



New Trends In the Trade Union Movement

There is an unmistakable trend in the trade unions today which foreshadows the tempestuous developments to come. It is shown in its boldest outline in the steel workers' union and came particularly to the fore at the recent convention. The rank and file delegates delivered some severe blows to the president, old "Grandmother" Tighe, and rode rough shod, breaking down all the fences he had so carefully built up. The trend is shown in the newly constituted federal unions organized in several of the mass production industries where a struggle is beginning for a status of industrial unionism. It was shown in the automobile workers situation, where at one time Collins had to wield his gavel heavily to prevent a representative delegate conference from taking strike action for union recognition. Yes, also, the change of front of the railroad union executives in actually presenting demands to the carriers, reflects the pressure upon them from the workers.

Leaders Under Fire

The high-priced labor leaders sense the quickening tempo. Some of them are already hit squarely by the impact and fear themselves riding the whirlwind. Others are trying to adjust at least their language to the pressure from the workers. All of them are endeavoring with might and main to hold back and to keep the movement within safe channels behind Roosevelt and the New Deal.

Bill Green, who is still a deacon in the Baptist church of his native Coshocton, Ohio, were he used to teach Sunday school, released a May Day forecast in which he says: "Labor believes that notwithstanding this refusal a concentrated drive should be made to compel, through the use of forceful methods if necessary, an immediate reduction in the hours of labor. There is no other remedy available."

Of course, he has said that before. We do not harbor any illusions that he, or any of the others in exalted positions of leadership, are becoming militant. Not at all. But the truth is that they all find themselves confronting new conditions.

New Forces in the Unions

New forces in large numbers are coming into the unions. They are mainly proletarians from mass production and basic industries. They look upon the unions as instruments of struggle and as means of protecting their interest. They mean to use them for this purpose. They bring forward the basic interest of the class as a whole, themselves representing its lowest layers.

We are no longer in the conditions of the past where the most powerful unions concerned themselves almost purely with the interests of privileged sections of skilled crafts. Concessions could be wrung from the employers for this privileged section on the basis of keeping the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled without organization and on a low standard of living. These concessions became the breeding ground for bribery, graft and corruption amongst the officials. The exclusive craft unions became the instruments to keep the rest of the working class in subjection. Now new problems begin to face these union officials.

The convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron Steel and Tin Workers is a good example of these new problems. The union has witnessed a considerable influx of new members, rising from practically nothing to what, in the various estimates, range between a membership of 50,000 and 100,000. Its president, Mike Tighe, counted upon his office as a life-time job and always relied upon his good friends amongst the owners of the means of production.

Rank and File Revolts

To his consternation at the convention the rank and file delegates began to take charge. First they overruled his ideas, that delegates coming from local lodges who had not paid their per capita tax because of unemployment due to blacklisting of union members should not be seated. Secondly, they saved the convention from the disgrace of listening to "puddler" Jim Davis (the senator from Pennsylvania) and forced him off the floor. The

actions of this powerful opposition delegation culminated in the convention adopting the following program:

1. Immediate presentation of demands to the Steel Companies for Union Recognition and a substantial wage increase.
 2. To give a ten day ultimatum to the trust, with preparations for a general strike if the demands are not granted.
- For good measure the delegates decided to set up a special convention committee to be in charge of the "offensive action". This drew (Continued on page 4)

"United Front" In Chicago

Stalinists Celebrate May Day by Hooligan Attack on International Communists in Parade

Chicago.—The Stalinist-controlled May Day demonstration being the only one held in Chicago, the League decided to participate in it, in spite of the two rebuffs. Accordingly about 70 members and sympathizers gathered at the headquarters of the Italian Spartacus Workers League on May Day, formed a line and marched to the starting point of the demonstration in Union Park, headed by the red flag and under appropriate banners.

A Hooligan Attack
As soon as we took our places in the 9th division, the Stalinists immediately tried to isolate us from the main body by placing a cordon in front of us. Suddenly, while we were waiting to start, a Stalinist hooligan jumped upon a Spartacus Youth Club member and tore down the banner of the Spartacus Youth League. He did not however escape unpunished and that discouraged the Stalinists from trying a second time at that point.

When the demonstration finally got under way, we broke thru the cordon of Stalinists and joined the main body of the parade. Everything went well until we reached Grant Park where the demonstration was to wind up. There, took place a most dastardly attack upon us by an organized gang of Stalinists.

Grant Park was full of police and detectives. They stood about in large groups everywhere. Suddenly the Stalinist gang made its attack, tearing down banners and slugging right and left. In the brief space that the fight lasted, our comrades gave a good account of themselves but quickly withdrew at the sight of the police rushing to intervene. Had the police planted their agent provocateurs in the Stalinist ranks to furnish them with an excuse to intervene and break up the demonstration, they could not have done better than the Stalinist hoodlums.

Dental Mechanics Strike at Baltimore

Baltimore.—The first strike of the dental mechanics ever to take place in Baltimore was called on April 12, 1934. The response was almost a 100% walkout.

Before many days had passed the local bosses were reinforced by the national organization of the bosses. This turned the strike into far more than an event of only local importance. The National Association to stop the spread of the union which had already brought about agreements in New York and Philadelphia.

Labor Board Steps In

Early in the days of the strike, the union was suddenly called on by a representative of the National Labor Board. It is quite clear that this was done because the union had by this time become a recognized force in the industry. The Labor Board had shown no such interest in New York or Philadelphia in the attempts of the union to call to task the violators of the miserable code brought forth by the NRA. This move immediately consolidated the laboratory owners in that it brought them together as a group and interfered with the plans of the union to approach the bosses individually.

Negotiations were opened up and

Young Socialists and Spartacus Youth Sponsor United Front

BULLETIN

The National Committee of the Spartacus Youth Clubs and the National Committee of the Young Peoples Socialist League have agreed to sponsor local united front movements for May 30th in Philadelphia, Chicago, Kansas City and Los Angeles. The demonstrations on that day will be against war and Fascism and for the release of the four German youth who were delivered to the Hitler police by the Dutch Government.

The "Leader" of the Hooligans

The leader of the gang, characteristically enough, was Jack Spiegel. This loathsome creature has built up quite a reputation for himself by leading a group of C. P. members and sympathizers into a police trap in Melrose Park three years ago, disappearing, and leaving his followers at the mercy of the police machine guns. The same hero was one of the leaders of the Stalinist mob that attempted to break up Comrade Swaback's meeting last November. At that time he also gave a demonstration of his great courage by being the first to run downstairs as soon as the fight started.

In Grant Park, he again distinguished himself by performing the function of an agent provocateur who starts a fight in order to give the police a chance to intervene. And yet he is no mere rank and filer of the C. P.—quite the contrary, he is a leader of one of the sections of the party.

Before the demonstration was over, the Left Poale Zion were also the victims of a cowardly attack, being mistaken for International Communists.

Thus, May Day has come and gone in the city that gave birth to it, in the city where the Haymarket martyrs gave their lives fighting for the 8-hour day and the right to free speech by labor. May Day, 1934, only provided the Stalinists with another opportunity to reveal themselves as a reactionary force in the labor movement. But May Day, 1934, also disclosed something new, something of vital importance to the workers of Chicago—the crystallization and growth of a group of International Communists—small in size as yet, but determined in its effort to build the forces for a new, genuinely revolutionary party that will lead the workers to victory. —SATIR.

New York City.—The youth conference initiated by the Spartacus Youth Clubs and the Young Peoples Socialist League in this city for a demonstration on May 30th against war and Fascism, for the release of the four deported German youth, and to protest the beatings and arrest of Yipsels on last May 30th by the American Legionaries, unanimously decided to approach the conference of the Youth Section of the League Against War and Fascism (Stalinist controlled) for common action on that day. The objectives of the conference were broadened to include a protest against the naval maneuvers in New York City on May 31st and in solidarity with the persecuted Cuban students.

These decisions were adopted after thorough discussions in which all the representatives partook. The organizations attending, in addition to the sponsoring groups, were the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Youth Committee Against Fascism (Socialist), the Vanguard Jrs., the youth group of the Communist League of Struggle, the Young Communist League (Opposition), and Pioneer Youth. The National Student League had two observers present.

Discussion at the Conference

The NSLers launched into an attack on the conference as planning a rival demonstration to that of the Young Communist League's National Youth Day. They proposed that the conference dissolve and the constituent organizations attend the Stalinist youth conference of May 13th. The Lovestoneites—Y. C. L. (O)—sharply criticized the Yipsels and Spartacus Youth for "the factional way in which the conference was organized".

The delegates of the Spartacus Youth Clubs, Manny Garrett and Joe Carter, replied to both the NSLers and the Lovestoneites by stating that their organization had been and was in favor of common action of all radical youth groups. It was pointed out that both the Young Communist League and the National Student League had been invited to the national conference

for the defense of the four deported German youth on April 7th, neither organization sent delegates or replied to the invitation. The S.Y.C.s made a motion that the incoming executive committee of the Conference propose to the Stalinist conference of May 13th a joint committee for the preparation of a common demonstration on May 30th along the lines of the accepted objectives.

Yipsel Amendment

The Yipsels introduced an amendment which stated that the conditions for the united front with the Stalinists are: 1) their support of the struggle for the freedom of the four deported German youth, and 2) the repudiation by the Y.C.L. of the slanderous attack on the organizations which signed the protest petition on the four German youth sponsored by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense Committee. The second section of the amendment was sharply criticized by the delegates which would be a serious obstacle in the road toward a genuine united front. After a heated discussion and a recess for consultation, the Yipsels withdrew their amendment with the statement that they will consider the Y.C.L.'s acceptance of our proposal for the united front as an implicit repudiation of the I.L.D. slanders. The Spartacus delegates made a statement welcoming this action and adding that it also would draw the same conclusion if the Stalinist youth accept our proposals.

The original motion for common action with the May 13th Conference was accepted unanimously. An executive committee consisting of one representative from each of the organizations present was constituted. The Conference elected Ben Fischer of the Yipsels and Manny Garrett of the Spartacus Youth Clubs as chairman and secretary respectively of the executive committee.

This is a big step toward real united front of the youth. The reaction of the Stalinists is yet to be seen.

New York's May Day In Review

May Day—the greatest May Day in the history of New York City—is not too long past for discussion and controversy. The issues raised by the two huge demonstrations—one at Madison Square Park, the other at Union Square—are still lively issues. Time has lent certain perspectives that justify a fresh review.

More than 150,000 workers marched in the two demonstrations—the one under the auspices of the May Day Labor Conference, and the other called by the "United Front" conference of the Stalinists. The lines of march ran parallel, circling the center of Manhattan, and never met. Both parades were orderly and disciplined; each raised separately and challengingly—as if they were rival slogans—the call for a united front against Fascism.

The Communist League of America marched with the Socialists, trade unions, and other organizations in a united front that excluded only the Stalinist organization and its sympathizers—to Madison Square. It marched under its own banners, it had its own speakers, it introduced revolutionary slogans. It gained thereby in prestige among the workers; it proved thereby that it was prepared to support in action its own doctrine of a united front.

The Union Square parade and demonstration was a typical Stalinist "United Front"—without even the usual "united front" of liberals and theologians. It was a united front of Browder, Minor and Hatch-away with such "non-party" elements as William Patterson, of the "non-partisan" I.L.D., and Jack Stachel, of the "non-partisan" T.U.U.L. Under its banners and slogans rallied the Stalinist controlled unions, Stalinist-controlled "mass" organizations, Stalinist intellectuals, students, professionals and social workers. It represented the full strength of the official Party. But that is all.

To this Stalinist "united front", despite the tricky and emotional

appeals of the Stalinist press, was attracted no working-class groups not already under the Stalinist thumb. The others marched to Madison Square.

The alternative, therefore, was rejected by the League as no alternative. The League marched with the Socialists and trade unions—social reformist groups, it is true, but containing thousands of workers headed leftwards, and quickly responsive to appeals for militant and united action.

This, the League holds, was a true united front tactic. This was a correct revolutionary policy. Its strength was demonstrated at Madison Square, and has been since proved.

The most significant happening on May Day, the big "lift" in both demonstrations, was the greeting the League marchers received from the militant Socialist youth. As the League group, carrying revolutionary banners and shouting revolutionary slogans, marched past the speakers' stand in Madison Square, there was general applause. But the young Socialists, massed in uniform around the stand, raised clenched fists in greeting, and the Square rang with their call:

Long live the United Front!

It was a vote of confidence in honest revolutionaries. It was a challenge hurled in the face of the bureaucrats, Socialist and Stalinist alike, who are splitting the working class ranks.

Hence, the new fury of the Stalinist attacks upon the League; the Daily Worker post-May Day editorial: "These are not oppositions to be refuted, but enemies of the working class to be destroyed." The Stalinists fear and hate the growing prestige of the League and its program. —B.

ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILITANTS—ONE CENT PER COPY. JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

Minneapolis Union Prepares For Action

Three Thousand Transport Workers Organize Forces to Fight For Demands

Minneapolis.—In the hands of the men who drive the trucks and vans, the delivery equipment of a modern city, lays a mighty power. Not a whit less important or powerful are the men who transport and serve the gasoline and oil which makes this vast industry a living thing. Taken together with that numerous

Wolinsky Gang Seize Control of Pocketbook Union

The notorious Wolinsky who was forced out of the Pocket-book Makers' Union in 1925 while he was manager of the union, and a partner in the firm of M. White and Co. at the same time, has been ushered back into the union at a general membership meeting, Tuesday, May 8th at the Stuyvesant High School. This was done through a coup d'etat that was staged by the present administration.

At this meeting the Joint Council of the union was supposed to bring a report on the pending negotiations with the manufacturers for a new agreement in place of the old one expiring in June. Instead, the whole meeting was confined to the Wolinsky issue. The Joint Council report was confined to one point presented to the membership: the election of the Conference Committee to meet with the bosses.

Reactionary Elements

The Conference Committee, as recommended by the Joint Council, consisted in its entirety of the most reactionary elements in the union, supporters of the Wolinsky gang. David Meyer, a Socialist and one of the leaders of the Progressive group, led off the fight against the Joint Council recommendation by a motion to reject it. After Meyer, Block and Rothman of the rank and file group also spoke along similar lines, denouncing Wolinsky and all that he represents. But the machine was so well oiled that very few of the opponents were given the floor, while the Wolinsky supporters spoke one after another.

The administration as a whole climaxed its manoeuvres to usher in Wolinsky with a letter from Wolinsky which they read to the members. In this letter Wolinsky pretended that he wants no paid job in the union, that he merely wished to offer his services as an adviser in the present difficult situation and in the negotiations. The manager of the union himself, in a demagogic speech, said nothing in opposition to Wolinsky, keeping in mind his own hide when Wolinsky is back in the union.

When the composition of the Conference Committee came before the membership for a vote, the administration tellers counted 616 votes in their favor and 350 against. The next move was a motion to give the Conference Committee full power to make Wolinsky its legal adviser. After a heated discussion, this motion too was voted, the Administration counting a victory for itself. The vote according to the announcement was 572 for this proposal, and 442 against.

Progressive Forces Divided

While both the Progressive group and the Rank and File group fought against Wolinsky's return to the leadership of the union—and this is what his "advisory" capacity will mean—no effort was made to bring about a unity of the two groups in the struggle. The Progressive group must find a way to unite all the groups and all the progressive elements to save the union. The rule of Wolinsky means a reign of terror against the best elements in the union. It means the suppression of all the democratic rights of the members. It means, in a word, the same gangster rule that prevailed during his administration prior to 1925. Such a unity is particularly imperative for the mobilization of the workers for the coming struggle to improve their conditions.

—A POCKET-BOOK MAKER.

and important strata of workers who store, preserve and warehouse the food that constitutes the daily ration of the people, we have a group of workers whose social importance is enormous.

That these workers, in the gasoline stations and in the warehouses, on the Market, in the paper trade, in the food stores as well as the helpers and drivers of the trucks in the various lines, have now realized the strategic position they hold is apparent to every worker who looks to union organization for help.

Workers Flock to Union

During the past several weeks these workers have streamed, by the hundreds, into General Drivers Union No. 574. More than 3,000 have been enrolled. They have not merely joined the union. With the leadership of a capable and experienced Organization Committee they have grouped themselves along seven main lines, according to type of job, and have set up committees to carry on the detail work. These rank and file committees have functioned with whirlwind speed. They have acted with the dispatch evident everywhere when serious workers set themselves to serious tasks. The monumental detail work turned out, the research work accomplished, under severely adverse conditions, the precise schedules drawn up, the manifold demands formulated in conjunction with the continuous organization campaign carried on at ALL times, will stand as a monument to the union loyalty and sincerity of the workers who have taken the lead.

And, by the same token, they will also stand as an accomplishment that gives the sharp and proper answer to the contented labor officialdom who sat back in their chairs and said: "it can't be done!" Today the General Drivers Union is the largest and by far the most important union in the city. It numbers in its ranks thousands of militant and determined workers. It takes in as members, besides the drivers and helpers, gas and oil workers, market and food store workers, truckers, wrappers, counter and platform men etc.—in short, those workers who are daily connected with the machinery of street transportation and delivery.

Coal Yard Workers in Vanguard

That the coal yard workers are members of this union needs mention only for the benefit of those workers who do not live in Minneapolis. For the benefit of workers in other sections we make a note. The present sweeping campaign of organization was planned and launched by the coal yard workers, these same loyal workers are again giving the best they have to the union. It goes without saying that they have been reinforced by a veritable army of eager and militant workers from all of the other sections. These new workers not only supplement the older and more experienced workers, but take responsible posts and leading roles in the general work.

The agitation and organizational work spreads out, in the hands of these willing workers, with more and more efficiency and, for the bosses, with terrifying speed.

Role of Labor Board

The Labor Boards, when they act at all, shuffle back and forth between the bosses' and the workers' spokesmen. They stand between, they talk of 'peaceful' settlements. They talk with tongue in cheek. No reliance can be placed in "labor boards", nor the decisions that come from them. We rely upon the union, upon the workers' organizations. It can be made strong by an alert and militant membership and, by a FIGHTING policy.

The workers organized in the General Drivers Union occupy a strategic position in industry. They have power to win their demands. The position this gives them in the trade union movement in Minneapolis, is one of central importance. Far too little aid, to say nothing of consideration, has been given to

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AMERICA
TODAY

A Lecture By
Max Shachtman

Who is just returning from a two and a half months tour from coast to coast, studying conditions first hand. He will deal particularly with the ferment among the American workers and the sentiment for a New Party and a Fourth International.

Friday, May 18th, 1934 - 8 p. m.
IRVING PLAZA HALL
15th St. and Irving Place

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Death of Woodin

W. H. Woodin, a millionaire, a director of the Remington Arms Co., and one of the largest American investors in Cuba, gave \$35,000 to Roosevelt's campaign expenses and was made Secretary of the Treasury. As head of the Treasury he became famous as a composer of music. His name was found on Morgan's "Preferred List". That made his retention in a cabinet that claimed to be "driving the money-changers from the temple" a little unwise. So he was gradually and gently ousted. Last week he died. The capitalist press did itself proud thinking up lies about his good qualities. The President attended the funeral. Enthusiasm for the New Deal and the fame of Woodin which were nurtured on ballyhoo could be placed in the grave with him. All along now with the "frotten man".

The Police and the Crooks

When La Guardia became Mayor, and Ryan was made Police Commissioner, orders were given: "Drive the crooks out of New York". The shoe, now, seems to be on the other foot, and the crooks are doing the driving. It's a great game between birds of a feather, but the uniforms on the cops make it easy for the onlooker to keep score. So far the score is 4-0 in favor of the gangsters.

The Daily Worker and the "Renegades"

In an editorial of the kind that made it famous as a slander sheet, the Daily Worker deals with "renegades" in the May Day parade. "A miserable 200 in all"—"hanging to the S. P. like a tail to a cow's rump"—"class enemies to be destroyed". The Stalinists form of arithmetic is seen here in the reverse.

Considering that in estimating the attendance at their own meetings, parades, etc., they always multiply the actual number by 5, 10, or 20, as the occasion demands, I suppose it is only fair that they should practice division when estimating the numbers in the "renegades" parade.

As far as the order of March is concerned, it is true that our section was towards the end, being followed only by the POCKET-BOOK MAKERS, a section of the S. P., and the UNEMPLOYED UNION. Last year we paraded in the "United Front" and so "united" was the "front" that we had to engage in fist-fights every time we gave out a leaflet. On that occasion we were in the tail-end of the parade. And if it is simply a choice of being a tail to a Socialist "cow" or Stalinist bull we choose neither. But between the cultural organizations which formed the major part of the parade to Union Square, and the organized trade union movement which dominated the Madison Square parade, we chose the latter.

As for "class enemies to be destroyed" we have heard that before. We stand for the United Front with reformist and other working class organizations against Fascism. We are against National Socialism. We are opposed to Stalinism and also to sycophancy. We stand with the working class for the INTERNATIONAL Revolution. If that makes us class enemies of the Wickses and Browders, so much the worse for the Wickses and the Browders.

Dope From the Hop-Joints

"Religion is the opium of the people". A few quotations from the sermons preached last Sunday in New York's churches will give an idea of the miserable opium dished out to the church-goers in New York.

The very Reverend Milo Gates proposed "Rogation Days" as a substitute for farm relief. "The drudgery of American farm life would be relieved by processions going out into the fields blessing the fields, and praying for a fruitful season as in Spain".

Rev. Dr. Charles D. Trexler: "Real freedom is the ability to move without hindrance in our proper spheres". (The worker free to move within the sphere of his wage-slavery, and the boss free to roam the world at will.)

Rev. J. Herbert McConnell: "A miracle is wrought as one looks into the cup of communion for there is the vision of the crucified Saviour. The world must accept the Communion Cup to bring peace among the nations and the peoples".

Rev. Dr. Christian F. Reiser: "The church is being impoverished. The government thru the CWA aids so-called social agencies that exclude religion, but nothing is given to the Church that does real social service".

Rev. Dr. A. Edwin Keigwan: "Faith begins where science ends, where proof is wanting, where argument falls flat". (In other words, where knowledge, and intelligence ends, religion and ignorance begins.)

—BILL

On "Shorty" Buehler and Cora Duff

Death has taken a heavy toll among the fighters for revolutionary internationalism in our growing outpost in Kansas City. The grim reaper has swept from the scene of battle without regard to age and service two of our staunchest warriors in that plucky band in the Middle West. Cora Duff—a symbol of the new generation that will hold high our banner—and Shorty Buehler—the steadfast old-guard devoted to our ideas and sacrificing in service—have been snatched from our midst, creating a chasm that will not be easy or soon be filled. We salute them as they pass from the struggle and promise to carry on. We cannot but pause a while to grieve for them, so true were they to our ideals, so dear to us as comrades.

August A. Buehler, better known to us as "Shorty" for his diminutive size, was a landmark in the revolutionary movement in the Middle West. For almost twenty-five years there has been no "Jimmie Higgins" east or west of Kansas City who carried on his work so splendidly and unstintingly as Shorty.

A Revolutionary Since 1913 Shorty joined the revolutionary movement during a "free speech" fight in Kansas City in 1913. From that time until his death the untiring efforts of Shorty have contributed heavily to the propagation and perpetuation of the ideas of Marxism in that Mid-Western American city.

Shorty was one of the active spirits in one of the first post-war left wing groups that helped lift the socialist movement out of the bog of reaction and which gathered around the Workers World, edited by Comrade James P. Cannon and the Workers Educational League which spread the message of the Russian revolution and Lenin to the workers of the Mid-West.

Together with others Shorty helped to swing the entire Kansas City branch of the Socialist Party over into the Communist Labor Party. From that time up till 1928, when he was expelled from the Communist Party for holding true to the ideas which had motivated his life-struggle, Shorty was an inspiring persevering member of the Communist Party.

Moving Spirit of Kansas City Branch It is to comrade Buehler more than any other single comrade that we owe our rapidly growing branch of the Communist League in Kansas City. Arranging meetings, distributing leaflets, visiting contacts, soliciting subs for the Militant—no task was too menial, or too big for Shorty.

Sometimè in 1927 Shorty opened

Shachtman Meeting in Davenport

Davenport, Ia.—Comrade Shachtman's meeting in Davenport was a huge success in spite of the vicious drive the Stalinites made to prevent it from being held. The Unity Center Hall which we had engaged and paid for a month in advance of the meeting was taken away from us but a few days before Comrade Shachtman's meeting through the efforts of the Stalinists.

But the young comrades of Davenport set to work. Two precious days were spent looking for a hall. At last we were successful in securing one. Then they hurried getting out of leaflets and other advertising, notifying comrades and sympathizers who had bought tickets of the change of the hall.

Both local papers refused to give a notice of the change. The secretary of the Unity Center put in a notice that the meeting was cancelled at their hall. When the Stalinites learned we were going to hold the meeting in spite of them they were wild. One of the women Stalinites phoned one of our comrades calling her vile names, telling her that if we went through with the meeting they would bring forces and break it up, that we would bring this on ourselves by expounding Trotsky theories in this city.

But the comrades went right on with their preparations for the meeting, also calling on friends and sympathizers to help defend their meeting. In spite of the sabotage of the Stalinites and the local press we had a good attendance.

The meeting was just started when the Stalinites arrived. First they tried to get in by the usual plea of unemployed, but when that failed they tried to heckle an old Socialist into using his influence to get them in. But they got let down in that quarter. Then they began to make a nuisance of themselves generally so our comrades told them to get out. So seeing that it would not be healthy for them to start trouble they left. One told us that more would come back, but it was just bluff. Our young comrades were ready to defend their meeting. Comrade Shachtman's talk on War, Fascism or Communism? was well received. Questions and discussion followed.

—BETTY ROWLAND.

his bookstore in Kansas City as a means of earning a livelihood. Buehler's book store was an oasis for revolutionists in the years when reaction and Stalinist persecution and slander held sway. Buehler's Book Store was not only a place to purchase Marxist literature, it was a bee hive of revolutionary discussion and congregation. More than one young recruit received his first lesson in Communism in the Bookstore on West 12th Street.

The sudden, shocking death of Shorty Buehler is an irreparable loss to the Communist League and the revolutionary movement. The star of Buehler will take its place in the firmament of proletarian fighters, among the immortal Jimmie Higgins without whom the cause of Communism, the advance of the proletarian revolution would be impossible.

"Don't Mourn But Organize" With these inspiring words from a poem by Joe Hill, I. W. W. songster, Comrade Buehler concluded his letter to the writer on the death of Cora Duff who passed away but two short weeks before him.

Cora died young. Her life in the revolutionary movement was all too brief. But in the short space of time that was allotted her she earned a monument for her courage, energy and devotion. It was under her guidance and leadership that the Young Spartacus Club of Kansas City was formed and took on the militant youth movement in Kansas City.

The names of those women who have come to the fore as outstanding advocates of the cause of the working class are few. We must agree with Shorty who stated in his last letter that Comrade Duff had the stuff out of which leaders are made. Pretension, artificiality, petty-bourgeois caprices were all alien to her. For earnestly and sincerely Cora Duff took first place. She possessed that proletarian intelligence and insight, undeveloped though it was, which is so uncommon among the men and women in the ranks of labor's vanguard.

Comrade Duff's death has robbed us of another of our valiant soldiers in our young army. We salute her even as Shorty did and pass on to the order of the day. "Don't Mourn But Organize". —CLARKE.

Terror in the Imperial Valley

Brawley, Calif.—In this great hot house of America, the land of citrus and honey, of wide open spaces, of desert and the broiling sun, under the legal and heavy hand of that infamous Gen. Glassford who led the attack on the Bonus Army, a "red scare" is being worked up all through the Valley, in conjunction with the local American Legion Posts. The melon season, about to begin in a week or so, has already been prepared for by the pontiffs of the Valley. In every town in the Valley, such as Brawley, Indio, El Centro, Vigilantes are being organized, directly and openly in the press by the state head of the American Legion, Chailleaux, who is on tour with a staff.

Methods of Intimidation

At a meeting recently of "an investigating committee", to investigate "red and union" activities, held at the Barbara Worth Hotel at El Centro, Gen. Glassford persuaded the agricultural workers to join "a union of his own choosing", the Mexican Consul Terrazas Union, a carbon copy controlled directly by the barons of the Valley, in preference to the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union which is known to the workers as a militant organization. When the committee of the A.W.I.U. which attended the hearing left the Barbara Worth, several of them were pounced on, arrested and then released, when there "was evidence" of what the infamous Gen. Glassford called "a bit of embarrassment" in the suddenness of this intimidation.

Eight workers who were recently released from the jail at El Centro, were driven out of town by a mob of thirty Vigilantes, and were told that if they returned there was a chance that they would be decorating the end of a rope. Every paper in the Valley, weekly or daily, carries long articles on communism: the menace of the Reds. The Brawley News, today, has three articles, one of them headed "Legion Chief Lays Gage of Battle With Red Groups"—all of which is directly inspired by the methods of Capt. Hynes of the Los Angeles Red Squad.

Red Scare in the News

With the melon season about to begin, the red scare issue is being pushed into the forefront of the news, and is being worked up, so that any militant action on the part of the agricultural workers outside

Minneapolis Rail Workers Organize

Minneapolis Minn.—On Sunday, April 22nd, a meeting was held by Employed and Unemployed, Members and Former Members, of the O.R.C.; B. of L. E.; B. of R. T.; B. of L. F. & E. and S. U. of N. A. to take organizational steps to deal with the growing problems of unemployment among the above mentioned crafts. The call for the meeting was signed by five members and former members of the two Enginemen's Brotherhoods.

There were about 130 in attendance. The following program was discussed at length and adopted by a secret ballot of 104 voting "Yes" and 2 voting "No" and one simply writing on the blank ballot, "For a Thirty Hour Week".

The program reads as follows:

Program of Demands

- 1. Twenty Six Days or 2600 miles to constitute maximum work month for all railway employees.
2. Cut maximum work-day from Sixteen to Twelve hours.
3. Organize all railroad workers behind the movement for a Six Hour Day without reduction in pay.
4. Take organization steps to have constitutional amendments added to our Brotherhood Constitutions providing for unemployment stamps or receipts for all unem-

ployed members entitled to same. 5. Unemployment insurance, the cost of same to be borne jointly by Industry and the Government. 6. Old age and Disability pensions, cost to be levied on Industry and the Government. 7. That all agreements entered into for the railroad workers be National in scope, and not State, System, or District Agreements. 8. That the local movement for unemployed rail workers, when organized, join hands with a similar movement, already started, in the A. F. of L. Unions in Minneapolis to handle local and City relief problems. 9. Lower dues and salaries in the Unions, and repeal of all gag laws, obligations and secret work.

Executive Committee Elected

Special stress was laid down by several speakers on the necessity for reduction in members' dues and officers' salaries and for full freedom of expression for both officers and members alike.

An Executive Committee, of about Fifteen, was elected at the close of the meeting from the various rail lines running into the City to handle detail matters between the general or mass meetings.

This executive committee was also ordered by the meeting to send copies of the adopted program to the Railway Labor Executives' Association, in care of A. F. Whitney, President of the B. of R. T., who is Chairman of the Association. Copies of the program will also be sent to "Labor", the Washington weekly, and to Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor. The Railway Labor Executives' Association consists of the 21 presidents of the 21 Railroad Brotherhoods, and as stated, A. F. Whitney, the Trainmen's President, is Chairman of the Association.

Cause of High Dues

It is this set-up of maintaining 21 separate and independent labor organizations in one single industry, each one with a full set of highly paid officials of its own, which makes the membership dues so ridiculously high. This arrangement is against the best interest of the Brotherhoods' members from every standpoint, but the overpaid official bureaucrats who profit by it, have succeeded in smuggling a lot of gag laws into their respective constitutions to prevent the members from criticizing things as they are and pointing out needed changes in organization, program, and leadership.

The movement and its program which was launched for unemployed rail men last Sunday in Minneapolis will, no doubt, take on further growth and organizational form and will be a source of inspiration for progressive thought and action among the employed and unemployed, members and former members, of the Railroad Brotherhoods. —A RAIL.

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PLEDGE FUND

The pledge fund idea is beginning to take hold among our members, friends and sympathizers. During the month of March a total of \$39 was remitted by the pledgers. During April the total increased to \$55. If this fund continues to grow at this rate, the Militant will be well on the way toward stabilization.

Get your pledge card today. We are not printing the names of the individual pledgers because many of them, for obvious reasons, cannot have their names appear in our paper. However, each month we will print the names of those who have no objections, and a total figure for the others. At present we have 64 individual pledgers.

We wish to take this opportunity to publicly thank these pledgers for enabling us to extend the Club Plan sub drive for another 1,000 new readers, and so enable workers to read the Militant who cannot afford the full rates.

Manifestoes for the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL out. 500 copies \$1.00 plus postage. Cash must accompany order. Readers of the Militant should try hard to distribute the Manifesto. 50 copies will be sent postpaid for 25c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 84 E. 10th St., N. Y. C.

THE MILITANT

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THE NEW GERMAN DECREES

Fascism is a governmental system under capitalist rule, based on the uprooting of all the elements of proletarian democracy, when these weapons of the workers, forged with such difficulty in courageous struggle, are turned against the ruling class in a challenge for power. Under the bloody dictatorship of the fascists all the independent, voluntary organizations of the working class are destroyed, smashed to bits. Thus May Day of last year saw the dissolution in Germany of the trade unions and the cooperatives accompanied by the confiscation of all their property.

"Iron Heel" Legislation

But the wiping out of the organizations of proletarian democracy does not satisfy enraged, terror-stricken capitalism. The new epoch of civil peace must be guaranteed! No opportunity must be left the workers to reforge their weapons of struggle. The Nazis fulminate rabidly against the shameful Versailles Treaty imposed by the Allies after the war with the aim of rendering Germany powerless. But the Nazis insist on their own Versailles Treaty imposed internally after their bloody suppression of the workers in the class war.

Hitler will keep the working class under enforced disunity, he will render them powerless to resist by a firmly-continued policy of repression. Hence this May Day the promulgation of new "Iron Heel" legislation. Any propaganda against the National Socialist State is declared high treason, punishable by death if need be. An undisguised lynch court is set up in the form of a People's Court, the judges to be selected by the present rulers. Even the defense attorney in any case sent before this tribunal for terrorizing the oppressed, must secure the approval of the judges. And there is to be no appeal from their decision!

The Value of Organization

As if to give point to the bitter lesson that must be fully absorbed by every worker from the situation in Germany, there comes the illustration of the impotence of a working class without its own independent organizations. In the shop elections for worker representation recently held all over Germany, the clearest indications of opposition to the Nazi regime are visible. Altho under the fierce social pressure created and exerted by the forces of reaction, many workers have succumbed to Nazi "success", there still remain many class-conscious workers bitterly opposed to the regime of bourgeois terror. Hence despite the fact that a ballot cast for anybody other than the listed Nazi candidates was to be voided, large majorities in various localities, as reported by the National Zeitung of Essen, voted against the Nazis.

But the ballots are merely voided! Having no independent organizations ready to enforce their expressed will, this protest of the German workers remains impotent! Had they fought, arms in hand, for the existence of their parties and trade unions, the enemy, the capitalists, would today be impotent, not the workers.

The New York Post and the Middle Class

The bought defenders of the capitalist system, which category includes the bourgeois press, are well aware that the big bourgeoisie rule only with the aid of the petty bourgeoisie, including the farmers. Generally content to follow in the wake of the big finance capitalists, so long as things run smoothly, the middle class becomes disoriented the moment a crisis supervenes. Faced with ruin and pauperization, witnessing the obvious anarchy and chaos of capitalist production, those classes immediately above the proletariat are subjected to a process of radicalization during a crisis. It then becomes possible for a wisely led and united proletariat to win over wider sections of these oppressed masses. Faced with this danger the bourgeoisie must resort to new means, "left" methods of canalizing the anger and protest of this necessary ally. Hence the series of muckraking campaigns conducted by the Post.

Of course workers picked up and misled in this process will do no harm either. Thus we see a campaign on Firetrap Tenements and on Milk Prices. Also campaigns on banking and finance scandals and now on the Mortgage racket. But when it comes to war the "pacifist" Post leads its deluded readers to believe that it is only the European countries that are imperialist rivals of Japan in the East, not good-hearted America. The problem of winning the middle class is vital and must not be left to the paid demagogues of capitalism. —JACK WEBER.

MARCH OF EVENTS

The New German Decrees Fascism is a governmental system under capitalist rule, based on the uprooting of all the elements of proletarian democracy, when these weapons of the workers, forged with such difficulty in courageous struggle, are turned against the ruling class in a challenge for power. Under the bloody dictatorship of the fascists all the independent, voluntary organizations of the working class are destroyed, smashed to bits. Thus May Day of last year saw the dissolution in Germany of the trade unions and the cooperatives accompanied by the confiscation of all their property. "Iron Heel" Legislation But the wiping out of the organizations of proletarian democracy does not satisfy enraged, terror-stricken capitalism. The new epoch of civil peace must be guaranteed! No opportunity must be left the workers to reforge their weapons of struggle. The Nazis fulminate rabidly against the shameful Versailles Treaty imposed by the Allies after the war with the aim of rendering Germany powerless. But the Nazis insist on their own Versailles Treaty imposed internally after their bloody suppression of the workers in the class war. Hitler will keep the working class under enforced disunity, he will render them powerless to resist by a firmly-continued policy of repression. Hence this May Day the promulgation of new "Iron Heel" legislation. Any propaganda against the National Socialist State is declared high treason, punishable by death if need be. An undisguised lynch court is set up in the form of a People's Court, the judges to be selected by the present rulers. Even the defense attorney in any case sent before this tribunal for terrorizing the oppressed, must secure the approval of the judges. And there is to be no appeal from their decision! The Value of Organization As if to give point to the bitter lesson that must be fully absorbed by every worker from the situation in Germany, there comes the illustration of the impotence of a working class without its own independent organizations. In the shop elections for worker representation recently held all over Germany, the clearest indications of opposition to the Nazi regime are visible. Altho under the fierce social pressure created and exerted by the forces of reaction, many workers have succumbed to Nazi "success", there still remain many class-conscious workers bitterly opposed to the regime of bourgeois terror. Hence despite the fact that a ballot cast for anybody other than the listed Nazi candidates was to be voided, large majorities in various localities, as reported by the National Zeitung of Essen, voted against the Nazis. But the ballots are merely voided! Having no independent organizations ready to enforce their expressed will, this protest of the German workers remains impotent! Had they fought, arms in hand, for the existence of their parties and trade unions, the enemy, the capitalists, would today be impotent, not the workers. The New York Post and the Middle Class The bought defenders of the capitalist system, which category includes the bourgeois press, are well aware that the big bourgeoisie rule only with the aid of the petty bourgeoisie, including the farmers. Generally content to follow in the wake of the big finance capitalists, so long as things run smoothly, the middle class becomes disoriented the moment a crisis supervenes. Faced with ruin and pauperization, witnessing the obvious anarchy and chaos of capitalist production, those classes immediately above the proletariat are subjected to a process of radicalization during a crisis. It then becomes possible for a wisely led and united proletariat to win over wider sections of these oppressed masses. Faced with this danger the bourgeoisie must resort to new means, "left" methods of canalizing the anger and protest of this necessary ally. Hence the series of muckraking campaigns conducted by the Post. Of course workers picked up and misled in this process will do no harm either. Thus we see a campaign on Firetrap Tenements and on Milk Prices. Also campaigns on banking and finance scandals and now on the Mortgage racket. But when it comes to war the "pacifist" Post leads its deluded readers to believe that it is only the European countries that are imperialist rivals of Japan in the East, not good-hearted America. The problem of winning the middle class is vital and must not be left to the paid demagogues of capitalism. —JACK WEBER.

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION ON THE DEFENSIVE

The Cuban revolution is now on the defensive. The grandiose sweep of the workers which drove Machado out of the seat of power, hurled De Cespedes into the abyss and unwisely tolerated Grau is now retreating before Mendieta and Batista, that is to say, before the Cuban servants of American imperialism. Not the workers, but the imperialist-bourgeois reaction ousted Grau and replaced his vacillating regime with the black puppet act of Mendieta-Batista. Mendieta was far from the bourgeoisie's ideal of a "strong man to deal with the situation", that is put down the workers with blood and iron. He began by returning the electric company plant to its owners and sending soldiers to force them to work. The workers responded with a hunger strike. Other workers threatened to come out in sympathy. Mendieta decreed all strikes illegal in the light, water, telephone, telegraph and other services. The workers responded by calling strikes for the seventh of February. A general strike began to loom up. Already on the third of February Mendieta declared that the problem created by the return of the electric plant and the strike "might contribute to the fall" of his government.

Advance of Reaction

But there was no party to give leadership to the workers and the favorable moment passed. Step by step the reaction has advanced with the harvest driving the workers at the point of the bayonet and persecuting their organizations. Thus the Havana Federation of Labor which was under the joint influence of anarcho-syndicalists and the Bolshevik-Leninists passed over to the side of the latter and was legalized by Mendieta. Other organizations too have suffered a like fate.

But the question is not yet settled. No decisive battles have been fought. The apparent strength of the bourgeoisie is two parts the failure of the workers to advance on the road of decisive struggles and two parts the armed might of the United States military forces. Mendieta has not solved a single one of the grave economic, social and political problems of the country. The quota assigned to Cuban sugar for export to its chief market, the United States, is still a little more than one third of the productive capacity of the island's crops and its INDUSTRIAL-TECHNICAL organization.

No progress has been made in liquidating the huge surplus in storage in Cuba of one million tons, approximately ONE HALF OF THE QUILTA FOR THE CURRENT CROP. No moratorium on the staggering debts to the Wall Street banks has been declared; no reduction in them, despite optimistic White House pronouncements, has been put on the agenda of current problems. The approach of the end of the harvest means that tens of thousands of workers will again be thrown out of the process of production with no prospect whatever of working again until the late fall of the year! The convocation of the Constituent Assembly has been postponed until some time before the end of the year, the exact date has not been set. And the liberties of the workers and their organizations have been curtailed.

Perspective of Struggles

The approach of the end of the harvest raises the perspective of further struggles by the workers. Already there are signs of the coming storms. Like the gusts that precede the gale the students are now again in the center of the stage protesting against abuses. Tomorrow they will be followed by the workers who will give a deeper social tone to the music of the class struggle. Strikes are again beginning to plague the government. We have already seen with what Caribbean speed and fury these storms come up. Mendieta hopes to lull the storm by a few "reforms" which settle nothing and by the extradition and trial of Machado!

What course will the workers' struggles take? Will they confine themselves to the demands for the improvement of conditions, the shortening of hours, increases in wages, the discharge of an offensive police official? Or will they take place under political slogans? Will the workers demand nationalization and control? That depends on whether the workers assimilate the lessons of the past period. And that in turn on whether there is a vanguard capable of helping them learn. From this point of view the situation is promising. The influence of Stalinism has been weakened both ideologically and organizationally by its adventurist-treachery course; the influence of the Bolshevik-Leninists is increasing.

Democratic Demands

If today it is necessary—and it is necessary—to advance slogans for democratic demands, that does not yet by itself indicate within what framework these demands shall be put forth. In other words, what is the perspective? We have nothing in common with the craven grovelers before American imper-

alism—the Stalinists—who want to struggle for "municipal power", and who promise not to attack American property. In our opinion the revolution will traverse the ground from which it retreated with great speed and arrive quickly at the decisive questions. There will be no escaping the problem of state power. Failure to seize it will mean, not the step-by-step reaction of Mendieta, but the bloody heel of military dictatorship. Whether the workers will be able to maintain power is another question. No one can give an answer to that question now. That depends on many things; principally on the world situation. If we are to assume the victorious sweep of Fascist reaction over Europe with the strengthening of reaction in the Western hemisphere then the doom of the Cuban workers' state would be pronounced. But if, on the contrary, we envisage a victory in France where the workers can take power, with the incalculable advantages for the labor and revolutionary movements everywhere that must ensue, then we can hold forth a more encouraging perspective for the Cuban revolution.

Situation in U. S.

More immediate to the resolution of the issue is the factor of the internal situation in the United States. The great wave of strikes which are impending in this country will not be without its effect on the Cuban workers. No one can foretell how far the strikes will go in weakening the imperialist colossus. But there is no mistaking the rumbling of the volcano which may burst with tremendous shocks to capitalist terrain. Will they develop in a revolutionary direction? Will we succeed in arousing the workers of Latin America? On the answer to that question which will be given in the fire of the class struggle and in which we must have an influence we will have our answer to the question of whether the Cuban workers who may seize power will be able to hold it. We are not clairvoyants but we reject with contempt the "perspectives" of those "revolutionists" who see only the strength of American imperialism already rotting with gangrene.

In Cuba as everywhere the fate of the workers, of the entire population, of culture, and possibly, of civilization itself, depends on our success or failure in building the Fourth International. Let us hope that the Bolshevik-Leninists of Cuba at the head of the masses will go forward to victory.

—T. STAMM.

Before the Socialist Party Convention

Editor's Note: This is the first of a series of four articles by Comrade Grotzer on the groupings and issues at the forthcoming convention of the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party of America will hold its annual convention in Detroit on June 1, 2 and 3. The entire Party is now engaged in preparing for this meet. Discussions have already begun and groupings taken shape. The membership is in a state of agitation somewhat reminiscent of the time when the first left wing struggle broke out.

The present condition must naturally be contrasted to the almost decade-long period in which the Socialist Party was a small ineffective organization. Since the crisis, however, it has grown steadily in influence and numbers, so that the Party approaches the convention with a membership of over 25,000.

In the "National Headquarters Supplement" of the Milwaukee Leader of March 3rd, are published numerous resolutions on the leading questions facing the Party: a—Declaration of Principles; b—National Recovery Administration; c—Labor Unions; d—Agriculture; e—The United Front; f—Socialist Press; g—Socialist Tactics; h—International Relations, Fascism, Democracy, etc.

With respect to the decisive fundamental questions, a series of different viewpoints are presented as the basis for the pre-convention discussion. These views vary from the crassest reactionary Right Wing position on the class struggle to the Left, including also a tendency favoring adherence to the movement for the Fourth International.

Groupings in the Party

The emergence of definite left wing groupings in the American Socialist Party may be received by many with surprise and doubt. An examination of the pre-convention material, however, is all that is necessary to convince one of this fact. Thus one sees the following groups and tendencies preparing to do battle for their respective points of view: The Revolutionary Policy Committee (patterned after the committee of the same name in the British Independent Labor Party), the Militants, the "Chicago Left Wing" (Senior and Krueger), The ultra-reactionaries of the Forward Association under the leadership of Abe ("Hear the Other Side") Cahane, the Old Guard, the Wisconsin Organization (Hoan), and those who follow and support the position of the Polish Bund. In any case, there is variety.

What are the chief points of struggle? First and foremost is the principled question of: Reform versus Revolution. Allied with this and flowing out of it is the question of the proletarian dictatorship. Out of the disputes over these two fundamental questions of Marxism where which the workers movement has already split into well defined groupings (social democracy and communism), there has logically developed differences on all phases of work engaged in by the Socialist Party. The questions of Trade Union work, the United Front, the struggle against War, Labor Party, Soviet Union, and a whole series of other questions are in dispute.

Basis Causes of the Groupings

The situation in the Socialist Party belies the Stalinist position on Social Democracy. They have and continue to regard the social democracy as an solid, immovable "social fascist mass" incapable of moving in the direction of communism. A Marxist approach to the question will demonstrate at once that conditions which made possible the emergence of an international left wing in Social Democracy during the war years, resulting in the creation of the Communist International on the basis of the old, recur once more in different form.

Outstanding victories of the proletariat (the Russian Revolution) are not the only motive forces of the international working class. Major defeats likewise prove to be influences upon the workers' movement, pushing it in one direction or another. Thus if the Russian Revolution had the effect of finally breaking off large sections of social democracy already dissatisfied with the banner of Kautsky, Bauer, Scheideman, et al, and pushing them in the direction of Communism and the banner of Marxism, there is no reason why a catastrophic defeat, such as took place in Germany (and followed in Austria) should not bring about similar movements.

The defeats in Germany and Austria demonstrated the bankruptcy of Social Democracy and Stalinism. These two events are responsible for the movements within the Social Democratic parties the world over. The specific political and organizational conditions associated with the Social Democratic movement explain why it is going through another internal upheaval; and similar reasons, from another point of view, explain why Stalinism, momentarily, aids such tre-

mendous internal disruptions on the basis of the series of defeats suffered by it. This we leave for a later discussion.

Roots in the International Situation

It is impossible to explain the situation in the American Socialist Party, the existence of such a variety of groups, with different views in some respects and views that coincide in others, without seeking its roots. The background of the internal situation in the American Party is the European situation. The defeat in Germany, carrying with it the destruction of the "dean" of social democratic parties, brought into existence an International Congress (August 1933). At this congress, in spite of the endorsement it gave to the policies and activities of the Germany Party, there emerged a definite left wing point of view under the leadership of the Polish Bund. This point of view dissociated itself from the policies pursued by the German S. D. P. and the Labor and Socialist International (2nd) which was dominated by the German Party.

While the left wing received but eighteen out of three hundred votes cast at the August, 1933 International Congress, since then it has grown everywhere. The Austrian situation also acted as an impelling force on the left wing in all countries. The left wing takes shape as an international grouping dissociating itself from the whole course of the L. S. I. pursued up to and through the German and Austrian events, demanding a complete revision in theory and practice, of social democratic policy.

Just as the decisions of the international congress of last year did not and could not settle the international situation in the L.S.I., but has only raised them in a more acute form, so the coming convention of the American Socialist Party will not settle the questions in dispute. The situation in the American Party is a reflection of the international situation. The left wing groupings here are a part of the international left wing groupings, all of them arising under the pressure of great European defeats. Irrespective of the outcome of the Detroit convention the main issues that agitate the Socialist organization today will continue until a definite solution, both politically and organizationally, of the questions in dispute takes place.

Probing the Disputes

A discussion of the coming convention cannot be held without consideration of:

1. The international congress of August 1933, in which the conflict between the Right represented by the German leaders and the international "Old Guard" on the one hand and the left wing led by the Polish Bund (supported by a majority of the other, broke out in sharp form over the fundamental questions raised in connection with the most decisive event since the Russian Revolution—the victory of Fascism in Germany;
2. The international groupings of a left character and the reflection of these tendencies in America; and
3. The possible outcome of these internal struggles, or more precisely: what to do!

The forthcoming articles will

deal first with the Congress of the L. S. I. held in August 1933, the present situation in the L. S. I., and, finally, the situation in America. Only on this basis is it possible to understand what is taking place in the American Socialist Party and orientate oneself to that situation—

that is, in viewing the situation here, not as an isolated event, but as the logical sequence to the international Congress and the discussion that took place therein following the German events

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

Nazis Exploit Winter Help

Nazidom seems to be convinced that the Dutch authorities will in no way interfere with its assumed tutelage over Germans living abroad. Another efficient method of converting Germans abroad into docile instruments of the Hitler dictatorship is the Winter Help and other alleged charity institutions which have been extended to Holland under the protectorate of the German ambassador and other prominent German officials. Under the cover of alleged charity the German representatives have compiled extensive lists of Nazis and Nazi sympathizers.

The German Consulates are also in possession of the names of all German residents in Holland who voted for Hitler on November 12, 1933. Those who oppose Hitlerism are blackmailed, threatened and often exposed to denunciations. Petitions and circulars emanating from official German sources bear the signatures of diplomatic and consular representatives, of the presidents of the coordinated German societies in Holland, and last but by no means least, of one Witte, Nazi commissary for Holland, and

World Revolution or World Fascism

The development of fascism has today become a central question of world politics. Viewed from a world standpoint the ebb and flow of fascism has varied inversely with the ebb and flow of the world revolution. The appearance of Italian fascism on the historic horizon has not only marked the entrance of a period of political reaction but has given definite characteristics to the whole epoch. The victory of German fascism has strengthened and accelerated the tempo of fascistization throughout the capitalist world.

While fascism as a form of capitalist rule exists only in some of the European countries; fascism as a movement is making headway everywhere and particularly in those countries that have long been considered as models of capitalist democracy, France and England. Spain which but yesterday freed herself from monarchy and military dictatorship is now the scene of a thriving fascist movement.

It is not much different in the United States. Here, not only are the transplanted fascist movements among the Germans and Italians growing but an indigenous variety as well. The Silver Shirts Legion is the outstanding organization and according to all reports is growing and expanding rapidly. Its program and agitation mimic those of the Nazis in many details.

one Mannhardt the leader of the Amsterdam local of the German Nazi Party. These facts prove that all German denials of Nazi propaganda abroad are deliberately misleading.

It has been held by Marxian theoreticians, since fascism appeared as a political phenomenon, that its growth parallels the growth of the revolutionary movement and that its triumph comes about only because the proletariat is sufficiently strong to threaten the further existence of capitalism. The truth of this formula is unassailable if we view it from a world standpoint. However, whatever attention has been centered on this question has been approached from the application of the formula to the particular country under consideration. This approach has been undoubtedly due to the unevenness of capitalist development.

From such regulative principle, however, the conclusion is one that emphasizes fascism as a national problem without its international correlation. This leads to isolated, national appraisals of fascist phenomena and undermines the possibility for effective struggle against them.

It has now become necessary to clarify and bring up-to-date our theoretical evaluation of fascism in the light of the experiences of the last decade and the present situation.

If fascism is, as we have concluded, a universal manifestation, its appearance and existence in each country is a variation of this larger concept. It advances or recedes, therefore, because of certain motivating, interacting factors affecting world capitalism which can be readily analyzed.

Democracy and the institutions created by it are in a state of general collapse because of the work-

ings of the inner contradictions of capitalism. The resulting chaos compels sections of the most determined and militant among the capitalists to seek out a mass base to support the struggle for the establishment of a more adequate form of class rule. If the working class in any given country is not sufficiently strong, politically and organizationally, to overpower these forces of reaction—a fascist dictatorship will follow. Fascism may then come in a particular country, though the working class does not seriously threaten to establish its own class rule at the moment. In this latter instance fascism acts as a "preventive" for the revolution.

The question of reorganization of industry according to plan has formed an important section of the fascist programs. The promise of economic reconstruction after the assumption of power has been very alluring to the masses.

The characteristic form of economic organization introduced by fascism is, as we have seen, the cooperative state. This is the logical outcome of all tendencies of capitalist state power to interfere in the economic life of the country. It is the classic aim of fascism to evolve a state rule representing the fusion of politics and economics under one unified administration. To achieve this the class-struggle has to be abolished and a prolonged peaceful development take place. As this stands in violent contradiction to the general laws of capitalism development in the epoch of imperialism and the nationalistic aspirations of fascism, the final accomplishment is easily predictable.

Of immediate concern to us, however, is the question of whether a program of state capitalism pursued in a democratic country facilitates the advent of fascism. Our thesis, as we shall see, holds this to be the case.

Let us consider recent developments in our country. The Roosevelt regime as soon as it took over the helm introduced the "New Deal". The National Industrial Recovery Act, the main part of this "New Deal", was passed only as a temporary, emergency measure. Today, neither friend nor foe questions the permanency of the NRA set-ups. The government not only organizes and strengthens associations of the various branches of industry, but participates itself to an ever increasing extent in the management and regulation of industry. The codes granted possess sweeping police powers.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, an agency of the government, which was set up even before the "New Deal", has been granted authority to loan directly to industry. No less significant is the systematic buying up of shares, by this institution, of the nation's largest banks; until now it owns 25% of the banking stock of the country.

In so far as labor is concerned, government policy is striking out new paths. Whereas in the past the traditional policy of the government, if indeed there was one, favored labor organizations of the craft or horizontal type—now the tendency is to favor organizations that will encompass whole industries and manufacturing enterprises. Here the National and Regional Labor Boards play supervisory and executive roles that are bound to assume greater authority as time goes on.

The government's support of the A. F. of L. in preference to company unions is not due to its desire to promote independent labor action. On the contrary, it is due to a desire to take labor out of control of the thousands of business and industrial enterprises and centralize this control within the A. F. of L. in order to curb strikes and eventually more serious class action on the part of the workers.

And so, without a fascist government in the United States and within the framework of the democratic apparatus, state capitalism and the features of a cooperative state are making their appearance. That the taking of power by fascism is made easier by such development, there is no doubt.

When democracy finally breaks down, fascism will be the only road for the capitalists, no matter what their present democratic asseverations may be. When such time comes, will the workers, be prepared to make a bid for power? And yet, the only way to stop fascism is the united action of the proletariat leading immediately to the proletarian revolution.

It will be one of the first tasks of the new international revolutionary leadership to organize the decisive fight against the encroachment of world fascism. At the outset it will have to distinguish its Marxian methods from those of the hysterical Stalinists. Only the slogan of World Revolution can rearm the workers with the necessary weapon to stay the advance of fascism. —JOSEPH S. GIGANTL.

LOUIS FISHER SLAYS "TROTSKYISM" AGAIN

In a recent issue of the *Nation*, Mr. Louis Fischer, in a much heralded article, invokes the death of "Trotskyism" for the hundredth time. It seems however that "Trotskyism" always pops up again, much to the dismay of its opponents. The reactionary capitalist Governments of Europe however, don't care much for "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism", dead or alive.

Mr. Fischer, like most Stalinist scribes, does not feel impelled to substantiate his "arguments" against Trotsky by any facts, but resurrects the old fiction manufactured by Manuilsky & Co.

Mr. Fischer's chapter in the international campaign of calumny and falsification starts off with the thesis that Rakovsky's recantation spells the death of "Trotskyism". His whole argument revolves around this axis. As if the capitulation of an individual impugns the fundamental principles of that movement. History can not be written so simply. The socialist and communist movement has been pock-marked with desertions, yet the principles of communism remain as unshaken as ever.

Causes of Rakovsky's Capitulation
If Mr. Fischer wants to find out the real meaning and cause of Rakovsky's capitulation, he himself has given us the clue.

"At a recent party conference in Eastern Siberia," writes Mr. Fischer, "Emilian Yaroslavsky, a member of the inner Bolshevik circle, spoke of the counter-revolutionaries hired by the bourgeoisie, and the delegates remarked that Trotsky too was in the pay of the capitalists. Yaroslavsky did not have the courage to deny this infamous accusation. His failure to do so was beneath contempt, as Stalin's effort to rewrite Soviet history so that Trotsky's role either disappears or becomes smirched is beneath contempt."

Yes, and this is but putting it mildly. It is to be wondered that not more of the thousands of exiled and persecuted Bolshevik-Leninists, isolated from any contact with world historic forces, systematically misinformed and deceived, not only as to the activities of Trotsky, but also about the tremendous world-shaking events of the last decade, have not also lost their bearings. In view of these factors, Rakovsky's capitulation is but a hollow victory by which no clear sighted revolutionist will be misled.

Let us now examine some of Mr. Fischer's "arguments". "Trotsky," says Mr. Fischer, "... believed the New Economic Policy would bring back capitalism". Where he ever got this information is not indicated, but you may be sure it did not come from Trotsky. Search as you may, in Trotsky's writings you will not be able to find such a statement. Following this, Mr. Fischer contradicts his own statement by saying that Trotsky was "one of the first to suggest the New Economic Policy". Yes, Mr. Fischer, and you can even go further. Trotsky was the first one to suggest it, fully a year before its adoption.

"Socialism in One Country"
"Trotsky advocated industrializa-

Fischer, "but he did not suppose that socialism could thus be obtained". Quite so! And in so thinking, he was in full agreement not only with Lenin who conceived of socialism as "the creation of a united world-wide economy, regulated according to a general plan by the proletariat of all nations . . .", but also of every Bolshevik-Internationalist prior to the epoch of Stalinism.

I would seriously recommend to Mr. Fischer, and to the American Stalinists whose history begins with the year 1924, that they devote a little time to the study of the A.B.C. of Communism from Bukharin's and Preobrazhensky's text-book which was formerly the official handbook of the Workers School. "The Communist revolution," says the book, "can be victorious only as a world revolution. . . ." Since 1924, however, the history of the party has been turned into a palimpsest.

In a book edited and with an introduction by Lenin, Stepanov-Skvortzov wrote: "The proletariat of Russia never thought of creating an isolated socialist state. A self-sufficient 'socialist' State is a petty-bourgeois ideal. A certain approach to this is thinkable with an economic and political preponderance of the petty-bourgeoisie; in isolation from the outside world it seeks a means of consolidating its economic forms, which are converted by the new technique and the new economy into very unstable forms."

Trotsky's Position

What are Trotsky's views on this question?

"Socialism," says T, "is the organization of a planned and harmonious social production for the satisfaction of human wants. Collective ownership of the means of production is not yet socialism, but only its legal premise. The problem of a socialist society cannot be abstracted from the problem of the productive forces, which at the present state of human development are world-wide in their very essence. The separate state, having become too narrow for capitalism, is so much the less capable of becoming the arena of a finished socialist society. The backwardness of a revolutionary country, moreover, increases for it the danger of being thrown back to capitalism. In rejecting the perspective of an isolated socialist development, the Bolsheviks had in view, not a mechanically isolated problem of intervention, but the whole complex of questions bound up with the international economic basis of socialism. . . . Starting from the world-wide division of labor, the task of socialism is to carry the international exchange of goods and services to its highest development."

I have attempted here to give the party view on the question of building socialism in one country from the mouths of the official spokesman of the Comintern—up to the Stalinist epoch. Similar views by Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, etc., are all included in the history of the party—up to 1924. It will only be necessary for me to close this phase of the discussion with a quotation

from Stalin's *Problems of Leninism* (unexpurgated):

What Stalin Once Wrote

"To overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and establish the power of the proletariat in one country, does not mean to guarantee the complete victory of socialism. The chief task of socialism, the organization of socialist production—lies still ahead. Can this task be accomplished? Is it possible to attain the final victory of socialism in one country, without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries? No, it is not. The efforts of one country are enough for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie—this is what the history of our revolution tells us. For the final victory of socialism, for the organization of socialist production, the efforts of one country, especially a peasant country like Russia, are not enough—for this we must have the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries. . . . Such in general are the characteristic features of the Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution."

Industrialization

We will come back to this point shortly. For the moment let us proceed to Mr. Fischer's next point. Accepting wholeheartedly the canards of the Stalin school he goes on to say that "... collectivization never present itself to him (Trotsky) as a major solution (?)"

One might suppose that after making a categorical statement like this he would at least mention when or where this was true. But no, the readers of the *Nation* are left high and dry, for there is no accompanying explanation. What are Trotsky's views on this question?

"The proletariat," writes T, "cannot create a new society without bringing the peasantry to socialism through a series of transitional stages, the peasantry being a considerable—in a number of countries a predominant—part of the population, and a known majority on the earth as a whole. (Does this sound like underestimating the peasantry?) The solution of this most difficult of all problems depends in the last analysis upon the quantitative and qualitative correlations between industry and agriculture. The peasantry will the more voluntarily and successfully take the road of collectivization, the more generously the town is able to fertilize their economy and their culture."

Who Killed the Comintern?

Mr. Fischer conveniently limits his remarks to the Soviet Union. It is indeed very disquieting to think of the events which have led to the catastrophic defeats of the working class throughout the world. As Mr. Fischer puts it:

"Europe never looked so dark and beyond hope as at the present time. Yet Communism makes no headway. The Comintern is a dismal failure."

Has Mr. Fischer given some thought and study to the problem? Why hasn't he devoted a little space to the position of the "Trotskyists"

on these world-shaking events? It is a painful piece of work explaining why Europe looks "so dark and beyond hope". Mr. Fischer knows full well that the responsibility for this state of affairs rests largely on the nationalistic policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. That is why the "Comintern is a dismal failure".

The position of the International Communist League (Left Opposition) has been strikingly confirmed in the most critical events of the past decade. And no Stalinist apologist can white-wash the treacherous nationalistic role of the Comintern to make it appear as revolutionary internationalism. History has stripped the Stalinist International of its last claim to the confidence of the working class. It stands exposed today as a brake on the revolutionary movement.

"Trotsky's World Revolution"

In September, 1932, Mr. Fischer wrote an article in *Current History* on "Trotsky's World Revolution". There he endeavored to compare Trotsky's views on the world situation with those of Stalin. Here is what he says:

"In German Trotsky urges a bloc between Communists and Social Democrats to fight fascism. Moscow declares, however, that this is menshevism (sic!), an old Trotskyist malady (!), and that since the Social Democrats had supported the former Brüning Government, alliance with them would bolster up the German bourgeoisie."

This however did not prevent the Comintern from supporting the "Bolsheviks" in 1931 in which the German Communists voted with the Hitlerites. That united front was all right.

"Trotsky's most poisonous shafts are aimed against Stalin for his role in the Chinese revolution of 1924-1927 and in the present German crisis. Trotsky maintains that Stalin's policy in China was not an accident and not a mere mistake, but an inevitable result of his rejection of the doctrine of Permanent Revolution. The acceptance of that theory, Trotsky insists, would have prevented Stalin from supposing that a successful socialist revolution could have issued from a union between the petty-bourgeois Kuintang and the workers and peasants, in which the Kuintang was the dominating influence. Trotsky above all, criticizes the Comintern for restraining the German Communist party from decisive revolutionary action."

Propaganda of the Hirelings

I have quoted Mr. Fischer at length so that there will not be any question of misstatement and misinterpretation. And since he so well bears out the claims of the Bolshevik-Leninists as to the revisionist policies of the Comintern, I will, at the risk of being tedious, conclude with a few choice excerpts from his article in *Current History*. There is no better way to refute the insidious nationalistic propaganda of the Stalinist hirelings than with the words from their own mouths.

"Since 1927 Stalin has defended the thesis of capitalist-Communist co-existence. The Soviet Govern-

ment officially proposed a resolution at the International Economic Conference in Geneva in May, 1927, which enunciated the idea that the two opposing forms of society could live together in peace and cooperation. On all recent occasions Soviet spokesmen have emphasized the same proposition."

That this is not just "front" for the benefit of the capitalists but an integral part of the new philosophy of the Soviet bureaucracy is indicated in a speech made by Litvinoff before the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union (not a chamber of Commerce):

"... my conversations with President Roosevelt convinced us both of the absolute possibility of the closest relations and cooperation for peace by our two countries. One cannot but admire President Roosevelt's perspicacity in realizing not only the uselessness of continued struggle with us in the name of capitalism but the value of relations with us not only for the sake of America's national interests but for the cause of peace."

It is only because Lenin is pinned under a mausoleum and Trotsky exiled that they dare mouth such vicious, reactionary views. And to think that these statements are broadcast throughout the world to delude the workers into believing that the capitalist nations are really interested in peace!

Close-up of Stalinism

Mr. Fischer continues:

"At the end of the second Five-Year Plan in 1937, according to sanguine Bolshevist (?) claims socialism will have been established in Russia (!), despite the persistence of capitalism everywhere else. The Russian Communists therefore, are devoting themselves to the tasks at home. They are more introverted than ever before. Foreign politics interests them largely as a means of neutralizing outside hostility and of obtaining credits. Anything that may interfere seriously with domestic improvement is avoided. The Bolsheviks would say that capitalists will do more than the communists to undermine capitalism. Today, despite the universal depression, they view the world scene soberly (!) and, while discerning a gradual shift to the left, are skeptical about a red uprising, even in Germany, not to speak of other countries. . . . But how would the Communists in the Soviet Union behave if revolution were imminent in some important country? What if Germany or France or Japan were on the very threshold of a national social upheaval? The historical precedent is Germany in 1923. The Reich had been impoverished by inflation. Bread riots had occurred in numerous cities. The German Communists were planning an uprising. With one hand the Comintern helped them. But Stalin said: 'In my opinion we must restrain the Germans and not encourage them.'"

Is it any wonder then that Hitler and not Communism triumphed in Germany? —J. W.

The Imperialist Conflicts Over the Chinese Markets

White supremacy in the Orient is again being seriously challenged. This time it is not the workers of the world who are demanding "Hands Off China", in the interest of the Chinese Revolution. Now it is Japanese imperialism which is demanding that the American and British imperialism check their aggressive action in the Chinese markets. China, the main country concerned, has little or nothing to say and must continue to play the role of expressing her bourgeois needs through imperialist spokesmen.

The declaration of Amai of the Japanese Foreign Office which was the unofficial announcement of official action taken two months prior in communications to China, was followed up by government declaration which affirmed the Japanese policy of the "Monroe Doctrine" for Asia. Japan, the leading imperialist power in Asia, long ago decided that the American imperialist policy of "America for the Americans" is a good policy for Asia.

In 1915, when Japanese imperialism endeavored to impose the twenty-one demands upon China, while the western imperialists were engaged in armed conflict, everyone knew that this meant the establishment of a protectorate over China. Japan did not succeed in 1915, and all indications are that she has not succeeded this time. But Japan is in a far more favorable position now to continue her Manchurian policy of acting first and speaking afterwards.

The Struggle for China

The struggle for domination over China, which can only be accomplished at the expense of other imperialist powers, to say nothing of the interests of the Chinese workers and peasants, has been the consistent policy of Japanese and other imperialist powers. While the main strategy of American and European imperialist powers, for domination and markets, revolved around hegemony in Europe, and, in turn, in the colonial countries as the outcome of domination on the continent, the main strategy of Japanese imperialism for the whole century revolved around the struggle for domination of Asia.

U. S. imperialism won its position of domination in Americas as the broader base of operations for the struggle to place Europe on rations. Japan seeks a broad Asiatic base as her first step in an attempt to prevent American imperialism from "organizing the world" to her own liking.

America's attempt to organize the world presses heavily upon Great Britain, Japan, France and Germany in all parts of the world. At present it finds one of its main focal points over the struggle for hegemony in China. It expresses itself in opposition to Japan's closed door policy. But this in no way signifies a lessening of the antagonisms to England.

The Chinese market, for all purposes, is the prize and most important conquest of the imperialist needs today. No one realizes this better than Japanese imperialism. The steady encroachment of the Western imperialists since the defeat of the second Chinese revolution compels Japan, as a life and death matter, to answer each step of further penetration by other imperialists with a more aggressive policy for her own ends. This is leading directly to the new imperialist war.

International Policy Decisive

The reorganization of the different imperialist nations within the depression cycle has passed the initial stage. The internal reorganization, based on one form of nationalism or the other, through inflation, currency devaluation and reduced wages, and concentration and centralization of finance and capital, has reached the stage where the international policies, coordinated with the internal policies of the imperialist nations, become decisive.

This phase primarily expresses itself in a war for markets. Trade wars and dumping intensify all the

economic contradictions that national internal reorganization was supposed to have modified, if not eliminated altogether. The only stage that can follow this under capitalism is the stage of open armed conflict expressed in imperialist wars and civil wars between classes.

The main contending forces concerned in this struggle in the Orient are: Japan, the United States and Great Britain as the main imperialist contenders; the oppressed millions of China; the Soviet Union and the proletariat of the world which will defend the U.S.S.R. against imperialist attacks.

The pressure of the crisis of world economy upon Japan was almost as great as that which effected Germany before Hitler took power. But Japan was faced with a more favorable capitalist variant and found an outlet in the armed invasion and further conquest of China. With this military strategy Japan was forced to intensify her trade war with the other imperialist powers and has successfully invaded and challenged the Western robbers on every continent, making inroads in strongholds of the United States and Great Britain.

Enlarging the Contradictions

Japan's way out of the crisis and the contradictions of world economy is proving no more successful than the way attempted by Germany or any other imperialist power. Japan's way out has accomplished in the Far East what Germany's way out is accomplishing in Europe. It is extending and enlarging the contradiction and causing a concentration of the war clouds which inevitably lead to war.

Therefore, China, as the most important market for Japan, as well as for the other imperialists, is at the same time the base for Japanese war supplies in the struggle against Western Imperialism. Japan cannot let go of China and retreat. Diplomatic retreats will only cloak economic and military advances and preparations for Japan's defense of her "rights" to domination in the Orient.

Great Britain sees this problem as clearly as do the American imperialists. But England does not hold the same favorable world position. This forces the British imperialists to take more drastic steps at once which are resulting in a gigantic trade war between England and Japan. It has reached the point where British diplomacy must openly and bluntly speak of a trade war with Japan.

New Trends In the Trade Unions

(Continued from page 1)

a declaration from Tighe, that he "washes his hands of the whole business".

Officials in a Dilemma

Mike Tighe may yet try to defeat and nullify the convention action. Sell-outs are not merely a thing of the past but can be expected to be repeated on a more serious scale. But this is an entirely different matter now that the workers are in motion toward a higher level of class consciousness. "Outlaw" strikes and "outlaw" movements can be expected to occur. Today, however, such are not so easily defeated. The union officials are in a dilemma with the company unions pressing from the one side while on the other side hangs the shadow of more militant organization and action by the workers.

In the automobile situation the union officials accepted the Roosevelt agreement which legalizes the company union; Bill Green's "greatest strike in history" was won for the time being by the auto bosses. The union officials accepted the special mediation board whose duty is to forgive and forget. As a result an "outlaw" movement is already in its inception. It started from St. Louis where the union

locals proposed secession from the A. F. of L. and found support from locals in other parts of the country.

The U. S. and England

To some this implies a united front of the United States and England against Japan. But in reality a trade war by England aimed at Japan, which gains the support of the Empire, will at the same time become an intensified force against the American imperialists in their search for markets. This will intensify the antagonisms and, unless agreements and concessions between British and American imperialism can be arranged, it will result in an extension of the trade war to new heights and bring the war just that much closer.

This increasing war danger and growing reaction in Europe will tighten the grip of world economy around Soviet economy. With Stalin at the helm, the Soviet Union will undoubtedly give more concessions to world imperialism. The American imperialist recognition of the Soviet Union, which was cloaked as a peace move and heralded by the Pravda as a big step to further world peace, was in reality a strategic move in the war preparations of America, aimed on the one hand against the new Hitler Germany and on the other hand against aggressive Japanese imperialism in the Orient.

Upset "Balance of Power"

The successful invasion of China by Japan and the victory of Fascism in Germany upset the "balance of power", both in the Orient and in Europe, and called for a regrouping of forces in preparation for the coming war. Of course it also called for increased armaments, a mad race of imperialism for war supplies and instruments of death.

The position of the United States in regard to Japan was as firm as the position taken by England, but could be presented in a different fashion. The battle of diplomacy over China is only a spark of what is really going on under the surface. The moves and preparations of American imperialism in the race for the Chinese markets, and other markets Japan is invading, are laying the basis for a gigantic explosion.

America's imperialist success in Latin America, and her strategic position in relation to decadent Europe, make it necessary to challenge the Japanese or any other imperialist power aiming to dominate the Orient. Otherwise, America's desire to organize the world for her economic needs will receive a blow which it will be difficult to recover from.

—HUGO OEHLER.

their great illusions about the NRA. They propose in the main to rely upon the power of their organization. In this they press the union officials for action. They put the officials to the test and the failure to head their demands will be clearly demonstrated before the eyes of the rank and file.

On the one hand preparation is made for many of them to be swept into discard. On the other hand, the militant currents become strengthened. Already today these new mass numbers in the unions are in the position of defending the unions, of fighting for their recognition and of driving them into action on a large scale against the leaders who yield to the company unions and accept the class collaboration basis instituted by the NRA. The trends which are now in the making point toward a new stage of militant unionism.

—ARNE SWABECK.

Minneapolis Union Prepares For Action

(Continued from page 1)

Local 574, by the other unions. With one or two notable exceptions, the officials to the other unions act as though the General Drivers were in the way.

This attitude must be changed. It is a menace to the whole labor movement. The General Drivers can and must be made the corner stone for the trade union structure as a whole. This corner stone is not yet in place. The entire workers movement will see to this job and bring the unions into action to this end.

The General Drivers Union is faced with a vast problem, faced with a real struggle. Not a workers organization, not a single worker, will hold back. Strike with united forces. The trade unions as a unit must back this fight to victory.

Militant Builders

The Club Plan Sub Drive for another 1,000 new readers was extended at the request of several of our branches. It is being conducted for the express purpose of enabling workers who cannot afford the regular rates. It goes without saying that this low rate does not cover the cost of production. We are able to do this only through the help of the Pledgers.

For the benefit of those who do not know how this Club plan works we wish to explain:

A club consists of four cards for \$1.00 paid in advance. Each card is good for a six-month sub. The idea is to buy four or more cards and dispose of them later to reimburse yourself for the outlay.

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	88
Last report	53
TOTAL	141

"AMERICA AND THE COMING REVOLUTION"

Speaker: **JOHN G. WRIGHT**
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SATURDAY, MAY 12, 8 P.M.
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A Social will follow the lecture. There will be food, music and dancing. Admission is free.

Theatre Party

The New York Local of the Communist League arranged for a theatre party for the play "Stevendore" at the Civil Repertoire. This play has been hailed by all reviewers for the quality of its production and it is of a distinctly working-class character. Comrades and friends of the League are asked to buy the tickets ranging in price from 30 cents to \$1.50 at our office, 126 E. 16th Street, for the performance Monday, June 18.

The International Position of the Revolutionary Policy Committee

In an objective situation marked by the manifest decay of capitalism as a social and economic system, and rotten-ripe for revolutionary advances, the proletarian movement of the world staggers under the blows of catastrophic defeats. This state of affairs, for which Stalinism and Social Democracy bear the joint responsibility, has induced the deepest crisis of the labor movement of the world as ever known. Great organizations, resting on the support of millions of workers, have been put to the historic test and proved completely bankrupt.

What else could result from such catastrophe but disintegration of the old organizations, on the one hand—and since the class struggle is not suspended for a single day—new ferment, critical analysis and the search for new paths on the other? One of the expressions of this search for a new road, and a most significant one, too, it must be said, is the emergence of the Revolutionary Policy Committee of the Socialist Party with its straight-out challenge to the policy of social reformism.

WHICH WAY FOR THE R.P.C.

Will it carry out this challenge to the end? That remains to be seen. The program, as it now stands, incomplete in some respects and wrongly formulated in others, does not of itself give a definite answer to the question. If the implications of the first declaration are developed to their logical conclusion, and the program is rounded out accordingly, the R.P.C. can undoubtedly become a rallying center for the revolutionary socialist workers, and especially the socialist youth.

Failing to adopt these amendments and corrections in time, the Revolutionary Policy Committee will be likely to sink into the morass of centrism. That is, serve as a force to head off the revolutionary trend in the party and help to bolster up the tottering structure of Social Democracy, hopelessly discredited on a world scale, decaying with the decay of capitalism which it has served, and organically incapable of regeneration.

We hope for the former outcome of this promising development in the S. P. Every revolutionist worthy of the name will be ready to aid such a development. At the same time, without casting the slightest doubt on the seriousness of the signers of the declaration, it is necessary to point out the danger of a different result and to show the source of this danger in the program as it now stands.

Nor is it altogether excluded that the R.P.C., or a part of it, in receding from social reformism, can even land in the blind alley of Stalinism, the accomplice of Social Democracy in the assassination of revolutions and the enthronement of Fascism. Against such a calamity, also, programmatic clarity is the first and most important preventive.

INTERNATIONALISM—PARAMOUNT QUESTION

Formal programs, however, are meaningless today unless they candidly face the determining feature of the crisis in the labor movement of the world—the bankruptcy of both the Second and the Third Internationals—and the fundamental problem of the epoch—the reassembling of the revolutionary vanguard in a new organization, under a new banner. The catastrophic defeats of the working class under objective circumstances highly favorable for revolutionary victories present a contradiction which means one thing above all others: the leadership has broken down, the organizations they directed were inadequate.

This is the crux of the whole question of the regeneration and revival of the revolutionary labor movement. Every party, group and current, now as in the period following the betrayal of the workers into the world war, is tested and its whole course is determined by its approach to this question of internationalism.

It seems incredible that a group which denounces social reformism as a road that "led to death" in Germany should retain the slightest allegiance to the International which led the socialist masses to defeat and death, not only in 1933 but before that in 1914, and which systematically betrayed them in all the years between. Surely, an analysis of the fundamental causes of the treacherous role of the Second International, and the declaration of an irrevocable break with it, are elementary requirements of revolutionary socialists. Yet all the program of the Revolutionary Policy Committee has to say on this paramount question is the following:

"The Socialist Party of America must make every effort to get the above principles adopted by the Labor and Socialist International in order that it may be the effective instrument of promoting the world revolution."

When the Second International collapsed in 1914 and betrayed the laboring masses into the bloody shambles of the war, Lenin and the other revolutionary socialists, even though they were only a handful, declared the organization to be dead for the revolution and turned to the preparation of a new International. Everything the Second International and its leading and most representative party in Germany did since that time, only served to confirm the analysis of Lenin.

The party and the International that had failed in the great historic test was irrevocably lost for the workers' cause. It survived only as a reactionary and treacherous force in the labor movement, an ally and support of capitalism. This was understood by the revolutionary vanguard. That is why they formed the Communist International. Socialist workers, who assimilated the lessons of the war and post-war experiences later, expressed their revolutionary standpoint by leaving the Second and joining the Third International.

AGAINST THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL!

Now, when on top of every other perdy, the German Social Democracy, with the full support of the Second International, held the masses back from struggle against Fascism and lifted Hindenberg into the presidency in order that he might open the door for Hitler—is it possible now that revolutionists should advocate adherence to this corrupt and rotting part of decaying capitalism, that they should tell the workers to hope for its reform and regeneration?

WAUKEGAN MEETING

Waukegan, Ill. — Shachtman's meeting here in Waukegan was a success. The crowd was not large, about 65 or 70, but all political faiths were represented and a great deal of interest was shown. The discussions were still proceeding strongly when we had to break up at 12:30 A.M.

The Stalinists were very peaceful although there were a number present

No, that is not possible. Whoever gives the workers such advice is no revolutionist at all. Whoever preaches the lie about the reform of the Second International makes himself its accomplice in the German and Austrian betrayals and prepares new Germanies and new Austrias.

This section of the program of the Revolutionary Policy Committee stands in irreconcilable contradiction to the other sections which challenge everything the Second International stands for and which it will continue to stand for in practice as long as it exists and pollutes the working class movement of the world. If the Revolutionary Policy Committee wishes to become a revolutionary force it should lose no time in demanding an immediate break with the Second International. Otherwise it will hopelessly discredit itself with the revolutionary workers in the Socialist Party and lose the possibility of regaining their confidence.

A BAD "STRATEGY"

If the international relations section of the program of the R.P.C. is not seriously meant, if it is "strategy", then it must be said it is a bad strategy that works a double evil. If they want to make a revolutionary fight and carry it out to the end the most important thing is to attract the revolutionary socialist workers and give them a clear lead on the most important questions. Among these internationalism takes first place—a primary interest in internationalism is the first mark of the revolutionist. Serious revolutionary workers will never forgive those who play hide and seek with such a question.

On the other hand, a "strategic"—insincere—declaration for the reform of the Second International can defeat the aims of the genuinely revolutionary elements in the R.P.C. by converting the group into a shelter for centrists, that is, for the most dangerous enemies of a revolutionary policy at the present time, whose function is to blur the distinctions between revolution and reform and to blunt the edge of the revolutionary weapons.

THE ROLE OF CENTRISM

Pseudo-radicalism—centrism—represents in fact the predominating tendency in the parties of the Second International today. After the debacle of social reformism in Germany, followed by the Austrian tragedy, social reformism has been fearfully discredited. And the dismissal of the Social Democratic flunkies in favor of Fascists in a number of countries has induced even the most incorrigible and loathsome traitors, including those who offered to "coordinate" themselves to the Hitler regime, to indulge in radical bluster. For example, the German Social Democratic Party now adopts a revolutionary program!

The new centrists declare for the most revolutionary principles, for "the dictatorship of the proletariat" or anything else you want, but on one condition: keep within the framework of the old Social Democratic parties and the Second International with all the scoundrels and traitors and King's Ministers and never do anything to carry out the "revolutionary" principles in action. (The Kantorovich group, now apparently fused with the "Militants", are representative of this centrist current in the United States.)

In this way the revolt of the socialist workers is curbed their revolutionary impulse for action is restrained, they are held in the strait-jacket of the old bankrupt organizations and the way is prepared for new betrayals and defeats.

THE MARXIST FIGHT AGAINST CENTRISM

Under these new conditions in the labor movement the formal criticism of social reformism misses the mark. What is needed now, above all, is a Marxist fight against centrism and an exposure of its role. For this, a formal program of general principles alone is inadequate—the centrists, hard pressed by the revolutionary sentiments of the masses, are very apt to sign it! The formula for this fight, as for all the other fundamental problems of the time, is: The struggle for the Fourth International!

The perditional game of the centrists in the Social Democratic parties is facilitated for the moment by the circumstance that events which discredited the Social Democracy in a second historic test have revealed also the complete bankruptcy of the Communist International. Given a revolutionary policy and leadership in the Comintern the masses of disillusioned socialist workers would today be streaming into its ranks in an irresistible flood. From the time of the launching of the Comintern in 1919 until 1923 this process went on continuously. Under Lenin the Comintern gained at the expense of Social Democracy all along the line. No such movement is observable today. Caught in a vice between bankrupt Social Democracy and Stalinism, and trusting neither, the workers are held in the old organizations by the formula of centrism. And by that the crisis is prolonged and deepened.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAY OUT

The first condition for the solution of the international crisis of the labor movement is to assemble all the awakening revolutionary forces for a common struggle. It is unthinkable that this assembly can take place on the basis of either the Second or the Third Internationals. It will take place, rather, in irreconcilable struggle against them. If they were not both bankrupt the present crisis of capitalism would have led to revolutionary victories instead of fascist reaction.

Forces making for the revolutionary regeneration of the international movement converge from three different sources. They are: the International Communists' (formerly the Left Opposition of the Comintern), independent socialist parties and groups, and the bona fide left wing developing and growing rapidly in the Social Democratic parties. The task is to bring them together, to unfurl a clean banner.

The Revolutionary Policy Committee indubitably has the possibility of becoming a serious force in the coming regroupment in the United States. A clean break with the Second International, not only as a program but also as an organization, is its necessary next step on this road.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

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ent and they took part in the discussion. Shachtman dealt them a hard blow and turned each of their arguments against them. He created a very favorable impression. It would not surprise me if we obtained several new members due to his visit, within a short time. We shall send a write-up to the Militant within a few days.

The Stalinists broke faith in the

—O. A. WATTERS.