

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT



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## Partial Victory Gained By Toledo Workers

BULLETIN

Toledo, June 6.—The auto workers' strike was settled yesterday by a signed agreement between the committee of the United Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18364 and the Electric Auto-Lite Company, and two smaller companies. Main points of the agreement are:

1. Indirect recognition of the union, in the sense that it is named in the contract and the bosses are committed to deal with its committee. This is important because the recent auto settlement establishing the Auto Labor Board made union recognition practically impossible and provided proportional representation on workers' bargaining committees for company unions. The victory of the Toledo auto workers was gained on this point by the fact that the union refused to deal with the Auto Labor Board. This reopens the issue of union recognition throughout the auto industry.
2. No discrimination against union members and representatives. All who walked out to be rehired, but those who did not walk out are also rehired. Men to go back within one week. In lay-offs, the first to go will be those not on the payroll Feb. 23—when the first strike began—that is, the scabs.
3. 5% increase for all workers, and a minimum of 5% above code minimums, which means from 12-17% increase for women, who were being paid below code minimums.
4. The worst feature of the agreement is that the union is committed not to strike until the expiration of the six months' agreement. Fortunately, renewal of the agreement is not compulsory. By 30 days notice before its expiration, the union may cancel the renewal clause.

The agreement was nearly wrecked by an announcement by the company on Sunday that those who did not walk out would be the first to go back to work, and the strikers would follow during the week. The company was able to make this outrageous move only because the scheduled general strike, the threat of which had been hanging over their heads, had been withdrawn definitely on Saturday by the Central Labor Union. However, solidarity of the strikers and the widespread resentment against the company, due to the killings of a striker and a sympathizer last week by the militia, forced the company to back down.

Toledo, June 4.—The scheduled general strike was abandoned by the A. F. of L. leadership, despite the persistent demand and favorable vote of the local unions, and before the settlement for the Auto-Lite plant was agreed to. Negotiations are still being carried on, but the bosses are now negotiating with no danger of a general strike facing them.

The general strike was originally called for five weeks ago, when the auto workers were already on strike. Evidence was produced before the Central Labor Union then to show that the Toledo Manufacturers Association was planning a concerted attack to destroy the trade union movement in Toledo. The call for the general strike was the answer. Every union in Toledo was to set up its specific demands and all unions were to strike simultaneously.

Ask for Governmental Intervention

However, during the last two weeks nothing was said about the demands to be raised by each union. Then Oliver Meyers, business agent of the Electrical Workers Union of the Edison workers, who took the general strike plan seriously and immediately, led his union in an onslaught on the Edison company, was removed from the chairmanship of the committee of 23 preparing the general strike, and was replaced by a little-known conservative, Aubry, who was put forward to take the rap for the failure to go on with the general strike. The committee of 23, under Meyers' leadership, had arranged for a monster torchlight parade to be held Friday evening, June 1, ending with a meeting in Courthouse Square at which the date of the general strike would be announced. The night before the parade, the local A. F. of L. bureaucracy, egged on by T. N. Taylor, personal representative of William Green, pushed through a motion in the Central Labor Union to send an appeal to Roosevelt to intervene. This was done after 95 out of 96 locals had voted for a general strike! The appeal to Roosevelt, as the capitalist

press happily pointed out, made impossible announcement of the general strike the next night, since Roosevelt would take time to answer the appeal.

A. F. of L. Leaders Force Retreat

On Tuesday, two days before the Roosevelt appeal, Mayor Klotz, sensing the rising tide, tried to clear himself by blaming Sheriff Krieger and his deputies for the violence at the Auto-Lite plant. This was followed on Thursday by an order withdrawing the troops from strike duty, and the troops began leaving town Friday morning. A significant indication of the powerful growth of workingclass feeling is the fact that, while throughout the country on Wednesday there appeared Arthur Brisbane's column "Today" carrying an attack on the Toledo auto strikers and pointed remarks on the use of the army against radicals, the anti-labor Toledo Blade deleted all references to the strikers and the army from Brisbane's column. Meanwhile, from the day on which the strikers and sympathizers had penned in the scabs in the Auto-Lite plant, on May 23, the

(Continued on Page 4)

## Mooney Appeal Goes to the U.S. Supreme Court

Governor Rolph of California is dead. His name like that of Pontius Pilate is sure of a place in history. Two acts of his insured that. One was his approval of lynching. The other his refusal of a pardon to Tom Mooney. Without any further information, future historians will be able to estimate correctly the status of "justice" in California in these years, the class division in society, and the weakness of the American labor movement. The date of his death will also be placed as during the great longshoremen's strike of 1934, which along with the Toledo and Minneapolis strikes is indicative of the rise of a new militancy and a new leadership in the labor movement of America. New hopes arise, new possibilities for the taking up in earnest the fight for the freedom of Mooney and all class war prisoners.

In the meantime, Mooney from his cell in San Quentin sends out a call to the working class of America for funds for his appeal through the courts. We urge our readers to support his plea . . . organize parties, affairs . . . donate what you can and forward money to the Mooney Defense Committee. Mooney's statement follows in part:

My Dear Readers of The Militant:

My Attorneys, Frank P. Walsh of New York City, John F. Finerty of Washington, D. C. and George T. Davis of San Francisco, filed my application for a writ of habeas corpus in the United States District Court for Northern California, at San Francisco on the 7th day of May 1934.

If the United States District Court denies this writ it will be appealed to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, and then the United States Supreme Court, if that is necessary.

The initial expenses for this legal work places a tremendous burden of raising \$5,000 upon my defense committee for briefing the great wealth of material in this eighteen year old case, stenographic, typing and other clerical help, office rent, supplies, printing and binding of briefs, postage, telegrams, telephone and transportation and traveling expenses for at least one of the attorneys, all of whom have volunteered their services without fee.

This whole program will be in jeopardy if we are unable to raise this indispensable sum. This emergency compels me to plead with you for a donation to be used exclusively for expenses directly connected with this Federal Court Action.

Please accept in advance my warmest personal regards, best fraternal greetings and heartfelt thankfull appreciation for any consideration shown this communication.

Sincerely,

TOM MOONEY

Address all communication and make all funds payable to the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, P. O. Box 1475, San Francisco, California.

## Roosevelt's New Cuban Treaty

American imperialism, through the Roosevelt government has discontinued the Platt Amendment, which accorded to the United States the right of intervention in Cuban affairs. In its place a new treaty has been drawn up which retains the Guantanamo naval base.

The Platt Amendment has been one of the main causes of friction and hatred against the United States in Cuba and throughout the whole of Latin America. Now it is hoped that the new treaty will modify these antagonisms and place American imperialism in a better light. But why does the United States give up its rights under the Platt Amendment and what effects will this have in Latin American relations?

This concession to Latin America is one of the results of the Cuban revolution. Although unable to reach the goal of a Soviet government, the Cuban revolution was powerful enough to shake to the very foundation the rule of the exploiters in Cuba. The few reforms granted in Cuba, and the discontinuing of the Platt Amendment are measures of the American imperialists, in conjunction with the native exploiters, to prevent the rekindling of the revolutionary fires and prevent it from spreading and consuming everything dear to the capitalists and landowners. Under the cover of this bitter persecution of the revolutionists can be continued more effectively.

The abrogation of the Platt Amendment alters nothing fundamentally regarding American imperialism's position on intervention in Latin America. From a tactical standpoint, however, and this is highly significant—it will have a favorable effect for the United States. This forced concession on the part of the United States is passed off as a magnanimous deed and as a new policy toward Latin America. It is part of a new policy; a new policy of greater penetration and domination of Latin America by American imperialism, not through the clumsy big stick method, but by a more subtle and more clever, but just as deadly method.

The friends of Roosevelt should also call this another master stroke of Roosevelt diplomacy. It will appease a large section of the national bourgeoisie of Cuba and will pacify large layers of the petty bourgeoisie throughout Latin America. In this sense it will strengthen American imperialism in its struggle for greater hegemony over America. It will be worthwhile propaganda against the rising wave of anti-American and anti-imperialist discontent in Cuba and in Latin America.

At the same time the new treaty combined with the economic might of American imperialism and the Monroe Doctrine insures American domination not only in Cuba but the rest of Latin America. The new treaty provides for the naval base and so far as the right of intervention is concerned imperialism needs no written permissions.

## Socialist Party Adopts "Militant" Position At Detroit National Convention

Detroit, June 4.—The national convention of the Socialist Party, which concluded its sessions here last night, recorded a definite shifting of the party to the left—following the main tendency of international social democracy. Centrism has replaced social reformism as the official policy of the party.

The "Militants" combined with Norman Thomas and the Milwaukee group against the New York "Old Guard" to pass a diluted "Declaration of Principles" and elect a slate to the National Executive Committee. The age at which members of the Young Peoples' Socialist League (Ypsels) may enter the party was lowered from 21 to 18, thus insuring an influx of radical young Socialists into the party. On the trade union question the Centrists capitulated to the Old Guard and all criticism of the A. F. of L. leadership—the heart of the trade union resolution—was stricken out.

As for the Revolutionary Policy Committee, its independent resolutions on the principle questions were never brought to the convention floor, despite the readiness of a group of left wing delegates to support them. The R.P.C. traded off its independent position for a seat on the National Executive Committee for one of its leaders, Franz Daniel of Pennsylvania.

Such are the main results of the Detroit Convention.

Latin America has been raped many times by American intervention. Mexico has felt the iron heel of the north. Wherever the American imperialist interests were at stake, intervention in one form or another has been resorted to in the past, and will be resorted to in the future.

The New York Times in an editorial of May 31 says, "But it remains true with or without a treaty, the American Government may lawfully intervene in Cuba to protect its own nationals or their property in case the territorial government is unable to do so." That states the matter bluntly and clearly.

—H. O.

## League in Campaign to Build Organization and Press

Expansion of the League and consolidation of its press is now an imperative necessity. Great opportunities for this are at hand but we must find the means with which to take advantage of them.

Minneapolis is setting the pace. Following the successful strike in which the League played such a splendid role the branch has started a campaign to draw recruits from amongst the militants who were in the strike and bring them into our organization. They are engaged in a campaign to extend the circulation of the Militant.

With the appearance of the theoretical organ on July first, serious steps are also under way to popularize the Militant, to make it a more effective mass agitation paper. We are thus beginning to make good on our program of expansion. Our subscription campaign for the Militant went over the top. A new membership drive is being undertaken by the branches from coast to coast. The first new branch in this drive is organized in Richmond, California.

But at this point we must address a serious word to our members, sympathizers and readers. We need your help in this campaign. First of all the existence of the

## Defend Thaelmann-Torgler

Ernst Thaelmann is to be put through a farcical trial by the Nazis. Hitler will demand that a "Peoples' Court", his newly organized tribunal, finds Thaelmann guilty of sedition and terrorism and condemn him to death.

The trial has been postponed for months. Solitary confinement, barbaric torture, complete isolation from friends or legal counsel; such has been the treatment of Thaelmann by the murderous Fascist regime.

The Nazis feared to put Thaelmann on trial following their notorious failure to frame up Torgler, Dimitrov, Tanev and Popoff. The four were found not guilty in the

## Nation Wide Strike Looms Throughout Steel Industry

### Mighty Attack on Company Union Fortress Planned

A nation-wide steel strike possibly of larger proportions than the strike of 1919 is in preparation. It is scheduled to begin on June 16 unless the NRA administration, President Roosevelt, and the labor lieutenants of capitalism in the union succeeds by some desperate

last minute measure to put over a deal.

Over a considerable period of time the steel workers, counting a total of nearly 450,000 throughout the country, have demanded ever more persistently a showdown on the right to have a union. Thus a mighty attack upon this fortress of company unionism is in the making. At a union convention held not very long ago the delegates in their overwhelming majority insisted on this program and carried it through over the heads of the union officials headed by Mike Tighe. These delegates however did not entrust the execution of this program to Mike Tighe. They elected a special committee of ten members composed largely of union district leaders to be in charge of the presentation of the demands and to be in charge of all preparations for strike.

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

## Strike on Pacific Coast Extends To Shipyards

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

The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce boldly declares that it is going to open the port to shipping. So far the unions have answered all such statements by new and fresh walk-outs, by strengthening the picket lines and by tightening the strike generally.

Communists have played a leading role in this work and served to strengthen the militancy, the morale and the organization of the strike. Of course the scare head editorials in the Western Worker are entirely unreal. Moreover, the official party's T.U.U.L. policy now begins to come into serious conflict with the unity and with the success of the strike. There is the first indication in the resolution of the I.L.A. local union pushed through at a recent meeting stating that only A. F. of L. Unions would be considered in the strike settlement. This strike breaking maneuver was successful only because of the incorrect policy of the official party. Its fatal T.U.U.L. policy cannot at all meet the splitting attacks of the reactionary trade union officials. It plays directly into their hands and emphasizes in a most direct sense the imperative need of all militants becoming participants in the mass unions.

If this line is permitted to continue the whole strike front will be weakened by the pulling away of the independent unions including the C.P.'s own union, the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

Longshoremen Stand Ground

On May 31, in coast-wise Australian ballot the striking longshoremen in more than twenty cities on the Pacific Coast gave an emphatic no as their answer to the maneuvers of the mediators and the union president Ryan, and voted to stand solid until their demand for a closed shop are met. For good measure they added that the rest of the demands of the seamen unions must also be met.

During the week the strike spread to the shipyards where the machinists and the riggers unions in the major yards of San Francisco and Oakland joined in a sympathetic walk-out.

The week was marked with pitched battles between strikers and police. The strikers armed solely with their fists, bricks from a wrecked building and other such impromptu weapons stood their ground well against tear gas, buckshots, sawed-off shot guns, police horses, nightsticks and revolvers.

(Continued on page 4)

for union recognition and the right of collective bargaining, the 30-hour week, six-hour day, one dollar an hour for common labor with corresponding increases for other grades of work. Failure to meet these demands were to result in a nation-wide strike. Needless to say, the steel trust flatly refused to even consider these demands.

At a union convention held not very long ago the delegates in their overwhelming majority insisted on this program and carried it through over the heads of the union officials headed by Mike Tighe. These delegates however did not entrust the execution of this program to Mike Tighe. They elected a special committee of ten members composed largely of union district leaders to be in charge of the presentation of the demands and to be in charge of all preparations for strike.

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

The Fear of the Strike Spreading

In face of these armed preparations the fear is growing nevertheless amongst the agents of privilege that the projected strike may spread to other industries. For example, from the captive mines of Pennsylvania word has come to the union that the coal-miners there can be expected to make common cause with the steel workers. Leading automobile manufacturers have been in conference with the NRA administration. They know that the automobile workers are restless and discontented with the settlement put over on them before. From this so-called settlement the steel workers union have already learned one valuable lesson. Spokesmen for the committee of ten have declared: "We are not going to see a fumble this time like the auto strike was fumbled." They say that they are against mediation of the steel board such as was set up in the auto industry. They say that they are against any proposals for an election to be held in the steel industry to determine the rights of the workers to belong to a union. After the experiences in the Weirton elections they have good grounds for this opinion.

Will the Union Fight It Out?

So far so good. The statements made and the preparations which are under way indicate determination by the steel workers union. It is clear that there is no other way to settle the issue of the right to union recognition and improved wages and working conditions, but through the mobilization of the steel workers in a nation-wide strike. Strong forces are at work to divert the steel workers off this path. The union president, Mike Tighe, is applying all the cunning in his possession to accomplish this aim and to serve his masters in the steel trust. He spares no efforts to create dissension in the union. In addressing himself to the National Labor Board, he characterizes the members of the committee of ten as "irresponsible" and "representing nobody but themselves". He knows, nevertheless, that this committee was duly elected at the union convention. Even the steel trust knows that this is a representative committee and that it speaks for the union. How closely the committee will stick to the program adopted at the union convention remains to be seen. Carrying out its mandate the committee is duty-bound to lead this struggle to its final conclusion, to the establishment of a union in the steel industry.

(Continued on Page 3)

(Continued on page 4)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

The Stalinist United Front with God

I don't know whether you would call it the united front from above or from below, or whether it was just a working arrangement with a "rank and file god", but anyhow on Memorial Day there it was. First marched comrade, or should we call him "Father" Tallentyre and also "marched" Father Divine, the "rank and file God" in an expensive limousine, and behind him came his angels dressed in yellow robes and golden wings, eyes turned to Heaven, dancing along the street to the chant: "Father Divine is God, Father Divine is God!" Believe it or not, this was the Young Communist League's National Youth Day Demonstration. The Daily Worker reports that 15,000 youth marched. Even taking into account the Stalinist method of estimating parades, there is still something wrong. 15,000 youth! Unless the majority of the paraders were followers of the new God and have been "born again of the water and the spirit" they couldn't be called youth by any stretch of the imagination. The Daily Worker reports that Father Divine's contingent comprised 3,000 marchers. I don't know about that, but I do know that the intelligent and class-conscious Negro supporters of Communism turned away in disgust when they saw the Stalinists elevating Father Divine and his hoodwinked fanatical following into partnership in the Y.C.L. demonstration against War and Fascism.

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

Trotsky, Thaelmann, and Stool-Pigeons

The Daily Worker of May 31st publishes the following: "The Tageblatt which is the bitter enemy of Communism reports: 'The man who is building up the 'evidence' against Thaelmann is the same one who 'discovered' the Trotsky affair. Going under the name of Karody... he is actually the foreign specialist of the Political Police...'"

The Daily Worker goes on to say, "... the social democrats continue to act as police stool-pigeons, assisting the Nazis in their campaign of slander against the German working class leader."

Perhaps it would be well for the Daily Worker to remember that when Karody, the Political Police specialist "discovered" the case against Trotsky that it was Earl Browder in this country and similar Stalinist bureaucrats elsewhere who continued to act as stool-pigeons assisting the Fascists in their campaign of slander against the International working class leader.

The "slander" attributed to the Social Democratic Deutsche Freiheit was this: "Thaelmann possesses neither the intellectual qualities nor the character qualities demanded of a leader for the German working class." If this statement is a "stool-pigeon" act what words can be found to characterize the slimy interview of Earl Browder on Trotsky to the capitalist press. Every last word in the D. W. article including those on Norman Thomas applies with double force to the Stalinists themselves.

Radek and the League of Nations

"Radek writes on the history of League of Nations. Fascism drops out and takes leading role in War preparations."—Headline and sub-head, Daily Worker. In the article itself Radek says—"All that the Bolsheviks said about it when the League of Nations was founded has been fully confirmed. But those powers remained in the League who are interested in the maintenance of peace."

"Fascism drops out"—but we were taught by the Daily Worker that the British and French governments were Fascist, and then there is Poland, Austria, and Bulgaria, to say nothing of Italy itself. If Fascism dropped out, and the non-Fascist nations "who are interested in peace" remain, then we take it that Mussolini is no longer Fascist and is interested in peace. Then why not invite him to join Father Divine, Earl Browder, and the Women's League for Peace and Freedom in the League Against War and Fascism.

Manifestos 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.

Steel Facts and Figures

The steel industry today is practically a synonym for imperialism. Virtually all of modern economy radiates from this huge monopoly. The world hegemony of Yankee imperialism is to be seen in the fact that Great Britain, France and Germany combined can turn out only two thirds as many steel and iron products as the United States.

Tugging at the roots of the American capitalist giant, therefore, the pending steel strike finds titanic forces gearing for battle.

The capitalists, in their press, have opened up their light artillery: "The great majority of the employees in the steel works do not want to strike... The only threat comes from union leaders. No issue exists between the steel companies and the great majority of their employees, etc., etc."

A glance at the available figures, however, is sufficient to show that it took more than "outside leaders" to set the steel workers in motion. According to the U. S. Bureau of Census figures the 419,000 employees in the iron and steel industry earned an average of \$1,745 in 1929, whereas 141,000 did not work at all during 1931 (33.7% unemployed), the remaining 278,000 earning an average of \$1,290 (a 26% pay-cut). The U. S. Steel Corporation (Poor's Manual, 1933, p. 947) had, including all its subsidiaries, 203,674 employees in 1931, of whom only 53,619 worked full time, 150,055 part time. The average earnings for the year was \$1,310, a 29% cut from the 1929 figure. In 1932 the number of employed had shrunk to 158,032 (66,948 totally unemployed) of which only 18,938 (1 employee out of every 12 who worked in 1929) worked full time. The average wages for the year were \$847, a 55% reduction from 1929.

What Did the Owners Get

Hardly anything needs to be added to these figures to show why the workers must have become convinced of the necessity of organization.

"No issue exists between the steel companies and the great majority of the employees (?)" Yet, while the thousands starved Charles Schwab, chairman of the Bethlehem drew as salary \$150,000 in 1929, and \$250,000 in 1931, 1932, and 1933; E. G. Grace, president of the same company, \$1,633,653 in 1929, \$297,796 in 1931 and \$180,000 in 1932 and 1933; and Myron C. Taylor, chairman of U. S. Steel got \$209,361 in 1929, \$241,357 in 1931, and \$197,203 in 1932. "No issue" indeed.

In the coming struggles the workers face a huge concentration of capital. Practically all the steel production in the country is controlled by 32 companies, which own or control, in addition to the steel plants, mines, railroads, steamship lines, cement plants etc. According to the figures submitted by the Iron and Steel Institute (the "union" of steel capitalists) to the steel code authority, the average number of employees in the steel industry proper during the years 1929 and 1930 was 341,622. Of this number 262,508 or 76.8% were employed by the 7 largest companies, the distribution among them being as follows: U. S. Steel, 40%; Bethlehem Steel, 13%; Republic Steel, 6.5%; Jones and Laughlin, 5.1%; Youngstown Sheet and Tube, 4.8%; National Steel, 4.1%; and Wheeling Steel, 3.3%. This concentration is further increased by the fact that some of the companies listed here as independents are subsidiaries of the others. Only one fact is required to complete the picture: J. P. Morgan and several of his partners are directors of U. S. Steel and the financial agent of the corporation is—J. P. Morgan and Co.

On Whom Can the Workers Rely

If the workers have illusions as to any support they might get from the NRA or from Roosevelt, the capitalists know better. Listen to what they say (Iron Age organ of the steel bosses, July 3, 1933): "The president did not write the objectionable features (the right to collective bargaining—W.) of the labor clause of this act. That was done by those legislators who listen attentively and respectfully to the dictates of the labor lobby."

"Congress will not administer this act. The President will. And he is not likely to let any minority interest stand in the way of the desired end. That end is not to close-shop American industry." (My emphasis—W.)

But the courts, the courts, will they not protect the worker under the law? The capitalists never had any illusions about this either: "The employer is as free to make non-membership in a union a condition of employment as the working man is free to join the union. This is part of the constitutional rights of personal liberty and private property, not to be taken away even by legislation." (From decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, Dec. 10, 1917, in the Hitchman Coal and Coke case.) Thus did the Iron Age, emphasizing this decision in two

issues, June 29 and July 6, 1933, foreshadow the decision in the Weirton case. (Emphasis in Iron Age.)

The workers and capitalists are both "free"; they have "equal rights." "Between equal rights, force decides." The workers must therefore depend upon their own strength and upon this alone. Modern conditions of production have welded them into a vast compact army. The power to win is theirs if they maintain unbroken ranks.

—WEAVER.

Capital and Labor Under the NRA

The following figures for the period from March 1933 to March 1934 serve to give an interesting illustration of how the workers fare under the Blue Eagle. During this period, according to government and A. F. of L. statistics which are notoriously conservative, wages increased 9.7 per cent. During the same period according to the same statistics the cost of living increased by 9.3 per cent.

Between October and March, unemployment rose by 750,000 while there are more families on relief now than at any time since the NRA.

The profits of the first 51 industrial companies to report their earnings, in the first quarter of 1934, increased from \$6,322,000 in 1933, to \$18,740,000. This was accomplished by an increase in productivity through speed-up, etc. The Nation gives the following example from a report by the Alexander Hamilton Institute.

"A certain large manufacturing corporation in the Middle West produced in 1932, 563,000 units at a cost of \$752 a unit; in 1933, by increasing production to 869,000 units, costs were reduced to \$567 per unit. The wage cost per unit was reduced from \$254 to \$197, or 22.6 per cent, and the value produced per dollar paid in wages increased from \$3.02 to \$3.22, or 10 per cent. But while wages were not increased, profits increased from \$16,500,000 to \$33,214,000, and an extra dividend was paid to stockholders.

It's truly a New Deal for capital, but the same old deal, from the same old deck for labor.

National Tour Shows League Influence

One of the features of the recently completed national tour was the gratifying success obtained in those localities where hitherto the League had never held a public meeting. To cite a few examples will serve to indicate how vast are the possibilities of rebuilding the movement in the United States on a truly revolutionary basis.

Tonawanda and North Tonawanda are twin cities a few miles north of Buffalo. We have one lone comrade doing the spade work there—a locality which does not have a substantial labor movement. Through the efforts of this pioneer, a meeting was arranged by the local unemployed organization, organized largely by him, which was attended by well over a hundred workers. Most of those present were in the organization as their first connection with any form of the labor movement. Nevertheless they followed through attentively the presentation of the Communist League position on the problem of unemployment, and though jobless, indicated their sympathy with a good financial response. One of the significant results of the meeting was the invitation extended to the speaker, comrade Shachtman, to address the forthcoming district conference of the Paper, Pulp and Sulphite Workers Union, which has a good measure of strength on both sides of the Niagara Falls.

An even better example is Winnipeg. At no time had a public or private meeting under our auspices ever been held in this historic labor community. If the initial reception accorded our meetings during the tour is any index at all, Winnipeg promises to outstrip many of our established branches in short order. The meetings were arranged by less than half a dozen sympathizers and friends, who did an excellent job, too. One meeting, on the fundamental question of our differences with Stalinism, attended mostly by Jewish workers, brought down 75. Another meeting was arranged where Shachtman spoke on the unemployment program of the League to a semi-official district conference of an organization embracing over 7,000 workers. The main meeting, chaired by the most popular revolutionary educator in the city, comrade Bloshstein, was packed by more than 350 workers, at which the sympathy for our standpoint on Stalinism, social democracy and the Fourth International openly expressed by a large section of the

League Continues Gains in Frisco

The Stalinists in the San Francisco Bay area are worried about the rapid growth and development of the League and are moving everything in their power to destroy its activities and its effectiveness. They have instructed their members not to speak to any individual League member. They have threatened to send every "Trotskyite" to the hospital and to break-up our meetings.

Yes the League is growing. A new branch has now been organized in Richmond and a city committee established representing the three branches in the Bay District. The meetings held by Shachtman on his tour were a great help in these developments. But in a direct sense the new Richmond branch emerges due to the increased activities of the Oakland comrades in the city of Oakland where they took a leading part in setting up the California Workers Association, a militant unemployed workers organization.

Following right upon the heels of these developments the Stalinists issued a shop paper in Richmond attacking a worker in the Standard Oil plant by name and causing him to lose his job. The company did not at all believe the slanders against him of being a counter-revolutionary etc. The League is answering this outrageous stool-pigeon work by pushing forward a workers trial to be conducted by the California Workers Association at the Brotherhood Hall.

L.L.D. Refuses to Defend Prisoners

Our two comrades Booth and Wyle, who were arrested on the San Francisco picket line, have finally been released on bail. It took \$4,000 to get them out. The L.L.D. has flatly refused to defend these two class-war victims and it was only after many hours of efforts and with the assistance of the Civil Liberties Union that the bail amount was raised. But this refusal of the L.L.D. to defend class war prisoners is another proof of the desperation and degeneracy of the Stalinists who are in control of this outfit. This shameful attitude on the part of the L.L.D. should be brought home to every worker who may still be under illusions that this is a workers' defense organization. At the same time, however, it emphasizes the need of the creation of a genuine non-partisan labor defense organization.

Weirton Steel Mills

The road leading directly into Weirton, W. Va., is steep and dangerous. Our rickety Ford seemed to protest, its brakes groaned at each curve as we slowly wound our way to the bottom of the valley. We experienced a feeling of uneasiness. Can it be that workers have built a city in this forsaken place?

Weirton is a city built around a huge mill. On the main street the workers walk about, each a living testimonial to the mill's exploitation. One can almost see them trying to rest their bodies so that tomorrow they will have a fresh supply of energy for the mill. In fact, one wonders how a worker can bear living here. Upon asking one of the workers how he could bear it he explained that this was made possible only by first working in the mill. After tasting life in Mr. Weir's "workshop" one found Weirton quite a nice place to live.

The Union Prepares for Strike

The Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of America—an A. F. of L. union—has a membership in these mills of about 4,000 including Steubenville and Clarksburg. The president, Bill Long, has promised to present demands for union recognition and to join the nation-wide strike in middle of June if this demand is not met.

At their meeting of May 19, the Stalinists with their handful of followers made a statement that they will support the strike one hundred percent. However, whether they will support the strike as real militants when it is called or use it as a base for recruiting members for their own union as they have done elsewhere on numerous occasions remains to be seen. They have made several attempts to build their own union here but they have so discredited themselves with the workers that all their attempts have been crowned with failure. In April they issued leaflets under the auspices of the Metal Workers Union calling the workers to a meeting at the Ahepa Hall. No one came. Instead of concentrating their energies into a real left wing movement in the Amalgamated the Stalinists make frequent sallies into Weirton from Steubenville in an effort to disrupt the organizing of the workers. Such tactics are reactionary.

At present the tin plate, steel and coke plants are operating on an eight-hour day, five-day week basis while the sheet mill schedule varies from three to five days. Unskilled workers get \$3.53 per day while the rate of pay for piece work is so varied and complicated that one must be a mathematician in order to determine what a worker has earned at the end of a day's work.

How Weir Wins His Elections

Before the company elections took place Mr. Weir set out to prove that the workers were in favor of a company union. Here is how he did it. Maryland Heights, which is Weir's country home, was suddenly thrown open to all the workers. They were invited to come there as his guests and to eat as many sandwiches and drink as much beer and whiskey as their hearts desired. The banquet lasted for two solid weeks. The workers liked going there and why not. It was such a pleasant place, such a contrast to their own existence in Weirton proper. And besides, there was a band playing too.

And now, as the day of the election was close at hand, perhaps Mr. Weir will relax in an easy chair and await the returns with confidence. But no, not Mr. Weir. Sandwiches and beer was only part of his program. What guarantee was there that these delicacies were properly digested. So to make sure that the workers would not "bite the hand that fed them", our "generous host" stationed guardians of the law near the ballot boxes and in their hands he placed generous sized clubs with orders to lend a helping hand to any worker who might go astray.

A Serious Struggle is Impending

During the last strike the methods the company used to whip the workers into submission was nothing short of scandalous. In order to discredit the union the yellow papers shouted that the Amalgamated supported gambling and racketeering and that it must therefore be smashed. In order to fill the city with special police the company raised the cry that the citizens demanded additional protection against the union and these police were used in turn to terrorize the workers. In order to divide the workers further the company raised the slogan of "extra bonus for all workers with more than twenty years service". They left nothing undone.

But the workers go on fighting. They learn through struggle. In the entire steel industry including Steubenville, Weirton, Clarksburg, Yorkville, Cannonsburg, Homestead, McKeesport, etc. The pressure of the strike sentiment on the union leaders is tremendous. How the officials react to this remains to be seen. One thing is certain. A militant struggle is due in Weirton.

—IRVING OKLIN.

Brownsville Forum

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

MARCH OF EVENTS

Biro-Bidjan

The Soviet Union has granted to Biro-Bidjan the status of an autonomous Soviet Republic for the Jews. This step is consistently in line with the democratic policy established at the very foundation of the Soviets of granting complete self-determination to the oppressed nationalities, and even to small national minorities. Here is a bit of historic justice—that the country once anathematized by the workers of all lands for its violently reactionary instigations and pogroms against the Jews, should now be the first to grant a vast territory to them for their free cultural development. Coming too at a time of extreme fascist reaction when the capitalist dictatorships of Germany, Austria, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Latvia have taken over Czarist tactics of diverting the pent-up wrath of the masses against the terrible conditions under which they are forced to live, of transforming this as yet unguided anger into a weapon of reaction by making scapegoats of the Jews,—the action of the Soviet Government stands out in bold contrast and will undoubtedly draw the Jewish masses everywhere into closer sympathy with Soviet Russia.

Contrast with Palestine

Inevitably the question will pose itself to the many Jews attracted now more than ever to the idea of a homeland—which one, Palestine or Biro-Bidjan? To the Marxist this question can have but one answer. There can be no question of the idealism of the Jewish masses in supporting Palestine and immigrating there. But Palestine carries a double taint, that of capitalist dividing of the working class and that of imperialist intrigue. It is by no accident (at least so far as the bourgeois leaders are concerned) that the Zionists everywhere set themselves apart from the workers' movement. The sort of national culture desired by Jewish capitalists is reactionary and aims to split off one and the least important section of the workers from the international movement. True there exists a section of the Zionist movement that carries on a struggle against capitalist influence inside and outside of Palestine. With their struggle against capitalism we are completely in sympathy. But Jewish Palestine remains nevertheless a bit of transported capitalism under the paw of British imperialism. The conflict in which Jewish immigrants immediately find themselves with the Arabs tends to obscure for both the Jewish and the Arab masses the essential need for proletarian unity against the common capitalist oppressors. It permits the semi-feudal Arabian ruling class to gain the support of the Arab masses in a fictitious struggle against British imperialism in the role of expropriating the Arab in favor of the Jew. It permits the Jewish bourgeoisie to foist a fake national unity on their masses by the false plea of common defense.

The Question of Freedom

Biro-Bidjan, on the other hand stands as a symbol for all nationalities and for the Jews in particular. No oppressed nationality or national minority—and this can be said categorically—can gain its freedom under capitalist rule. Today only by enlisting in the international class struggle on the side of the proletariat for the complete overthrow of capitalism, for the abolition of private property and capitalist exploitation, can the oppressed national masses gain their freedom. In every nation there exists, as Lenin pointed out, not one national culture, but two. The dominant culture, that of the present ruling class, is one of robbery at home and abroad, of exploitation and oppression of all kinds, including that of national minorities. The other existing in embryo only in the capitalist countries, is that of proletarian democracy, of international socialism fighting for unity of the oppressed against all separatist barriers of race, color, religion, including the national barriers. The proletariat of each and every land in liberating itself also leads to the liberation of every other section of the oppressed masses.

Defense of the Soviet Union

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

—J. WEBER.

# Socialist Party Adopts "Militant" Position at Detroit Convention

(Continued from page 1)

cratic methods? Do we want to resort to violence?"

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

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

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

"The Socialist Party is opposed to militarism, imperialism and war. It purposes to eradicate the perpetual economic warfare of capitalism the fruit of which is international conflict. War cannot be tolerated by Socialists, or preparedness for war. They will unitedly seek to develop trust-worthy instruments for the peaceable settlement of international disputes and conflicts. They will seek to eliminate military training from schools, colleges and camps. They will oppose military reviews, displays and expenditures, whether for direct war preparedness or for militaristic propaganda, both in wartime and peacetime. They will loyally support, in the tragic event of war, any of their comrades who for anti-war activities or refusal to perform war service, come into conflict with public opinion or the law. Moreover, recognizing the suicidal nature of modern combat and the incalculable strain of war's consequences which rest most heavily upon the working class, they will refuse collectively to sanction or support any international war; they will, on the contrary, by agitation and opposition, do their best not to be broken by the war, but to break up the war. They will meet war and the detailed plans for war already mapped out by the war-making arms of the government, by massed war resistance, organized so far as practicable in a general strike of labor unions and professional groups in a united effort to make the waging of war a practicable impossibility and to convert the capitalist war crisis into a victory for socialism.

"In its struggle for a new society, the Socialist Party seeks to attain its objectives by peaceful and orderly means. Recognizing the increasing resort by a crumbling capitalist order to Fascism to preserve its integrity and dominance, the Socialist Party intends not to be deceived by Fascist propaganda nor overwhelmed by Fascist force. It will do all in its power to fight Fascism of every kind all the time and everywhere in the world, until Fascism is dead. It will rely, nevertheless, on the organization of a disciplined labor movement. Its methods may include a recourse to a general strike which will not merely serve as a defense against Fascist counter-revolution but will carry the revolutionary struggle into the camp of the enemy.

"The Socialist Party proclaims anew its faith in economic and political democracy, but it unhesitatingly applies itself to the task of replacing the bogus democracy of capitalist parliamentarism by a genuine workers' democracy. Capitalism is doomed. If it can be superseded by majority vote, the Socialist Party will rejoice. If the crisis comes through the denial of majority rights after the electorate has given us a mandate we shall not hesitate to crush by our labor solidarity the reckless forces of reaction and to consolidate the Socialist State. If the capitalist system should collapse in a general chaos and confusion, which cannot permit of orderly procedure, the Socialist Party, whether or not in such a case it is a majority, will not shrink from the responsibility of organizing and maintaining a government under the workers' rule. True democracy is a worthy means to progress; but true democ-

cracy must be created by the workers of the world."

If we take the three main points dealt with in the declaration—war, the state and revolution, and the fight against Fascism—it is easy to see that a straightforward revolutionary answer, proceeding from theory and experience, has not been given in a single case. To be sure, the declaration marks a sharp departure from the position and practice of the international social democracy from 1914 to the collapse in Germany and Austria. That is why the Old Guard, which has learned nothing and forgotten nothing, fought it so bitterly.

Centrism has rearsen and come to dominance in the international Social Democracy precisely because the old methods of social reformism have brought such ignominious defeat and have been so thoroughly discredited. A change in front has become an imperative necessity in order to hold the organizations together and regain the confidence of the workers. This is the role of Centrism. The revolutionary impulses of the workers are met with general formulations which sound extremely radical but which do not mean anything specifically. The Detroit declaration abounds in these treacherous and deceptive formulations. It is a classic document of Centrism.

The resolution promises a general strike against war—which is a myth, impossible of realization in the face of a war mobilization.

And even this is qualified to read, "insofar as practicable". Which is a way of saying, "We are only talking about a general strike; we don't really mean it." And in truth that is how many of the proponents of the resolution understand this bombast. That war is inevitable under capitalism, that it cannot be prevented or defeated by refusal to serve in the army or by any other form of passive resistance, that the only answer to war, in fact, is revolution—civil war, or the preparation for it—on all these main aspects of the question of war the resolution either remains silent, or speaks falsely, or resorts to ambiguous allusions and hints which may be interpreted one way or another.

The resolution promises to fight Fascism "all the time and everywhere in the world" and even to "carry the revolutionary struggle into the camp of the enemy". Brave words! But all that, including the general strike to which the resolution says the S. P. "may" resort, was proclaimed by the German and Austrian Social Democratic parties with no less bluster. Will the S.P. form a united front with all workers' organizations against Fascism? Will it teach the workers that the Fascist bands must be beaten down with their own methods before they have the chance to get the upper hand? Will it explain to the workers that the answer to Fascist violence is the Workers' Militia and that it must be formed on the basis of the united front before the Fascists get state power, not afterward? No. On this crucial question, as on all others, the resolution of the Detroit convention says nothing clearly, specifically and unambiguously. That is why such a conglomeration of different tendencies could unite to vote for it. The resolution was designed as a catch-all for votes, not as a clear guide to the workers in the fight against Fascism.

On the question of the state and revolution the Detroit convention adopted the formula of the American Workers' Party which had been put into circulation long ago by the late Morris Hillquit. The S. P. henceforth is to apply itself to the task "of replacing the bogus democracy of capitalist parliamentarism by a genuine workers' democracy". Just what this workers' democracy is to look like is not explained. Is it the dictatorship of the proletariat? Some delegates thought so and for that reason accepted it. Other delegates thought the contrary and voted for it with that understanding. Like the resolution as a whole the expression "workers' democracy" is a vote-catcher, not a clear guide for the education and action of the workers.

The resolution omits any mention of the revolutionary struggle to establish the so-called workers' democracy. Instead of that it refers to the possibility that capitalism "can be superseded by a majority vote". If the rights of the majority are then denied the forces of reaction are to be crushed "by our labor solidarity". With the aid of such empty verbiage as this, such treacherous double-meaning formulations which satisfy people of divergent views, the "Militants", who express a progressive tendency in the ranks of the party, the Revolutionary Policy Committee, which had set itself up as the spokesman of the revolutionary left wing, and the Municipal Socialists of Milwaukee, who think it is time to become a bit more radical—they all got together on the basis of the new "De-

claration of Principles" to present a new face to the working class of America. But it is not the face of revolutionary socialism.

By this statement I do not mean to deny that profound changes are taking place in the ranks of the S. P. and that the convention at Detroit reflected this process of change. A real movement to the left is under way. It has not yet formulated its position clearly, nor has it found its authentic leaders. The rapid transformation now taking place in the Socialist ranks is marked by a great deal of confusion and contradiction. The Centrists who dominated the Detroit convention exploited this confusion and rode to power with it.

Will they be able now, by a partial turn of the party to the left, to arrest further developments? The answer to that question rests first of all with the revolutionary militants in the party. There are quite a few of them already. They will increase and multiply to the extent that they understand the role of centrism as a barrier to revolutionary progress and wage an unrelenting war against it.

I hope to return to this question and to other aspects of the Detroit convention in future articles.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

# Mussolini Sets An Example of "Disarmament"

What may be expected from the "Disarmament" conferences is indicated in a speech by Mussolini in his Chamber of Deputies on May 26th. Italy will spend 1,000,000,000 lire on battleships and a similar amount on its air fleet. This, he remarked sardonically, was done because "disarmament had at last come". The construction of the battleships and aeroplanes will be carried out in spite of a deficit of 4,000,000,000 lire in the budget. Will the budget be "balanced" by taxing the bankers and industrialists? Oh no! As usual the workers have to carry the burden of paying for the war preparations. "We are probably moving toward a period of humanity reposing on a lower standard of life. We must not be alarmed by this prospect (!). Present-day humanity is very strong and is capable of asceticism (!!) such as we perhaps have no conception of". This is his consoling advice to the Italian workers. It was also necessary, he stressed, to lower the cost of production so Italy could face the competition of other nations in the International market. This process he warned would call for a general lowering of salaries and wages.

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# A Criticism of the Draft Program of The American Workers Party

In the May Day issue of Labor Action we are informed by comrade Sidney Hook that: "One of the most significant features of the Draft Program of the A.W.P. is that it breaks with the fetishism of terms in the revolutionary tradition." We take this to mean that new terms are being used for certain ideas already accepted as correct. And since it is a program that is under discussion the question of whether these correct ideas are actually maintained becomes the essential one.

In his answer to this question comrade Hook says: "For the first time in the history of the American revolutionary parties an attempt has been made to present in intelligible fashion the essential meaning content of such terms as 'dictatorship of the proletariat', 'soviets', etc." Further, on in the same article we are admonished that it is, "high time to abandon the linguistic fixations which obstruct clear thinking."

After that follows the explanation of the term used in the A.W.P. program in presenting what it assumes to be the meaning and the content of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And here we arrive at the crux of the problem. What is presented as a break with the fetishism

of terms is a substitution which changes, or certainly at least, completely obscures the correct idea. Instead of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a characterization of the workers' state during the period of transition from capitalism to communism the term "workers' democracy" is used.

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

In its defense comrade Hook says: "Today for historical reasons it is necessary to stress more than ever before the facts that the workers' state is a workers' democracy." And further on he adds: "The workers' democracy must be counterposed to the capitalist dictatorship in its representative liberal form as well as its fascist form." Of course, under a fascist regime, and against fascism, democratic demands and demands for workers' democracy assume unusual importance. But that is primarily in the sense of agitation and tactical approach to the masses. That, on the other hand, the dictatorship of the proletariat as a transition period signifies a broader democracy than hitherto known is absolutely correct. It signifies a workers' democracy in contradistinction to bourgeois democracy. This is an essential part of that form of state. But that alone does not characterize the content of the workers' state. It is only one of its aspects. The workers' state, to maintain itself in power, must suppress the exploiters who held power before and take away their private property in the means of production as well as eliminate them from the government. It represents a new class rule which makes workers' democracy possible. It is because of these facts that in describing our conception of the workers' state we use the term "the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Is it not correct to say that the spirit of Marx's teachings consist of the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat? It is also assumed that the A.W.P. aims to become a Marxian party. But how does it come, that it is precisely on this vital point that its presentation in "intelligible fashion" so closely approximates Norman Thomas when he argued against the left wing in the Socialist Party. He put it this way: "Even in a transitional period the ideal to hold up and to work for is workers' democracy rather than a dictatorship of the proletariat, which means the dictatorship of one party."

The comrades of the A.W.P. want to distinguish themselves from the social-reformists and from their conceptions. Comrade Hook will argue that this conception has nothing in common with what he meant. He has also told us before what he thinks Marx meant. He is well acquainted with Marx although

his views are very far from being Marxist views. Comrade Hook and the other A.W.P. comrades will point to the section in their draft program which says: "The revolutionary government must be prepared to meet the violence of the overthrown but still dangerous capitalist dictatorship. Against the forces of reaction, seeking to recall the old order, the workers must fight with every weapon to establish their own democracy. Against capitalist legality . . . must be set revolutionary legality . . ." etc. And how is this to be achieved? According to the Draft Program of the A.W.P. "a time will come when the major sections of the population will support the principles of a workers' democracy. As a measure of defense against the suicidal course of capitalist dictatorship, the workers will take power."

This sounds simple enough. But what is lacking here in strategy flows from the conception the authors have of the workers' state. However, the question of strategy we leave aside for the moment. What is said here about the workers' state, we grant, reads better than comrade Hook's interpretation; nevertheless its shortcomings are demonstrated more clearly by these interpretations. It is just such interpretations and such ambiguities which make possible for those in the A.W.P., who say openly that they are opposed to all dictatorships, to stand with those who claim to be revolutionists on the same program. Thus what is presented as abandoning "linguistic fixations which obstruct clear thinking" is in reality a lack of clear thinking, or to be more precise—a lack of revolutionary thinking. The intention of the authors may have been the best but "the road to hell is paved with good intentions."

In the program of the revolutionary party ideas and terms must be defined with absolute exactness. We would say that this must particularly apply today to the question of the proletarian dictatorship; and there are good reasons for that. A look at the world movement will convince us that this has become the burning issue with socialist workers adopting a leftward course. On the adoption of the proletarian dictatorship, they begin to express their break with the whole concept and heritage of social reformism. In all of the recent European experiences this is one of the issues which stand out the most clearly. The leftward moving socialist workers begin to give an evaluation of the proletarian dictatorship and counterpose it in name and essence to the social reformist concept of defense of bourgeois democracy which helped to strangle the proletarian revolution. They witnessed the perfidious part played by social reformism in these European events and they also notice the Stalinist bureaucratic apparatus measures which distort the character of the workers' state. In view of this, a party proclaiming itself to be revolutionary, can least of all permit the real meaning of the proletarian dictatorship to become obscured.

Marxism constitutes a generalization of all workingclass experience. This means that for Marxists it is necessary to absorb every new experience gained. If we fail to learn from the most recent ones, from those most fresh in our mind, we shall not be able to learn at all. The A.W.P. cannot proceed as if there were no such experience before it appeared on the scene. Most certainly it cannot assume to be a revolutionary party when proceeding in that way.

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

The most important historical instrument in the epoch of wars and revolutions is the party of the proletariat. But it can attain its objective only on the basis of its own clarity of principle.

—ARNE SWABECK.

# Will the Soviet Union Join the League of Nations?

The policy of socialism in one country is reaping a new and mighty success. The Soviet Union is about to be accepted into the League of Nations. At the same time that Sarraut and Doumergue are deporting Trotsky from France, the French foreign minister Barthou is negotiating with Litvinoff on the condition for the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations.

The existence of the League of Nations was in reality seriously endangered. Japan and Germany had once more convincingly proved its impotence, even Paraguay and Bolivia flouted it. The differences between France and England threatened to tear it asunder. The League of Nations explodes—a harsh melody in the prelude to the witches' Sabbath of the coming World War. For the immediate present, however, the open collapse would have meant the destruction of all the efforts of French diplomacy of the post-war period, would have destroyed the very last vestige of France's hegemony on the continent. As a result it is for French foreign diplomacy a matter of tremendous importance to save the League of Nations and pour new life into it. The preservation of the League of Nations means for France the preservation of the system of Versailles, the stabilization of the French brigands peace. This French policy now finds a new support in the Soviet Union. The acceptance of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations lends this bankrupt institution a new shimmer. At best only the Swiss Cheeses and the Dutch Cleaners fear the Soviet Union as a revolutionary force whereas the French bourgeoisie has already long ago realized the truth of the statement which a Russian "revolutionary" diplomat sarcastically expressed to Paul Boncour, "You ought to be happy that a Communist Party exists in France, otherwise the revolution would long ago have been made."

## Petty Bourgeois Pacifists Will Greet This Move

Not for nothing does the fight against real proletarian revolutionaries, against Trotsky and the Fourth International, find Stalin and Doumergue allied with each other. The social traitors and petty bourgeois pacifists of all countries, however, become positively ecstatic as a result of the move of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union prevents the bankruptcy of the petty bourgeois policy of pacifism from becoming too apparent. Henderson's pleasure trips in the name of disarmament will now be backed by Litvinoff's authority. Moreover, the leftward trend in the English proletariat pushes the Labor Party politicians directly toward the formation of a new Anglo-Russian Committee. All the easier for them if the League of Nations now assumes this role.

And how can the official Communist parties of all countries condemn the reformists and their petty bourgeois pacifist qualities which objectively furthers imperialism and militarism? If the imperialist powers, France and England have become "guarantors of world peace" in the eyes of the Soviet Union, and the maintenance of peace at any price—even at the price of abandoning revolutionary policy—is held up as the supreme aim of Soviet foreign policy, how can the French Communists still attack French imperialism and militarism? French militarism, plundering and bloodily suppressing Tunis and Morocco,

English imperialism, enslaving defenseless Indians and fellahs have become in the terminology of Soviet diplomacy, guarantors of peace!

## What Will the Comintern Do?

With this we have arrived at the most important problem which is connected with the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations,—namely, what are the consequences of this step for the Comintern? Characteristic, by the way, of the incredible decay of the Comintern and the scorn with which Stalin treats it, is the fact that the Daily of the Danish Stalinists, the Copenhagen Arbejderblad reports the interview of Barthou with Litvinoff a day later than the bourgeois press, adding to the caption "THE SOVIET IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS" a question mark. This question mark reveals far more deeply the pitiful political role which Stalin's Comintern hirelings play than ten theoretical articles of ours could do. The Soviet Union enters the League of Nations! Should that not be discussed beforehand in the Comintern and all its sections even down to the lowest unit? Should not a world congress or at least an enlarged E.C.C.I. plenum pass a resolution upon this? Or is it no concern of the revolutionary workers of the world, what sort of a foreign policy their fatherland is pursuing? In place of this, news of this import appears in the Communist press with the introduction "according to the bourgeois press"! And the revolutionary editors are not even conscious of their miserable role.

And what sort of a policy will the Comintern pursue from now on as regards the League of Nations? Did not the Dutchman Wijnkoop—another miserable capitulator of the Comintern—under the pressure of the revolutionary criticism of the League of Nations by our comrade Sneevliet in the Dutch Parliament only a few months ago deliver a thundering attack against this instrument of the French, English and Dutch imperialists "dropping with blood and dirt"? What will the poor Wijnkoops of all countries do now? They will have to learn by heart the foreign policy speeches of their colleagues of the "social-fascist" faction. Must not the result of the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations force the French Communists into a truce with their own bourgeoisie?

## What the German Stalinists Say

And just at the same moment—in the Rundschau of May 9th—appears the "revised program of social and national liberation" of the Central Committee of the C. P. G. Once more seven whole paragraphs are dedicated to the "peace of infamy of Versailles" which Hitler cannot get rid of. These formulations close with the words:

"The proletarian revolution, the revolutionary working class, under our leadership; that is, the one and only force which can smash the brigands treaty of Versailles, do away with all the burdens of tribute (we wonder if some day the news will get to Heckert's ear, that Germany has for a long time not paid one pfennig.—W. II.) and open the gates of the empire for the voluntary union of all toiling Germans (only for the Germans? Perhaps according to the principle, 'A German is he who is an Aryan'?—W. II.)"

To set up the liberation from the Versailles Treaty as one of the chief aims of the proletarian revolution in Germany in the present situation means that one must sup-

port a possible war of Hitler's which has this as its goal. It means objectively lending the services of a helper's helper to the Fascist neo-imperialists.

Thus appear the results of ten years' theory and practice of "socialism in one country". A complete destruction of proletarian internationalism, the ideological preparation of a transition of the Communists to the camp of its own bourgeoisie.

## Need for Fourth International

For the honest proletarian revolutionaries, in the ranks of the Third International, however, the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations will be an eye-opener to the necessity of the new revolutionary Fourth International which wages an unyielding international battle against the imperialists of all countries. The workers will recognize more and more that only a battle of this kind can really save the Soviet Union from destruction. The Doumergues, Baldwin and Mussolinis will in a serious test prove themselves far more unreliable "supporters" of the Soviet Union than the Chiang-kai-sheks, Wang-tin-weis, Purcells and Citrines in the years 1925 to 1927. It will be one of the duties of the new international to take away the commanding posts of the first proletarian state from the opportunistic servants of international imperialism in order to fill them with determined proletarian world revolutionists.

# Militant Builders

## "Minneapolis Shows the Way"

Minneapolis showed how revolutionary Communists, who have the general interests of the workers at heart, instead of their own sectarian party interests, can lead a strike to a successful finish and come out of it with a union of 7,000 members. All this was not accomplished over-night by some magical formula of a quick road to "mass work" as some of our impatient critics have been demanding of us. It was accomplished by working slowly and fundamentally, preparing every step in advance.

According to indications, the C.L.A. branch in Minneapolis will double its membership soon. This too is not merely the result of the splendid work our comrades did during the strike. It is due in a large measure to the fact that the Minneapolis comrades have been busy circulating the Militant among the workers for a long period. In this field too, "Minneapolis Shows the Way."

In the first Club Plan sub drive, The Minneapolis branch sent in 128 new subscriptions. In the second drive they have already purchased 40 cards. In addition to these 40 cards which they have not yet disposed of they have 150 subscribers and they receive a bundle of 100 copies weekly, paying for them in full at the end of each month. During the strike, they received an additional bundle of 500 copies weekly for which they have already paid.

Now, after their hard and stubborn Jimmy Higgins work in connection with getting the workers of Minneapolis to read the Militant, our comrades there are beginning to reap the results of their devoted labors. Undoubtedly, many of the most militant fighters during the strike were from the ranks of those

who had been reading our paper previously. What Minneapolis did, other cities can do too when the circumstances present themselves.

Every time you get a new reader of the Militant, you get a prospective fighter in the class struggle and a possible member of the Communist League of America.

TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE SPECIAL CLUB PLAN DRIVE! BUY YOUR CLUB PLAN SUB CARDS NOW!

THE DRIVE ENDS AUGUST 1ST. NO CARDS WILL BE SOLD AFTER THAT DATE.

## THE COMPLETE RECORD OF SECOND DRIVE

Boston Branch	8
1. Borsook	4
Berkeley (Kogan)	4
Ben L. & I. Porter	4
Cleveland Branch	22
Chicago Branch	20
Chicago Friends of	
The Militant Club	8
Constance N.	4
Davenport Branch	4
Los Angeles Branch	16
Los Angeles (Doughty)	8
Leeser	4
Minneapolis Branch	40
New Haven Branch	4
New Castle Branch	4
Newark Branch	4
New York Local	32
(City Office	28)
(Harlem Br.	4)
Oakland Branch	4
Philadelphia Branch	4
Springfield Branch	4
San Francisco Branch	8
San Francisco (Osborn)	4
St. Louis Branch	4
Toronto Branch	4
Toronto Youth Club	4
Waukegan Branch	4

TOTAL 234

Editorial Note

The Minneapolis Strike

After the Minneapolis General Drivers Union conducted such a splendid fight that the whole labor movement of the city is resounding with praise of its magnificent leadership these men now learn from the Daily Worker that the strike was defeated and betrayed. Fortunately these Minneapolis fighters have shown that they are capable of using their heads as well as their fists and they will know exactly how to estimate such concoctions. As far as these workers are concerned there need be no doubt that they will regard such drive as beneath contempt. Thinking workers elsewhere know only too well what little reliance can be placed in the Stalinist evaluations in regard to facts as well as in regard to theoretical conclusions. That is verified by the thousands of them who had joined the official party and who through their bitter experiences of capitalist exploitation learned to hold the ideals of Communism in high esteem and precisely because of that found it impossible to remain in the party. It is verified by the thousands of other workers who for a time became victims of the fatal Stalinist T.U.U.L. policy and left these hopeless caricatures of militant unions in disgust.

In Minneapolis we had a strike and a leadership which, when viewed as a whole, its militancy, its thoroughness of organization, its loyalty to the class and effective policy is unequalled in recent labor history. For the first time in this present period the entirely correct method of mobilizing every member and every worker involved in a solid phalanx resulted in preventing a single wheel from moving and in routing not only the scabs but also the police and special deputies sent to the scene for their protection. And this strike followed closely upon the heels of the automobile sell-out settlement which served as an enormous stimulus everywhere to the bosses' resistance to union organization. In every one of the formerly unorganized industries the newly-formed unions are still battling for their existence with only a precarious foothold as yet. We are not speaking in this connection of the Stalinist paper unions, of which about the best that can be said is that they justly merit the laughing scorn that has been heaped upon their claim to be called unions, that is, if it had not been so tragic, recognizing the dastardly disruptive role this whole policy plays. The automobile sell-out settlement pushed the surging movement of these new unions in a backward direction. But the Minneapolis struggle came as a turning point, cutting a deep wedge into the capitalist offensive and into the attempt to crush the strike movements by force. This is its capital number one.

At this moment the essential issue is working class organization—trade union organization—as preparation for the much greater class battles to come. The real test of the revolutionists lies today in their ability to establish such organizations and to weld them firmly into a movement against the class enemy. In Minneapolis the revolutionists set to work in earnest and organized a union with such a rapid sweep that it counts today some 7,000 members and is gaining new recruits daily. And rarely has such a determined and fully united bunch of men been welded together into one local union. A tribute to its leadership speaking far more forcefully than the hollow, rapid rantings that all the Stalinist bureaucrats put together could produce in the Daily Worker. This tribute extends to the strike which gained the central objective—union recognition. It is one of the first of the new unions to gain actual recognition. This is its capital number two.

The Minneapolis strike was not a revolution. It fell short of being a revolution. To this we plead guilty. We are interested only in the world of realities. We have nothing in common with the Stalinists and their adventurist estimates which saw a "revolutionary upsurge of the working masses of the United States" in 1930 but slunk back into their true opportunist position in the ignominious capitulation in face of the deadly fascist enemy in Germany. But it is the strikes such as the one in Minneapolis that begins to prepare the basis for the

upsurge which is still to come. It is the organizations of the kind that is built in Minneapolis which holds promise of far greater working class victories. In that strike, and due to its able leadership, the workers involved received a valuable lesson and gained a real understanding not only of what the role of the capitalist state is—and more specifically the capitalist state with a farmer-labor governor at the head—but they also received a lesson and an understanding in the first fundamentals of how to begin to cope with that state. That is their capital number three.

We do not at all intend to take up in this issue the questions arising out of the charges and slanders and concoctions raised by the Stalinist scribes. The comrades who were on the scene in Minneapolis will take them up point for point in the coming issues of the Militant. Nothing will be left unanswered. It is the question of trade union strategy and tactics which is in dispute. Every point raised will be met with the weapons from the arsenal of Marxism. And we promise that a thorough job will be done.

New Attacks on The Unemployed

The relief situation which is now becoming clarified as a result of the City's current policy makes it more evident than ever that the New York City administration is very little concerned with the problems of the unemployed and the starving, except insofar as they studiously avoid taking any action even remotely meeting their demands and problems.

The callous treatment which those on home or work relief have received until now promises to be put in the shade by new cuts and methods of inquisition. Those on work relief have had their wages cut from ten to thirty percent, more days being allotted to them, which in their entirety may not exceed 54 hours a month, with only one in the family to be given work.

Those on home relief have been hearing the long and incessant booming of the highly touted cash relief system to be inaugurated, and were hopefully waiting with their hats in hand for the deluge of manna from heaven. But like the frogs in the fable who asked God for a king, God obligingly sending them down a monster who ate them up—so with the "cash" relief. To begin with, only about one third of the relief is to be cash, the rest to be gradually added in the distant future. An elaborate spy system is to be set up to see that families don't squander their money prematurely, or disobey the edict that so much and so much shall go for spaghetti, bread, etc., etc.—or God forbid, should anyone attempt to make a down payment on a Rolls-Royce—no sooner done than that individual will be back on commodity relief.

The funds for the unemployed will be exhausted in about two months, and as yet the city administration resists every effort to have open hearings on what is to be the lot of the unemployed in the future. At a conference held May 15th, in which the Workers' Unemployed Union, League of Office and Professional Employees, and the Association of Unemployed Single Women participated, these problems were discussed and a program of action adopted. The continuation committee was empowered to work for an Eastern Conference of Unemployed and Relief workers organizations in the near future which in turn is to lay the basis for a national conference. A proposal to include unemployment councils on a unanimous vote basis, it having a vote only as an organization, was carried, and was referred to the Continuations Committee for action.

The Conference also unanimously decided to demand the same conditions for homeless men as for others.

The budget as adopted was \$12.00 for a single person, \$15.00 for a couple, and \$3.00 extra for every dependent.

The dependence of the leadership on the good will of this or that liberal or group of social workers has not lessened, and more than ever a militant policy and leadership are necessary for success.

The unanimous opinion of the conference was that the present period is the calm before the storm in the relief situation. A new onslaught is in sight against the workers' living standards, miserable enough as it is. Who knows but that the present forward march of the bosses and their agents will not result in a retreat for them? Only the workers can and will give that answer! The place of every militant worker is in these organizations to help build them and to make them a militant weapon in the hands of the workers.

—RELIEF WORKER.

New Youngstown Drivers Union Bellussi's Reply to The I.L.D.

The Youngstown, Ohio, general drivers have learned a valuable lesson from the Minneapolis general drivers organization campaign and militant strike. They began some time ago building their union and our Youngstown comrades had an opportunity to show what can be done by organizing the unorganized. One of our militant workers had joined the Teamsters Local Union at the time when it was still weak and doing very little to increase its ranks. He got busy and organized the bakery drivers from three different shops. Next he went to the Bakers Local Union, whose agreement expired May 1st, and proposed to them to take joint action with the drivers. This was accepted. As a result of this united action, both the bakers and the drivers have now obtained an agreement with the bosses. The drivers in addition to gaining union recognition received an increase in wages and better working conditions.

A strike of short duration settled the issue. But the fight became particularly embittered when one of the bakery owners fired a worker for being active in the Union. The drivers compelled the boss to reinstate this worker. Two shops, the Ozersky Bakery and Swartz, signed up with the union after this strike, while the joint action arrangements with the bakers continued in preparation for an assault upon a third large shop.

Last week all preparations were completed. With the assistance of this militant worker a strike was organized in the Frank and Sons Produce Company. This company maintains twelve trucks and the drivers put the issue directly for recognition of the union and an increase in wages. The strike was called at 2 A.M. The company tried to man their trucks with scabs but that was immediately prevented by the militant action of the drivers. That same night at 8 P.M. the company signed an agreement with the union with favorable gains for the workers.

While this may only be a small beginning it had the effect of reviving the union. It put pep into its membership and gave some added prestige to the militant workers. The joint action taken with the bakers' local strengthened the contacts between the militants mentioned before and the membership of the latter. On the whole the result of these effective actions and the correct attitude to the workers' problems served as a stimulus to a revival of the teamsters union. Many drivers from different trades are now joining up and the union has experienced growth during the last few weeks.

—P.

A New Type of Strike Leaders

Minneapolis, Minn., May 28.—The day after the Minneapolis truck drivers' strike ended, a group of railroad workers were discussing the different phases and aspects of the struggle. In the course of the conversation one of the workers remarked: "Where did the truck drivers get those leaders?" And he added: "They must have been imported." When one of the workers in the group informed him that the leaders were all local men he was still in doubt and raised another question: "But where did those leaders get the experience to organize and lead such a strike?"

The questions raised by this worker: Who are those leaders? Where did they come from? Where did they get their experience? are, no doubt, questions which workers by the thousands, here and elsewhere, will also raise.

The correct answer to the questions posed are to the effect, that the leaders were not imported. They are men who make a serious study of all labor struggles in this country and elsewhere in an effort to draw the proper conclusions from them. The leading and directing minds of the truckmen's strike in Minneapolis were those of workers who take labor struggles seriously and study them and not merely read about them to forget them the next day. They are leaders who not only study other strike struggles but also their causes in the light of scientific Marxism.

Workers by the thousands will draw valuable inspirations and lessons from this strike and the way it was organized and directed throughout those ten memorable days. They will learn from the various important details of the strike, such as the organizing of the commissary department, the medical department, the effective mass picketing and the wonderful patrol system of cruising picket cars which burned up over four hundred dollars worth of gasoline daily in keeping the city streets clean of scab truck drivers.

Good leadership always produces good followers. The Minneapolis truck drivers' union can be congratulated upon having both.

—RAILROADER.

The Daily Worker of May 30 prints a letter by Lawrence Emery, Assistant National Secretary of the I.L.D., discussing the relation of the I.L.D. to me and my fight against deportation to Fascist Italy. He states that: "The I.L.D. was the only organization working in defense of Bellussi" and cites alleged facts to support this boast. It is strange that Comrade Emery has not been able to find out that the man for whom his organization did so much is not D. Bellussi, but Antonio Bellussi and that he was arrested not "sometime in July", but on June 17, 1933, on which day I was jailed and held until March 29, 1934.

What did the I.L.D. really do for me?

On July 17, 1933, Attorney E. White came to see me in Wilkes Barre county jail and said he was conducting an investigation on orders from the I.L.D. I heard nothing more from him or the I.L.D. until August 10 when I was called for a hearing. At that hearing White stated that the I.L.D. would be able to raise the cost of a \$1,000 bail bond (about \$20) and I was sent back to jail. During all the subsequent months the I.L.D. never raised bail for me.

About this time members of the Philadelphia Branch of the Communist League of America (Trotskyites) asked the I.L.D. to call a meeting to protest my deportation. They got no cooperation and the C.L.A. therefore called a meeting itself. Communist Party members beat up Comrades Goodman and Roberts when they were distributing leaflets advertising the meeting on my behalf.

From August 10 until November 28 I had no word from the I.L.D. or its lawyers. Their next letter asked me to keep the Communist League from "interfering" in the case. Comrade Emery now has the impudence to pretend that the League "deliberately" harmed the I.L.D.'s efforts to get a habeas corpus. This is absolutely untrue. The request for the right of voluntary departure made by the Communist League and the American Civil Liberties Union on my authorization, in no way affected the appeal for a habeas corpus. I defy Emery to demonstrate the contrary.

The facts about the habeas corpus are these: On December 15 the hearing was called and Attorney Mullen of the I.L.D. showed up without the minutes and papers necessary. He had left them in his office and the hearing had to be postponed—while I sat on in jail. Eventually the I.L.D. was denied a writ. This was to be expected in view of the purely legal approach in the matter—only a mass defense movement could have wrung such a writ from the reactionary judge in charge.

Now the I.L.D. seemed to forget me entirely. On December 3 I wrote Stern, Philadelphia organizer of the I.L.D. as follows:

"You say you are working to help me and that you have worked very hard in my defense. I think you must have ruined quite a number of shirts with the sweat of your labor in my behalf. With all your work and labor it was too much for you to drop me a line to let me know what you were doing. So I think you had better take a long rest."

I sent other letters of complaint to Attorney Mullen of the I.L.D. Nobody ever answered these letters! The next word I had was March 25 when the Immigration Service informed me I was to be deported in 48 hours. The I.L.D. had never bothered to inform me that they lost the appeal for a habeas corpus or what to do about getting voluntary departure! I never heard from them again.

I informed the Communist League which cooperated with the A.C.L.U. and later with the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense. These organizations were instrumental in getting bail, getting me out of the foul county jail, winning the right of voluntary departure, getting several extensions of time necessary because no government has yet given me a visa, and raising money to finance my trip when I finally get a visa.

As long as I relied on the I.L.D. I sat in a foul county jail, month after month. No bail was raised, no letters were sent, I never got a penny for a package of cigarettes, the legal work was handled sloppily at best. Once I lost patience with the I.L.D. and turned elsewhere, things began to move.

Among the evidence which the U. S. government used as an excuse for trying to deport an anti-Fascist worker to Fascist Italy, were copies of the Militant, organ of the Communist League. Apparently the I.L.D. was also influenced in its attitude by my political views.

In any case the facts are clear and I ask you to give space to them.

Fraternally,  
ANTONIO BELLUSSI.

'S T E V E D O B E'  
Tickets for June 18th Theatre Party must be settled for at once.

Outlawing Strikes The Wagner Bill Dispute

The much talked of Wagner "Labor" Bill has been finally remoulded to the satisfaction of the class collaboration section of the exploiters, and is to be rushed through this session of the House and the Senate in order that it may become law and a part of the NRA structure before Congress adjourns. The attempt to speed up the Bill is entirely due to the rising wave of strike struggles that are sweeping the country. It is due to the increasing militancy displayed by the workers in resisting the violence of the bosses' agencies.

The Wagner Bill, when introduced, was heralded as a means to settle the disputed questions over interpretations of Section 7a of the NRA. Under this Bill labor would be placed in its highest status. On the other hand, it was designed to outlaw company unions. The final draft of the Bill, as it will be presented for consideration and vote contains none of these objectives attributed to it. What additional reactionary amendments will be tacked on before it gets through the House and Senate no one can predict now. It is vicious enough as it stands. In reality, the Bill is just the opposite of what it was proclaimed to be.

Under the cloak of checking company unions the Wagner Bill will legalize the company unions. The Labor Board to be established will define the difference between "good" and "bad" company unions. Section 7a stands as it did before with President Roosevelt's interpretation, in relation to the Auto Strike settlement, as the main guiding line for the revised Wagner Bill.

Most Sinister Aspect of the Bill The Wagner Bill presents nothing new to the American way of handling class warfare. It only extends the methods that have been used by the employers for some time. The advanced section of the capitalists find that the NRA apparatus as now constituted does not have a satisfactory machinery to stifle, and to prevent strikes. It is not sufficient to hold in check the rising militancy of the working class. The Wagner Bill is to make up for this defect. It will establish Labor Boards fully in control of the capitalist monopoly owners and their agents that will handle all labor disputes. In whose interests the disputes will be decided should be obvious from the experiences of the Labor Board so far. The Board to be created by this Bill is to be appointed wholly by the President, three representing the so-called public, and one each representing capital and labor. It is to have power to prevent anyone from engaging in what is called "unfair labor practices" . . . that has led, or threatens to lead to a labor dispute that might effect commerce or obstruct the free flow of commerce.

When put into plain language, what is here somewhat concealed will stand out very clearly. It means that the Board will have powers to outlaw strikes. The Board will be a national institution fully backed up by the forces of the State, the courts, the police, the army and the navy.

Why Labor Leaders Support Bill While it is true that a large section of the advanced capitalists are in favor of the Wagner Bill it is equally true that a very large section are opposed to the Bill. The latter represent chiefly the monopoly concerns in which trades unions have the least foothold. Their main opposition was expressed to the Bill in its original form. Now that it has been revised the opposi-

New York United Front In Support of Strikes

Further proof—if further proof is needed—of the possibility of establishing genuine united-front action for concrete working-class struggle was afforded by the enthusiastic mass meeting, held in Germania Hall, New York City, in behalf of the class struggle fighters of Toledo and Minneapolis, and in protest against the use of militia, vomit gas and bullets to terrorize the workers.

The meeting was under the auspices of a genuine united front committee, comprising official representatives of the Communist League of America, the American Workers Party, the Communist Party Opposition (Lovestonites), the I.W.W., the Left Poale Zion, the Socialist Party, and the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, all of which organizations sent speakers. The American Civil Liberties Union was also represented through Roger Baldwin. Frank Palmer of the Federated Press was the chairman. The official Communist Party was invited to join in the meeting, and flatly refused. Resolutions were passed in support of the class-struggle fighters in Minneapolis, Toledo and the West Coast. A collection was taken towards supplying much needed defense funds in these struggles. The meeting closed with the singing of the International.

tion will be less, but there will continue the opposition from the open shoppers who as yet rule undisputed and have no need of arbitration. Their kind of class peace is no different in content from the class peace desired by the others. The difference is in the method. One uses bullets to crush strikes while the other thinks there is a more humane way of killing.

The Wagner Bill aims to satisfy as large a section of the exploiters as possible. It aims also to corral the A. F. of L. leaders. This is not so difficult because both accept the principles of class collaboration. Only the Bill must have a face that will be possible for the labor leaders to hide behind. What differences exist can mainly be explained in the fact that the A. F. of L. leaders are holding out for as much as they can get in the new set-up of Labor Boards against the working class. The labor leaders will do their share and give their services, but they are holding out for a price. Yet before this class collaboration machinery is set up these labor fakers will be on the band wagon. They have their special interests in outlawing strikes.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Toledo Workers Record Gains

(Continued from page 1)

factory had been shut down, unable to operate, the scabs cowed completely. The Edison company was offering the electrical workers a 20% increase in pay, but was holding out on union recognition. Only terrific pressure from the A. F. of L. headquarters in Washington was keeping the electrical workers from going out immediately; twice they were bludgeoned into agreeing to 24-hour postponements, the second time only by a vote of 175-135. The workers of Toledo milled about in front of the meeting places of the various unions, talking nothing but strike, strike, strike.

Mighty Demonstration of Solidarity Twenty thousand workers turned out for the torchlight parade Friday evening, the largest labor demonstration in the history of Toledo. But the A. F. of L. leadership, after appealing to Roosevelt to intervene, said not a word about the general strike.

The torchlight parade was thoroughly disorganized. One band, almost no banners, no marshalls; the workers, without music or slogans, marched in straggling rows finding it difficult to keep step without music or slogans. But the worst awaited them at Courthouse Square. As they reached that point, they were left leaderless, to mill around. For some strange reason, there were no amplifiers set up for the speakers! With a crowd reaching 25,000 at the least, one speaker at each end of the crowd could be heard by only a fraction of those present. Milling around, those who could hear heard no talk of the general strike. The subject had become taboo.

Socialist Party Does Its Part The chief speaker of the evening was Leo Krzycki, just re-elected national chairman of the Socialist Party, and Milwaukee organizer of the A. F. of L. The issue of the hour was general strike: Krzycki gave the workers an educational speech on the NRA and socialism. The next day he told the Socialist convention that the parade was a failure in arrangements; in Toledo he said nothing. Finally workers in the crowd asked him: What about the general strike? Mr. Krzycki declared his neutrality. "I am not an official of the A. F. of L. in Toledo. I cannot advise you. The decision must be made locally." And when, a few minutes later, the A. F. of L. having adjourned the meeting, leaders of the Unemployed League, Seelander and Pollock who had saved the auto strike by mass picketing and breaking the injunction, raised the call for the general strike, they were booed by the Yip-sels present, as "disrupters."

Such were the contributions of the Socialists to the radicalization of the Toledo workingclass. They did their bit to help the A. F. of L. retreat from the general strike of Toledo.

—A STRIKER.

ANTI-WAR ISSUE OF YOUNG SPARTACUS

A special anti-war, anti-Fascist issue of Young Spartacus was distributed at the United Youth Demonstration on May 30th. It contained a popular analysis of bosses' Memorial Day, the capitalist war plans and the advance of Fascism, as well as the statement of the New York City Committee of the Spartacus Youth Clubs on "Why Two Demonstrations?"

Young Spartacus was eagerly read by the youth, particularly the Young Socialists. A few subscriptions for the paper were obtained.

New York Youth Demonstrate

New York City.—Against the common menace of imperialist war and Fascism, the militant youth of the city demonstrated on May 30th, under two competitive banners. The Stalinist National Youth Day parade and mass meeting on the East Side had about 10,000 participants. The partial united front of the United Youth Demonstration Against War and Fascism, including the Young People's Socialist League, the Spartacus Youth Clubs, the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Communist Youth Opposition, the Youth Group of the Communist League of Struggle, had less than 1,000 demonstrators.

Yet what a difference! The "National Youth Day" demonstration was neither a youth affair or a genuine united front. The Communist Party had mobilized its membership, its unemployed councils, left wing trade union groups and fraternal organizations. Why call this a youth demonstration?

Perhaps it was a united front demonstration against war and Fascism? A united front it was—not with the youth organizations of the United Youth Committee Against War and Fascism, the "Socialist-renegeade committee"—but with the reactionary fanatic, "Father" Devine. Not the slogan "Down with Fascism" of the Four Deported German Youth—they are "renegades", that is, non-Stalinists—but the cry of "Father Devine is our God", "God means Peace" was heard throughout the demonstration!

"Free the Scottsboro Boys", shouted the militant youth. "The Scottsboro Boys will be freed if they confess their sins", replied the fanatical followers of "Father" Devine!

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

The Harlem demonstration was only a partial united front. The Stalinists had rejected united action of youth organizations for May 30th. Their proposal was that either the non-Stalinist youth groups join their "National Youth Day" or be damned as disrupters. Their own splitting tactics are being covered up with slander, lies and fakery.

But more than a few Stalinist youth are ashamed of the so-called "National Youth Day" demonstration. They are reconsidering the actions of their leaders in disrupting the genuine united front. They are eager for real common action with all militant youth organizations.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs will not stop at a partial united front. They will continue their efforts in the building of a genuine common action of youth against war and Fascism.

Strike on Pacific Coast Extends

(Continued from page 1)

There were serious clashes in other cities, in Oakland, San Pedro, Portland and Seattle.

In answer to these vicious attacks upon their demonstrations and picket lines in San Francisco the strikers have declared for a fight without quarter against the police. They have sent delegations and telegrams to the acting governor, Merriam, demanding the right to bear arms in protection of their picket lines and against the bloody attacks upon them.

General Strike Sentiment Growing The I.L.A. unions are preparing over the heads of their reactionary international officials to issue a call to all other unions asking them to join in a general strike. The sentiment for such a general strike grows steadily. A united strike committee has been set up and the union militants are calling for the formation of a General Waterfront Workers Federation to include all unions on the water front and in the marine industry. The united strike committee is still very loose and the federation remains as yet only a sentiment. But this sentiment is expressed concretely in resolutions from a number of unions.

The main danger to the strike front comes from the reactionary international officials and such lieutenants as they have. They are working might and main to stop the further development of the strike. One of their methods is to single out the most outstanding militant elements for attacks and for individual removal from their positions in order to weaken their influence and paralyze this growing strike wave.

—F.C.

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