recall Marx speaking in the Eighteenth Brumaire of circumstances and relationships that "enabled a grotesque mediocrity to strut about in a hero's garb". And truly, at times of back-wash of the mighty waves of history, the second or third-raters often occupy the most exalted positions.

Browder has apparently earned the spurs bestowed upon him from above. He became one of the early and very ardent exponents of the fallacies of Stalinism in this country. In 1929, at the time of the formation of the C.P.L.A., he pompously informed all those willing to listen that: "We will no longer waste our energies and time in disastrous attempts to work with these fake progressives".

New "Federation of Labor"

But Browder thought it quite useless to monkey around with the conservative mass trade unions and he became the particular exponent, also in 1929, of building red trade unions all along the line, together with a new national trade union center, the T.U.U.L. Today he sponsors a new idea of enlarging the T.U.U.L. to also embrace the independent trade unions and constitute a single Independent Trade Union Federation.

It is in these wrong positions that Browder has shown his most "magnificent, brilliant and remarkable, etc." qualities. Perhaps that was the particular quality the writ-

committee and industrial union use the old vehicle, which successfully co-ordinated the old craft, language and territorial structures, the effectiveness of the new weapons are reduced tenfold.

Shop Delegate Bodies Craft and territorial forms called for centralization through conferences and permanent bodies by heaping together as many of these organizations as possible.

Utilize Federal Unions The struggle within the Federal Unions must be utilized by those who support the industrial union and shop committees as embryo organizations for industrial unions.

A transition stage from the old organization forms to the new is now beginning. This calls for special attention and guidance on the part of the class conscious workers.

New Forms to the Fore The crisis has brought the new forms to the fore. In the past this form only cropped up in the propaganda of the advanced workers.

The new organizational forms are now pushing forward. Already hybrid and distorted forms of the new organizations can be noted.

The completion of the transformation from the old to the new forms cannot be carried through artificially by the radicals. However, proper propaganda and agitation to popularize the new forms, with their use wherever possible, taking into consideration, at the same time, the fact that the forces of the class struggle are working in our favor, can enable these forms to develop quite rapidly.

There is no short-cut to working class results. Some argue that this process is too slow, that work in the NRA will be faster. Yes, faster in strait-jacketing the working class. Inside the NRA apparatus the workers are harassed into class collaboration.

With the enormous bureaucratization of the Stalinist apparatus rising pyramidally to its pinnacle of the General Secretary, which is what the official party convention hullabaloo signifies, there is a rush to get on the band wagon.

Fluctuations of Membership A more real picture of the official Party is afforded in certain figures presented by the general secretary. He reported that from 1930 until February 1934, the Party had recruited 49,050 new members.

The average minimum hours adopted under the codes are far above the workers' demands and interests. The average minimum wage adopted under the codes are far below a living standard.

The exploiters have organized themselves into national associations and their slaves into company unions, while the organization of unions and big labor struggles have been prevented through the machinery of the NRA and the labor fakers.

small industries and in wholesale distributing centers for farm areas. Such localities give birth to a cluster of retail establishments which when combined with the other factors, make up a tremendous petty bourgeois section which dominates or wields tremendous influence in shaping, the immediate course of the class relations.

On the other hand, the basic industries of the country are so located and concentrated that they lend themselves readily to the industrial form and to the shop delegate bodies. Such industries as steel, coal, auto, textile, etc. add weight to the new form of organization.

The key to the change does not rest with the shop unit and industrial unions, although they constitute the foundation. The key to the change is in the United Front of all existing workers' organizations. By this force conferences and organizations of SHOP DELEGATE BODIES can be established, with ample provisions for the representation of workers' political organizations, the unorganized shops, the organized unemployed workers, and with fraternal delegates from the other workers' organizations, with no discrimination against race, nationality, religious or political opinion.

At the start such shop delegate bodies will only be able to take root in certain sections, cities and regions. But later they will be able to spread nationally as the heat of the class struggles remoulds the new and higher organizational forms for the workers struggles.

The shop delegate bodies shall be democratic bodies representing all shops in the given area, regardless of what union the workers are affiliated to. The unorganized shops shall also send representatives and place on the first order of business the organization of the shops into units of the industrial union of the country.

The Answer to the NRA This organizational structure should be the workers' answer to the NRA. This should be the answer to Green's class collaboration NRA plan. These shop delegate bodies shall fulfill the needs of the class and safeguard and extend its democratic rights.

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UNDER THE NRA

To increase the profits of the exploiters. To decrease the real wages of the workers.

A monopoly over prices, through price fixing, is provided for in the codes; while the 100% unionization of the shops is called a monopoly of labor and is fought as a closed shop.

The average minimum hours adopted under the codes are far above the workers' demands and interests.

The average minimum wage adopted under the codes are far below a living standard.

The exploiters have organized themselves into national associations and their slaves into company unions, while the organization of unions and big labor struggles have been prevented through the machinery of the NRA and the labor fakers.

The exploiters are willing to give crumbs to the workers as their reward for not objecting to the capitalists taking the lion's share under the NRA.

Oneal on the Communist Sickness

EDITOR'S NOTE—The following answer to the crusade against Communism conducted by James Oneal in the New Leader was written by a member of a group which recently left the Socialist Party in Waukegan, Wis., and joined the Communist League.

Recent dissensions in the Socialist Party ranks due to the failure of the Social Democracy in Germany and Austria, and especially sentiment for a Fourth International, are causing the Socialist Party leaders great alarm.

Mr. Oneal tells us that he, for one, cannot criticize the Social Democracy for, he says, "With my class facing life and death—I cannot, in the comparative ease and security we have on this side of the Atlantic, play the role of a scolding fish-wife".

What critics are there who assume that the working class did not want to win? Oneal knows very well that no one questions the desire of the workers to win. It is only the correctness of their program and the wisdom of their leaders which is doubted.

And what sort of a philosophy is this which asks us not to analyze critically? Surely it is not Marxism. But we are mistaken, for Oneal admits that he is a Marxist. And for the benefit of those who doubt this, and for those who, having read a little of Marx, might doubt that the Social Democracy followed a revolutionary course, Oneal explains that "Marxism is a growing body of thought which has expanded and been modified since Marx and Engel's death".

Evidently Marxism is now growing into manhood with the aid of Oneal. We must admit that under his guidance it is growing to such an extent that we can no longer recognize its relation to the original. Not being content with a modest effort, Oneal decides that while he is about it he may as well expose the great fakir, Lenin. It is interesting to see just how he accomplishes this.

However, there must have been some inquiries for this information since in the very next issue of the New Leader Oneal says, "Let us take a text from Lenin's pamphlet SHOULD COMMUNISTS PARTICIPATE IN REACTIONARY TRADE UNIONS. Lenin advised the boys to practice trickery, to employ cunning, and to resort to illegal methods—to sometimes even overlook or conceal the truth".

His expulsion for "Trotskyism" aroused in him an interest in the question and led him to a study of its literature. As a result he has become convinced of the correctness of our platform, finding in it a verification and generalization of his own proletarian criticism of the policy and practices of Stalinism.

The following is his statement: I read with great pleasure in a column of Panzer, the semi-weekly organ of the semi-developed Armenian Stalinist bureaucratic clique, among the announcements of the decisions of the District and Central Control Commission, a statement that I have been declared expelled from the Communist Party on charges of being sympathetic to the "renegade" Trotsky's ideas and of defending his point of view publicly. The announcement ended with a sharp warning, something like this: "We recommend to our fraternal organizations to look out for this counter-revolutionary tool".

I will just leave it to the reader of my statement for their judgment. My social standing before and after I joined the Party has been similar to that of any ordinary worker. One of the reasons I enrolled in the revolutionary movement was that I had more or less chances for self study after my working hours and had contact with more experienced and class conscious workers.

As a rank and file member from 1926 until 1933, in all these years I did my utmost for what I thought was good and well for the working class. And I will still serve my class and its party by all means in

Paterson Silk Workers Club

The militant and progressive workers of Paterson have organized the United Silk Workers Club, with the headquarters at 80 Market St. The club sets as its goal the organization of all silk workers nationally into an industrial union. Such a national organization of the workers in the silk industry is necessary for them to gain and maintain improvements in their working and living conditions.

To Extend Organization The club proposes to work and fight for the consolidation of the workers in Paterson; for the immediate improvement of conditions locally; and for extension of organization into the outlying centers. The A. F. S. W. U. as the largest union in the field must take the initiative in this drive.

Capital is assisted by the government in organizing strong national associations of employers and cartels. Labor is hindered in organizing unions of their own choosing and in striking for better conditions.

WAR AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL Speaker: JOHN G. WRIGHT Friday, May 4, at 8:30 P.M. Auspices: Communist League of America-Spartacus Youth Club 1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.

Statement of Jack Hackverdian

Some weeks back Jack Hackverdian was expelled from the C. P. on charges of "Trotskyist deviations". Comrade Hackverdian, an Armenian militant who belonged to the party since 1926, did not know anything at that time about the platform of the International Communists whom the Stalinists call "Trotskyists".

His expulsion for "Trotskyism" aroused in him an interest in the question and led him to a study of its literature. As a result he has become convinced of the correctness of our platform, finding in it a verification and generalization of his own proletarian criticism of the policy and practices of Stalinism.

The following is his statement: I read with great pleasure in a column of Panzer, the semi-weekly organ of the semi-developed Armenian Stalinist bureaucratic clique, among the announcements of the decisions of the District and Central Control Commission, a statement that I have been declared expelled from the Communist Party on charges of being sympathetic to the "renegade" Trotsky's ideas and of defending his point of view publicly. The announcement ended with a sharp warning, something like this: "We recommend to our fraternal organizations to look out for this counter-revolutionary tool".

I will just leave it to the reader of my statement for their judgment. My social standing before and after I joined the Party has been similar to that of any ordinary worker. One of the reasons I enrolled in the revolutionary movement was that I had more or less chances for self study after my working hours and had contact with more experienced and class conscious workers.

As a rank and file member from 1926 until 1933, in all these years I did my utmost for what I thought was good and well for the working class. And I will still serve my class and its party by all means in

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Foundations for a Communist Youth League

Opportunity for building a revolutionary youth movement in the United States is at hand as never before. Nor are the difficulties for the development of a mass Communist youth organization especially unusual. The Spartacus Youth clubs already in existence in a number of cities in the United States are the groundwork on which to go forward with the task of mobilizing the growing numbers of class-conscious working and student youth in the daily class struggle and for Communism.

In this task the Stalinist youth organization, the Young Communist League, has grossly failed. The International-Communists, if there is to be realized the much-needed mass organization of youth, will have to fill the need.

From one source or another come confusing and false notions as to what a Young Communist organization should be. Yet, if one accepts the foundations on which the Young Communist International was founded and to which comrades Lenin and Trotsky gave so much assistance, it is not hard to outline what a Young Communist League (Spartacus Youth) needs to be and to do.

Like a Communist Party, the Communist youth movement is a politically functioning organization. It accepts the political leadership of the adult organization, but remains organizationally independent within the spheres of youth functions. Its relations with the adult organization are developed on the basis of mutual exchange of representatives between the units of both organizations and through the greatest possible degree of collaboration in all fields of work.

The Communist youth movement—Y.C.L. or Spartacus Youth—is a broad organization of all the youth, young workers or students, who accept the principles and aims of the organization and are ready to participate in its work. But the Communist youth organization does not make a demand upon the youth who wishes to join, that he be already a Communist before he is accepted. What is required is a readiness to learn the principles, theory and practices of a Communist organization and to carry out the tasks assigned. Membership is, hence, for the youth who want to learn to become Communists. In this sense, together with the broader scope of activities than is the case with the adult organization or Party, the Young Communist organization is a broad movement, sufficiently so for any youth who accepts the class struggle and the necessity to participate in it, and who is ready to learn the problems and needs of the revolutionary movement. But while broad in these respects, it is not a loose, amorphous body open to consequently hostile political elements of the youth. Still, a genuine Communist youth movement—not, it must be emphasized, the caricature of the ones the American Y.C.L. and Y.C.I. have been for so many years—is sufficiently broad—non-sectarian, to admit of all youth forces open to conviction. From this we have to observe that the political, industrial, educational, social, athletic and cultural activities of the Communist youth movement have to be of a kind able to attract the completely raw, inexperienced but ready-to-learn youth of America.

The activities of the Communist Youth organization are varied. Insofar as possible, it participates in all phases of the class struggle: industrial, trade union work, united front, etc., independently and in conjunction with the adult organization.

Youth and Militarism

A major task is anti-militarist activity and, self-evident, today as never before. So far as the industrial proletarian youth particularly is concerned (that is, the youth in industry or in proletarian families), they are extremely unlikely to be infected with the pacifist virus or attitude on the issues of war and capitalist militarism. Born into an era of world-wide military conflicts, observing daily the race for huge armaments by the capitalist powers in preparation for war, as well as noting the necessary building of the Soviet Red Army, the proletarian youth is not prone to kid himself with pacifist syrup about disarmament by capitalist banditry. What the working youth, with greater or less consciousness of the problem of war and militarism, wants to know is what he can do about these most menacing of all dangers—involving his very life. . . . Here lies the task of the Communist Youth organization to present and act upon all phases of the Communist position and program on war and militarism. This relates itself to propaganda, attitude toward and activity within the militarist and semi-militarist organizations of capitalism—the army, navy, national guards, C.M.T.C., etc. These matters are not gone into here; they belong in an elabor-

ated exposition of the Communist point of view. What is declared here is that a Communist Youth organization which does not put the problem of anti-militarist propaganda and activity at all times as a foremost task, is no Communist Youth organization at all. This is a touch stone for the youth movement.

Of other tasks, some of the outstanding ones are outlined. The widest degree of activity of the youth in the class struggles of the day is imperative, it goes without saying. Nevertheless, it would be a decidedly short-sighted and opportunistic approach if the Communist Youth movement allowed itself to be involved, under pressure or pretexts of all sorts, in all kinds of routine activity, and to be made into a wagging or running tail to other bodies, political, trade union, etc. In order to achieve a name for "activities" there are some, perhaps, who believe that this very routine work, doing some of the distasteful work for the adult comrades, is the task of the youth. But it is in the Communist Youth organization that the youth (young worker or student) must make their major opportunity to learn thoroughly the fundamental principles and theory of the Communist movement, its history, etc. in order really to be prepared for intelligent participation and leadership, at a later period, in the adult organization, the Party. It has to be said plainly that in the adult organization, the opportunities are often too limited for serious and necessary study by the ranks. Lack of time and the need to carry through numberless concrete tasks after working hours are the main reasons therefore. The adult members have to place a great reliance, perhaps too much, on experience and the theoretical knowledge they managed to achieve beforehand. The much-needed theoretical background cannot or should to a large degree be obtained by the youth in the years they are a part of the Communist youth organization. This knowledge, coupled with their activities otherwise, will serve as a strong safeguard against opportunism and adventurism.

In the above sense, the slogan of Clarity and Action sums up the attitude of the Communist Youth. While stressing education and class struggle activity, a Youth movement, Communist or otherwise, cannot live by these alone, especially so if the Communist Youth organization is to attract the wider

strata of the youth to its own banner or around its bona-fide sympathetic auxiliary bodies. Social, sport, and cultural activities need to be systematically developed. The youth movement needs to build its dramatic and musical groups and like mediums which attract the youth. It can be done; who says otherwise needlessly narrows the possibilities for rallying youth elements to the Communist cause through divers methods. Particularly must the Communist Youth foster a broad Workers' Sport movement of which it must be a guiding participant. The insidious and malevolent influence of the bourgeois sport movements, both professional and amateur is immense, and systematic efforts are required to counter-act this influence on the mass of American youth. A general social and cultural life, in addition to the basic tasks outlined before, will tend to attract young workers and students around us. If the new forces are approached sympathetically, made to realize our genuineness, they will either join the Communist Youth organization, or at least remain sympathetic, even if not ready to accept the entire outlook of Communism. Numerous other tasks for the youth can be posed, but space forbids.

A final, but basic point, and this in reply to the false concepts cultivated and practiced by the Stalinists and others. There is no need of another so-called broader or peripheral youth political organization, whatever this organization may be called, besides the Communist Youth organization itself. If the Communist Youth organization—Spartacus Youth—is properly directed and functions along the path given here, it is the organizational expression sufficient to attract to its banner the widest possible strata of youth forces ready to participate organizationally in the class struggle. These were the concepts of the Communist Youth organization in the days of the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky; these were the views that in the best years of the Young Workers League of America gave it vigor, intelligence, activity and growth. There is no need to revise these concepts for a genuine Communist Youth organization in the United States and in the new international Communist Youth movement that must again be built. What is needed is for the Spartacus Youth to build on these bases.

—MARTIN ABERN.

Preparing For War

The numerous articles appearing in the capitalist press on the question of "disarmament" seem to indicate that there is a genuine deadlock on this question among the big imperialist bandits.

It should be clear to everyone by this time that the capitalists have no intentions of disarming. On the contrary, a furious armament race is in progress which promises to break into the open at any time with new wars of plunder and destruction.

This is the reason for calling the so-called "disarmament" conferences which serve to veil the bitter struggle among the imperialists for supremacy in the world market.

Not Disarming, but Rearming
The various conferences on the subject of disarmament never proposed disarming but only dealt with the extent of rearming. Its sole purpose was to try to limit the arming of its rivals. As the N. Y. Times correspondent from Europe noted: "The world is not disarming but rearming."
The break-neck naval race between the U. S. and Japan is reflected in a report issued by the Foreign Policy Association. "Despite the limitations of the Washington and London naval treaties," says the report, "the United States and Japan have embarked on the largest naval-building program since the World War. France and Italy are competing in the Mediterranean, while Great Britain is striving to maintain its relative position in Europe as well as overseas."
Japan's metal purchases have increased as high as 700 percent over 1931. Her armament purchases has been doubled. While her navy is limited by the Washington and London treaties—her army is constantly growing. It is also said that she will demand parity with the U. S. and Great Britain at the naval conference next year.

The U. S. has embarked on a naval building program which will make the U. S. Navy the most powerful in the world. Great Britain has increased her military budget and is devoting a good deal of attention to building up her air forces. "In a time of extreme nationalism like the present," writes the N. Y. Times, "when nations have deliberately rejected international cooperation in the monetary and industrial

fields, when world trade has been subjected to quotas and bargains and penalties, when economic armaments have been lavishly and recklessly increased, it is hardly to be expected that sufficient mutual confidence should be found to permit a reduction in military and naval armaments."

This marks a distinct change from the altruistic internationalism which permeated the meetings of the League of Nations and other international conferences. The capitalists can no longer conceal the antagonism which is an inherent part of the capitalist mode of production. From now on the struggle will take on a more open character until the world is again thrown into mortal conflict.

"Congress" Again War
While the capitalists are arming to the teeth, the Third International deludes the workers with Congresses Against War and Fascism, which content themselves with passing pious resolutions—which remain on paper. The mass trade unions which at the critical moment can be decisive in mobilizing the workers for the struggle against the oppressors are spurned for "united fronts" by bourgeois intellectuals. This gives the reactionaries in the unions a clear field. The Second International, true to its colors, has not even seriously raised the question of a struggle against war and Fascism in the unions it controls or influences.

Mussolini, however, and his Fascist cohorts are preparing for the slaughter. In a speech before the Chamber he made his position clear: "We must fortify our navy and make our air force so strong and numerous that its roaring motors will drown all other sounds, its shadow hide the sun over Italian soil. We will be able then, between 1936 and 1940, when I believe there will be a crucial point in European history, to make our voices heard and see our rights recognized."

To meet this challenge a new International is needed—an International based on the principles of revolutionary Marxism—from which the Comintern has departed. Only such an International can carry on and spread the lessons of Red October.
Forward to the Fourth International!

Hearst Speaks Out

Several weeks ago the I.L.D. held a demonstration in Harlem. The New York Daily Mirror had an editorial on the subject charging the affair to the Communist Party. It contained the following remarkable statements:

"The tendency is to attribute all such disturbances to Moscow's machinations. Quite probably Moscow never heard of Stein (the demonstration leader). We have our own disturbers who find the Moscow hatrack convenient. When this government recognized the Soviets there was an express understanding that all propaganda subversive of American governmental policies and principles should cease on this continent. So far there has been no evidence the Russians have not lived up to their promises"

The paper which thus exonerates Moscow from any anti-governmental activity in this country is owned by William Randolph Hearst. Mr. Hearst is a leading capitalist, Big Navy advocate, war-monger, imperialist, anti-laborite, open-shop advocate and general reactionary. He hates revolution. He knows what he wants. He speaks his mind in this editorial: no fear of Moscow; let's just clean up the local Communists and then all is well.

Another Hearst Editorial
On April 18 and April 22 the same newspaper contained editorials expressing more of Mr. Hearst's views. The papers of preceding days had been full of the news of the persecution by the French police of Comrade Leon Trotsky. Here is what the Daily Mirror, organ of reactionary capitalism, said on that subject:

"Among the Fourth International disciples there are undoubtedly many aliens. They should be promptly sent back where they came from. If Trotsky should undertake to set foot on American soil he should be given the same medicine. As for the rest, they should be rounded up and tried for plotting against the government. (April 18)."

"This country is passing through a grave crisis. . . . The Government cannot afford to look on complacently while social gangsters prey on the emotions of them to riot. . . . In a room on East Sixteenth Street there sits a man today who is perfectly willing to chat casually about his work in attempting to organize a movement to overthrow the Government of the United States. This man's name is Swabeck. He is secretary of a publication called The Militant, organ of the Communist League of America, which has its headquarters in New York and branches in Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Pittsburgh, Boston and Philadelphia.

Talks of World Revolution
"This man frankly talks of world revolution. His hero is Leon Trotsky."
"He will explain blandly the Trotsky plan is to 'win the working man and thus obtain power through sheer force of numbers.'"

"The 'Communist League of America' may not amount to much. It may never amount to much. It is but one alien-hatched borer eating at the roots of the American democracy."
"Organized crime is bad enough. Organized bigotry is as bad. These are American-born problems which we shall have to solve in our own way."
"Organized conspiracy against the American social order is alien. It must be met as an alien plague must be met."

"They killed rats by thousands, not so long ago, to end the alien bubonic plague in San Francisco."
"War on alien social rats is the biggest and most important job facing the Federal Government today". (April 22)

Let us get this clear: these words are not being spoken by the Daily Worker. No, indeed, 't is not Clarence Hathaway who is denouncing Trotskyism and the Fourth International, calling for the lynching of Comrade Swabeck and the extermination of the C.L.A. It is William Randolph Hearst, reactionary, capitalist, imperialist, militarist, enemy of the workers throughout the world.
As the Daily Worker itself might say in one of its more earnest moods: Does this not prove that Trotsky is the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie?

ATTENTION HARLEM WORKERS
A House Warming Party and Celebration of the Harlem Branch of the Communist League of America will take place SATURDAY, MAY 5th, 1934, 8 P.M. at the headquarters 130 East 107th Street, N.Y.C.

Decisive Struggles Approach In Spain

Events in Spain are moving rapidly in the direction of a definite test of strength between the working class and reaction. The rupture of the Republican-Socialist coalition and the triumph of the rightists in the November elections clearly indicated the trend toward both extremes and it cannot now be long before the historic question—Fascism or Communism will be posed.

While Spanish Fascism is not yet a real mass movement, all of the conditions for its growth exist. Encouraged by the Fascist victories in Germany and Austria, the party of Gil Robles has been making important gains in Spain. But the proletariat also has drawn its lessons from the German and Austrian events and all indications are that the Spanish workers will be in a position to take the offensive before Fascism is strong enough to seize power.

The Workers' Alliance

Definite steps in the right direction are being taken by the Spanish proletariat. Workers' Alliances, permanent united front organs are being built up in numerous cities and provinces throughout the country. In the Levantine provinces and Catalonia, the Workers' Alliance already embraces all proletarian groups with the exception of the anarchists of the F.A.I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation), and the Stalinists. While these two sects are screaming in unison for the "united front from below"—each, of course, demanding undisputed leadership—the great mass of syndicalist and socialist workers, through the unions and political organizations, have agreed on **united action against reaction and Fascism!**

Although the Socialist Party leadership claims to support the united front they are in practice sabotaging its formation on a national scale, fully realizing that they may soon be called upon to demonstrate the seriousness of their new orientation towards armed insurrection and the proletarian dictatorship. However, with the posing of the united front, in such a sharp and categorical manner, the reformist leaders find their backs to the wall, and, threatened by a split in their ranks they have entered the Workers' Alliance in almost every locality where it has been set up. The Socialist Youth, together with several of the national labor federations and unions of

the U.G.T. (Socialist controlled trade union center), are giving unreserved and enthusiastic support to every step towards united action and a revolutionary policy.

At this time, when the Spanish working class is girding its loins for the decisive battles and the seizure of power, the Stalinists leave nothing undone in their efforts to hamstring the revolution. They indulge in adventurist attempts to call partial and "general" strikes, under any and all circumstances, for partial demands or as "political demonstrations" At a time when it is essential to prepare decisive revolutionary action, the Stalinists attempt to dissipate the energies of the working class in a thousand futile partial struggles. As is usual with them, all who disagree with them are "counter revolutionary scabs" etc. Fortunately for the future of the Spanish revolution the Stalinist influence is quite limited.

New Alignments of Proletariat

Upon the background of these events, the political forces of the proletariat are realigning themselves. Every one of the traditional camps into which Spanish labor has been divided for decades, is now cracking from top to bottom. The Socialist Youth, a large section of the S. P. membership and many of the unions are completely out of control of the reformists and a split is averted only by continual and ever-increasing concessions on

the part of the leadership. Large sections of the C.N.T. are in open revolt against the anarchist F.A.I. leadership which controls the central organs of the Federation. Large syndicalist groups are moving towards political action, and headed by such groups as the Syndicalist Libertarian Federation, (with 200 local branches plus a Youth movement), are approaching the Marxist concept of the state and revolution.

Expulsions and desertions are rife in the Stalinist party as demands for united front action increase in the ranks. To the International Communists (Bolshevik-Leninists), whose prestige grows daily despite their slight organizational strength, falls the task of rallying these diverse leftward moving forces, assisting them to break with reformism, anarchism and Stalinism, in order to lay the basis for that new Communist party, destined to be forged in the fires of the revolution, the creation of which is essential to the complete victory of the proletariat.

CHICAGO NOTICE
CONCERT AND BALL
Given by the
ITALIAN SPARTACUS LEAGUE
Sunday, May 27th, 1934
WEST SIDE AUDITORIUM
1201 W. Taylor Street, Cor. Racine
Concert — Dancing from 8 p.m. till
Tickets 25c

RAILROAD PAY CUTS

"If we restore the 10% wage-cut of 1932, we will be ruined," shrieked the railroad magnates on the front pages of the press, which everybody reads.

However, on the financial page which is read chiefly by Wall Street, they indicate that things are not going so badly with them. The following is a comparison of the "net operating income" reported for several railroads for the first two months of this and last year (after all expenses for wages, fuel, taxes, etc., and probably interest on bonds, are deducted):

Eric—1933, \$398,695; 1934, \$892,642.
Lehigh Valley—1933, \$161,391; 1934, \$1,265,127.
Reading—1933, \$1,311,292; 1934, \$2,587,269.

Seaboard Airline—1933, \$343,460; 1934, \$755,454.

Not so bad for bankrupts, eh? The St. Louis Southwestern reports a deficit of \$546,730 for 1933 and \$327,376 for 1934 AFTER fixed charges have been deducted. In reality, according to its own statement the road earned for these two months of 1933 and 1934, \$6,985 and \$184,209 respectively. For the same period of 1933 the Southern Pacific reported a deficit of \$2,342,620; for 1934 the deficit had been cut to \$133,106.

We reserve the right to be a little skeptical about any reported "deficits" on the railroads. A good bookkeeper can do wonders with figures. Even granting, however, that SOME roads did run at a loss the fact remains that ALL the workers had their pay cut.

Labor and the New Deal

Let us analyze what, if anything, labor has gained since the Roosevelt New Deal went into effect. When the Roosevelt administration took office a year ago it was faced with two problems: first, to see that the wheels of industry began to turn; second, to put some of the millions of unemployed back to work. To accomplish these things the new Government passed a bill in Congress known as the National Industrial Recovery Act. This is part of what has been called the "New Deal".

In the NRA there is a clause under section 7a that recognized the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively. The employers in the basic industries such as steel, automobile, etc., refused to meet with the workers' representatives of the Code hearings in Washington. In spite of that our humanitarian President signed the codes which are for open shop industries.

Violating Codes
This was not enough for the captains of industry. No sooner were the codes signed than they began violating every stipulation contained in them. For instance, the workers in the automobile industry are supposed to work from 40 to 48 hours a week during the busy season. It has been proved by organizers of the American Federation of Labor through affidavits that the company forced workers to slave from 60 to 65 hours a week. The Steel Corporation and many other corporations have violated the most important clause in the code, section 7a.

It was pointed out at the hearings in Washington by union organizers, and even by Mrs. Pinchot, how the steel companies are terrorizing and intimidating the workers into joining the company unions. Mrs. Pinchot explained how she could not hold any meeting with workers nor speak to the workers in many Pennsylvania steel towns, not to speak of organizers who had come to organize the workers into legitimate trade unions. She forgot to point out, however, that in Pennsylvania her own husband is the Governor. In the steel towns it was explained that the companies employ spies and spotters who betray workers that go to union meetings. As a result those workers participating in union activities are dis-

charged by the hundreds under trumped-up charges of inefficiency, etc.

Civil Liberties Survey
Over two hundred codes have been signed by President Roosevelt so far. The National Complaints Board has received from organized labor over six thousand complaints, and over ten thousand workers have been fired for joining the unions (by patriotic employers) This shows how big business has violated the codes it drew up and signed itself. Not one of the big sharks has been prosecuted for violating the so-called law and the spirit of the "New Deal". On the other hand, the survey of the New York Times of February 11, 1934, tells another story of what labor is suffering under the New Deal:

"Too many employers confuse Roosevelt's New Deal with Coolidge's New Capitalism. The methods of the latter era are used flagrantly to smash labor's effort to organize despite the NRA. At no time has there been such widespread violation of workers' rights by injunctions, troops, private police, labor spies, deputy sheriffs, and vigilantes, etc. More than 15 strikers have been killed, 200 injured, and hundreds arrested since July 1 of 1933. More than forty injunctions of sweeping character have been issued against miners, agricultural workers, bakery workers, shoe and leather workers, food workers, hotel workers. Troops have been called out in half a dozen strike districts. Criminal syndicalist charges are again being used against the active strike leaders.

The National Labor Board and its regional boards have lacked the power and the will to overcome the defiance of employers who fear neither General Johnson nor Attorney General Cummings. California, Alabama, the Eastern shore of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Illinois are called the worst areas of repression. On the black list of the union California is placed first, for brutal attacks on agricultural workers trying to organize. A double lynching over which the governor gloated, and the continued imprisonment of Mooney and Billings. The survey holds too that attacks on independent and left wing unions have been particularly severe. Alabama is cited on the black list for the Scottsboro case, lynchings and the reign of terror against the share croppers. Industrial and mining sections of Illinois and Pennsylvania are said to still present classic pictures of the causes and results of the denial of civil rights.

"Protecting" Labor Rights
The report of the Civil Liberties Union gives an interesting example of how workers' rights are protected under the New Deal. Only where labor has been powerfully organized and has struck with determination have labor's rights been respected.

Matthew Woll, a vice president of the A. F. of L. and a most reactionary labor leader, supports the New Deal of Roosevelt. When he was speaking at a luncheon at the Rand School on Feb. 17, 1934, he made an attack on the NRA, saying that the NRA is predicated on the welfare of industry, not the welfare or advancement of labor. Woll, you know, is one of the hundred percent jingoes in the American labor movement. In the New York Times of Feb. 26, 1934 the Federal Reserve Board reports an increase in production for January and the first part of February. In the same column Green, President of the A. F. of L., reported that unemployment has increased nearly a million for December and January. He estimated that 11,600,000 workers cannot find jobs and were without means to earn bread for their women and children. According to students of labor if a real statistical study were made we would find from 16 to 18 millions of people unemployed in the United States under the New Deal.

Thus we see that the conditions of the workers under the New Deal have not been improved. In many instances workers are worse off than a year ago; especially the conditions of the better paid workers, whose wages have been reduced. These many facts ought to be a warning to radicals and some socialists who are still under the illusion that labor will benefit under the New Deal. All this talk that the New Deal will lead us to a new civilization and finally to a planned economy is nonsense. Under a profit system it is impossible to have a planned economy. A planned economy is only possible when you do away with the capitalist system which is based on profit and exploitation.

—S. FISHER.

The Revolutionary Policy Committee

(Continued from Page 1)
 and social basis of society". This position, to be sure, represents a sharp break with Social-Democratic dogmas and fetishes regarding bourgeois democracy and the possibility of utilizing the so-called "democratic" state to usher in the socialist society. On three essential points—the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Workers' Councils (Soviets) as its concrete form, and the arming of the workers to suppress counter-revolution—on each of these fundamental aspects of the question of the state the R. P. C. takes the revolutionary Marxist position and rejects the reformist position of Social Democracy. (Incidentally, the position of the R. P. C. on these questions is clearer and more to the point than the ambiguous formulations of the platform draft of the American Workers Party. A very pertinent question arises in this connection: How can the American Workers Party possibly become the center of attraction of the revolutionary Socialists if it lags behind them in the matter of a program?)

The Workers' Councils and the Struggle for Power
 But, for all that, the Revolutionary Policy Committee does not give a direct answer to the most important side of the fundamental question of the revolution. That is: How will the dictatorship of the proletariat be established?

It is not enough, in a program, to speak of "acquiring" state power. It is necessary to tell the workers how they are to acquire power. It is quite false and misleading to describe the Workers' Councils only as instruments of state power of the workers and say nothing about their role as the organs of struggle to overthrow the state power of the capitalists. Nor does it suffice, in a program, to refer to the "violent character" which the class conflict assumes "when the decisive hour approaches".

The worst offense in a program is ambiguity. The R. P. C. itself has declared in so many words that the program "must be so clearly defined as to make it impossible in the future for Party members to hold diametrically opposite principles". The R. P. C. will greatly strengthen

its position in the fight for uniform party principles by removing all ambiguities, and by filling out the blank spaces, in its own program on "The Road to Power". Omissions and ambiguities in the program constitute hiding places for desperate reformists and centrists seeking a temporary radical shelter. Such elements are a source of weakness, not of strength, to a revolutionary grouping.

Necessary Amendment to Program
 The program section relating to the state and revolution should state clearly that the government of the capitalists—whether fascist or democratic, it makes no difference—must be **overthrown** by the workers and **replaced** by the dictatorship of the proletariat. The program should state further that the workers' councils (Soviets) are the organs which mobilize the workers for the revolutionary assault as well as the organization form of state power after the victory.

The Soviets are not formed after the revolution. They evolve out of the developing united front movement as the revolutionary crisis approaches and organize the struggle for power. The Soviets (workers' councils) should be described in the program. It should be explained that they are an expression—the highest expression!—of the united front, that they consist of representatives of all the workers' organizations and places of employment and that they are not under the formal control or leadership of any party.

These explicit statements are indispensable in the program. If the German experience has shown the tragic consequences of the failure to fight, the Austrian tragedy has demonstrated the no less fatal results of the neglect to **prepare and organize** the workers for the fight and to explain to them in advance the organization forms and methods of the struggle for power.

The questions of the state and the struggle for power have been considered first and at some length in this review because of their pre-eminent importance. In next week's article other sections of the program of the R. P. C. will be discussed.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

The Crisis in the Pocketbook Makers' Union

Editor's Note: This article, received last week, was unavoidably held over on account of space limitations in the May Day issue. Other contributions from the pocket book makers are invited.

After nine months of negotiations between the NRA administration, the bosses, and the union officials, and after running back and forth to Washington, the code for the pocket-book industry has been signed. This code is a dreadful blow added to the already rotten conditions existing among the pocket-book workers for the last few years.

On March 15, Louis Waldman, Socialist lawyer and one of the S. P. chiefs who represented the union at the code hearing in Washington, came to our meeting at Stuyvesant High School, and reported on the wonderful code. He said "I am happy to report that the code was signed by the President". In a demagogic speech a la S. P., he informed the workers what a hard job he had in Washington, to bring the workers this victorious code.

What the Code Provides
 Now let us analyze Waldman's and the union officials' "victory" for the pocket-book makers. The code provides \$14.00 a week for unskilled workers, and \$18.00 a week for semi-skilled workers. There is no classification for skilled mechanics, for cutters, operators, framers, etc. Helpers, examiners, packers, are left out of the code entirely. Under the collective agreement in New York the scale for skilled workers is supposed to be \$32.00 and \$35.50 a week, and for helpers \$23.00 a week. But in many shops the bosses do not pay the scale, and the union officials are not doing a thing to make the employers live up to the agreement.

As a result the employers who made every attempt not to pay the scale of wages will have a chance to bring down wages to \$14.00 and \$18.00 a week, if the workers are not mobilized to put up a fight. At union meetings it is not mentioned even once that wages should be raised, due to the high cost of living, and due to the fact that in the last few years our wages have been reduced from 40-50%.

Role of "Fraternal Club"
 It was also pointed out that due to the general unemployment situation in our industry, hours must be shortened under the code in order somewhat to relieve this situation. The "Fraternal Club" administration in both cases did not carry out the wishes of the membership. The 40 hour week remains as it was before the code was signed. In other words our misleaders have brought us a code as they did in the unorganized steel industry.

The pocket-book workers have been organized for the past twenty years, and at one time they were among the best-paid workers. In many other organized and unorganized industries wages have been raised and hours reduced recently. In our trade wages have come down, and hours remain the same. Is it a wonder the pocketbook workers at the last two meetings stormed against the "Fraternal Club" administration and their allies, the L. W. gang?

Who is Responsible
 Who brought the pocket-book makers to their present miserable condition? The present administration, who has been in power for the last two years and especially our manager (pardon, damager), Stein. When the strike of last summer was settled in New York, there was a group of New York manufacturers who also had non-union shops elsewhere. These employers included Morris White, Resnick Bros., Chic Bag, and others. In New York these employers have to pay the scale of \$32.00 and \$35.00 a week. Out of town our manager Stein settled with the same employers when they gave their workers a raise of \$1.00-\$2.00, which meant that, with the increase, their wages were from \$7.00-\$10.00 a week.

This was done without the knowledge of the Joint Council or anyone else. A Right winger, I. Lederman, pointed this out in an article in the *Forward* of March 22. At that time Lederman was an organizer, and made a similar settlement for a dollar more a week. These out-of-town settlements encouraged the employers to fight for a code of \$14.00 and \$18.00 a week.

Incompetence of Officials
 The union officials did not mobilize the workers, but deliberately helped the employers to bring down wages and undermine further the deplorable conditions of the workers. Our bureaucrats have demonstrated how incompetent they are even from a conservative point of view. Every worker in the trade must realize that if these people stay in office and negotiate a new agreement it will mean suicide for the pocket-book workers.

—JACK WEBER.

In order to show how hard up the administration is, it is interesting to note that a part of the "Fraternal Club" gang is trying to bring back the notorious faker Walinsky, to save the union. Walinsky was forced out of the union in 1925. While he was manager of the union he was a partner in the firm of M. White and Co. Under his leadership, expulsions, terrorization of members, and gangsterism were introduced into the union.

Walinsky and his Gang
 On April 17 the Walinsky gang held a meeting at the Rand School. At this meeting Walinsky delivered a demagogic speech promising everything under the sun if he became manager of the union. It is no secret that Walinsky lost his money, and is interested in returning to the union only to recoup his finances. He is not at all interested in the union members. The Walinsky gang may cause a split in the ranks of the union. There is a strong sentiment against him.

The S. P. Labor Committee published a statement in the *Forward* a week ago advising Walinsky to stay out of the Pocket-book Workers' Union. I suppose the *Forward* and the Labor Committee will be against Walinsky till he is back in the union. What is necessary is united action of all opposition groups against Walinsky and Co. A clear statement should be issued by the united group against the false messiah Walinsky.

New Administration Needed
 Since the administration lost the confidence of the entire membership they must be forced out of office at the next membership meeting. A committee composed of all groups who are interested in a radical change in the union, not a reactionary one, should be elected to take charge of union affairs till a new agreement is reached with the employers. Then elections should take place. This united group must map out an immediate plan for an organization campaign out of town and in town. Twelve capable organizers should be selected who are willing to work without pay, for their expenses only.

There are enough intelligent workers in our union who would be willing to work and sacrifice for the union. The committee should also ask the International, the Amalgamated, and the Millinery Union, each to help out with an experienced organizer for out-of-town work. The Pocket-book Union has a perfect right to demand help from these unions in the present crisis. The Pocket-book Workers' Union has helped every organization financially, and it is the duty of the labor movement to help the pocket-book workers in their present situation.

Mobilize the Workers
 Our agreement with the employers expires in June. There is little time left. Every effort must be made to mobilize the workers in New York, and launch a vigorous campaign out of town, to prepare the workers for a national strike. No tricks or demagoguery will help the situation—only hard organizational work and preparing the workers for the coming struggle.

It will be of interest to review briefly what took place in the pocket-book industry the last few years. In 1929 the pocket-book industry employed over six thousand workers in New York, nationally 10,500. This shows that 60-70% of the work was turned out in New York and vicinity, including New Jersey. In 1931 a radical change took place in the New York market. Of the 6,000 workers employed in 1929 only 4,000 were employed in 1931. What happened was this: in 1930-31 an epidemic of running out of town began. Manufacturers opened shops out of town in order to escape union control and operate with cheap labor. While in New York employment has decreased, out of town employment has increased. This situation has continued for several years. In 1929 the union controlled 192 shops, in 1931 only 152—a 20% loss.

Wage Standards Destroyed
 In 1929 the average earnings of a pocket-book worker including framers, operators, cutters, pocket-book makers, helpers, and general helpers, was \$1,837 a year, which meant \$35.83 a week, although in those days helpers earned not more than \$15.00 a week, and framers as high as \$100.00 a week. In 1932 the average earnings of a pocket-book worker were only \$531 a year or a little more than \$10.00 a week. These are government statistics from the U. S. Department of Labor. This shows what a situation the pocket-book makers are facing today.

In order to save the situation and maintain more or less decent conditions in New York, the out of town shops must be organized. Otherwise the N. Y. workers will find themselves without shops. Is it a wonder that bosses are abusing, intimidating and terrorizing the workers?

A worker was discharged from Kadin Bros.' shop, ostensibly for going to the toilet. The real reason for his discharge was that he would not be bulldozed by his employer. He had demanded equal division of work and similar things. He was in the street for three weeks while their was enough employment.

When the case came up before the impartial chairman, Dr. Moskowitz, the decision was a warning to the worker not to sabotage on the job. Dr. Moskowitz is a great humanitarian and calls himself a Friend of the Soviet Union. Impartial? Oh yes. This gives a picture of the inhuman conditions under which the pocketbook workers are slaving these days.

Program of Demands
 What should be our demands to the employers? (1) an increase in wages to the 1929 scale. (2) a 30 hour week to relieve unemployment. (3) Unemployment insurance. (4) Abolition of the "impartial" machinery which is an agency for the bosses and a club against the workers. (5) Settlement out of town to be made only if the workers' wages are gradually raised to the New York level.

A POCKET-BOOK MAKER.
 Regular reports will be printed.

GREETINGS

The following Greetings came too late to be included in the May Day issue:

- K. Boris, Montreal, Canada
- J. Clement, Montreal, Canada
- Gilbert, Montreal, Canada
- A. Cook, Montreal, Canada
- G. Bloom, Montreal, Canada
- Gurefsky, Montreal, Canada
- Katz, Montreal, Canada
- L. A., Montreal, Canada
- J. Ostrow, New York City
- G. Krakofsky, New York City
- A Party Member, New York City
- G. M., New York City
- O. D., New York City
- 2 Comrades for the 4th International, New York City
- 2 Comrades for a New Party and a new International, N. Y. C.
- M. Fisher, New York City
- J. Cooper, New York City
- J. R. Booth, Chicago
- Sal Gureritz, Chicago
- Robert Levitt, Chicago
- F. Buckley, Chicago
- Angel Gomez, New York City
- V. Colay, New York City
- Un Simpatizante, New York City

MAY DAY GREETINGS

to
THE MILITANT
 from the
SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUBS
 of New York
 Brownsville; Boró Park; Manhattan; Bronx

GREETINGS

on this historic May Day
 to
THE MILITANT
 and to
L. D. TROTSKY.
 All Power to a Genuine
 United Front
 from
PROTOMAIGA
Greek Workers Club
 633 Eighth Avenue
 New York

OUR MAY DAY GREETINGS

are
 Forward to a Daily
MILITANT
SALT LAKE CITY (Utah)
BRANCH
 Communist League of America

GREETINGS

To the **MILITANT** and
 The Fourth International
 from
OAKLAND (Calif.) BRANCH
 Communist League of America

Manifestoes for the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL out. 500 copies \$1.00 plus postage. Cash must accompany order. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 84 E. 10th St., N. Y. C.

United Front Against Hooliganism in L.A.

STATEMENT OF LOS ANGELES A.W.P.

At a regular meeting of the Los Angeles Branch of the AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY, after hearing the eye witness report of one of our members, who reported the brutal breaking up of a meeting held by the Communist League of America on Sunday evening April 15 in the city of Los Angeles, Calif., said meeting being deliberately broken up by recognized Communist Party members thru the use of clubs, sticks, rubber hose and physical assault with intent to inflict bodily injury upon any and all individuals present, the following resolution was unanimously passed, that:

Whereas, such tactics following so closely upon the Madison Square Garden incident, it is obvious to us that the official Communist Party not only does not condemn but officially condones and recommends the use of Hitler and Mussolini tactics in its relations with other workingclass organizations, and

Whereas, the point has now been reached where no language or criticism can be strong enough to prevail upon the official Communist Party to refrain from such terror-

istic, hooliganistic and fascist methods against the members of other workingclass organizations, and

Whereas, in the face of the aggressions of the capitalist class, the fascist tendencies of the Roosevelt administration, the growing workers danger, the assault upon the danger of Fascism, the increasing anti-liberal and anti-workingclass sentiment arising among the capitalist organizations in the city of Los Angeles and thruout the United States, and

Whereas, the crying need today is a united front against ALL acts of aggression regardless of its source,

Therefore, we members of the Los Angeles branch of the AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY propose a united front conference of all workingclass organizations who recognize that the danger of terroristic and fascist attack is held in common, and that ways and means of organizing in common defense is an immediate issue of the day. We are ready to participate in such a conference at once.

Fraternally yours,
 ALLEN STILLER
 Sec'y L. A. Branch
 American Workers Party

Wipe Out This Hooliganism

The Whole Labor Movement of Los Angeles Must Unite to Prevent A Repetition of the Brooklyn Hall Scandal!

Fellow Workers of Los Angeles:
 On Sunday, April 15, 1934, one hundred workers gathered at a meeting organized by the Los Angeles branch of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition) to hear a lecture by Comrade Max Shachtman on "The Defense of the Soviet Union".

Gathered outside the hall was an organized group of members of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League, led by the organizer of the latter body. No sooner had the meeting begun with the opening remarks of the speaker, than this group made an assault upon the door and the ushers in an attempt to break into the hall with the obvious purpose of disrupting the meeting. Having had bitter experiences with the same abominable tactics at meetings organized by us in other cities, the ushers of our organization resisted the attempt to break up our meeting.

In the fighting that ensued, a number of workers were seriously injured. Half a dozen of our members were beaten about the head and body, and two of them so seriously hurt that they had to be given medical attention. A number of the attackers were also injured in the battle. The upshot of this disgraceful attack was the intervention of the Los Angeles police. We immediately announced that although order had been established by that time, we refused, as a working class organization, to hold any meeting under "police protection". The meeting was consequently adjourned.

This is not the first time such scandalous incidents have taken place in recent years. Coming on the heels of the Madison Square Garden meeting, which the same gang of "Communists"—who disgrace and discredit the name of Communism—also broke up, it serves to place irredeemably upon their foreheads the stigma of **HOOLOGANS!**

Hooliganism is a shame, a discredit and a menace to the whole working class movement. This affair is not merely a matter of a difference of political opinion between us "Trotskyists" and the official Communist party. No! It is a matter of concern to the whole labor movement. Today the members of the Communist party are mobilized, at the direction of their cowardly officials, to break up our meetings, to prevent workers from listening to a lecture or to attend a meeting with which these people do not agree. Yesterday, they were mobilized to break up the meeting of the Socialist party in New York's Madison Square Garden. For five years, they have been trying to break up our meetings throughout the country. Tomorrow, they will decide that they do not want to permit you and your organization to hold a meeting and they will act or try to act accordingly.

And what will be the inevitable result? As happened last Sunday, the capitalist police use the opportunity to intervene in the internal disputes of the labor movement. They will use the opportunity to prohibit all working class organizations from meeting, on the pretext that we cannot keep order in the labor movement.

This hooliganism of the Stalinist Communist party is therefore **A MENACE TO THE WHOLE LABOR MOVEMENT**. It is imperative that every worker and his organization should

UNITE TO BURN HOOLOGANISM OUT OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

The working class and its organizations must defend the right to free speech with their lives. If we allow our meetings to be broken up by one labor group today, tomorrow the fascists, the Silver Shirts will march into our meetings to break them up. If we do not put a stop immediately to this abominable imitation of Fascist methods—tomorrow we will fall easy victim to the horrors and tortures of black Fascism itself.

Because this is no mere affair of one little group versus another, but a matter of concern to every worker, we are organizing a united front mass meeting for labor's right to free speech and assemblage, and as a protest against hooliganism. We are inviting every progressive labor organization to send representatives to this meeting for the purpose of displaying the solidarity of the whole labor movement against hooliganism. We invite every worker to come to this meeting to express his solidarity with the rest.

All together for the united front against Fascism and Fascist methods!
 LOS ANGELES BRANCH COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA

"America First" Parade Fiasco at Minneapolis

(Continued from page 1)
 come forward and say so. Such workers will be given a chance to prove that they wish to make amends. No worker should be fooled by the miserably small parade that was finally started from the Auditorium into thinking that there is no danger in such maneuvers. They constitute the breeding ground for all sorts of shady elements hostile to labor. It is but a step from these kind of "loyalty" marches to the "preparedness" parades.

This kind of loyalty means loyalty to the bosses' whims and the acceptance of his "fair play". The "merchants" and "factories" will "cooperate" to keep the workers divided and without union organization. The "fair play" that suits their kind is the shouting of the slogan of "loyalty", the issuing of guns to the workers with which to have our class brothers shot down. Remember what the press had to say about the tear-gas barrage let loose by the police when the workers militantly demanded more relief and jobs at decent wages.

Fight for the United Front
 The Communist League was an active force in building the United Front that launched the Minneapolis Central Council of Workers. It believes that the most powerful instrument for workers unity is the United Front. The M.C.C.W. acts as a United Front body in support of the unemployed. We urge workers to join its branches, to become active in the field of this pressing work; the organization of the unemployed.

It is a tribute to the clean common sense of the Minneapolis workers, that the "America First" parade had less than FIFTY marchers when it started (one hour late) from the Auditorium. Nevertheless this experience should be a warning to every honest worker. It is the job of the class-conscious workers, the revolutionists, to so prepare the road toward the Labor Movement and also inside the workers' organizations that the workers are not marshalled under the banners of the dark forces. —R.

MARCH OF EVENTS

Diplomacy at the Breaking Point

The diplomatic staffs, those Boards of Directors for national capitalist imperialism, have brought the next war a long way nearer by their none-too-veiled challenges to each other. The pleasant European vacation of Charles Schwab during which, by one of those peculiarly fortunate coincidences, he happened to bump into several rather influential Chinese benchmen of Chiang-Kai-shek and—what is more charmingly natural than the combining of a little business with pleasure—proceeded to arrange for the sale of vast supplies of munitions to China, called forth without delay the threat of force contained in Amai's statement of Japan's protectorate over China.

This document, issued to all Japanese consuls in China some weeks ago, is thus made public most indiscreetly but also most opportunely. Called upon to explain by "startled" American and British capitalism, the Japanese rulers, far from disclaiming the document or rejecting its viewpoint, merely state that it is not "official". Magic word! At the same time Matsuoka, former League delegate and defender of the Manchurian adventure, is permitted—to be sure in a "private" capacity—to launch the sharpest, most plain-spoken attack yet made on American imperialism. All of which indicates that diplomacy, with its maneuvering for advantage, is close to the breaking point.

And indeed how could diplomacy solve the life and death problems of imperialist capitalism? The U. S. and Japan are driven with irresistible force to seek abroad their salvation from the internal contradictions that suffocate them within their own national boundaries. China is the last, albeit the vastest market that remains, still undivided and ripe for colonial exploitation. That the fierce struggle to conquer this market will be ultimately transformed from the sphere of diplomacy to the field of battle, is inevitable. Under the present conditions of rivalry, with each new development diplomacy merely reveals its utter impotence to do anything but seek justification for the unrestrained banditry of capitalism.

The Attack on Labor Deepens
 —JACK WEBER.