



## What Is Happening in Fascist Germany?

The speech delivered by Vice Chancellor von Papen before the German University Union at Marburg, on June 17, has aroused comment and speculations overshadowing by far all other recent political events. Its importance derives not so much from what was said, but from the situation which it reveals.

Merely speculation in political conjunctures and turns has nothing in common with a basic analysis of the objective historical processes. The speculation which leaves these factors out of account are worthless. Thus, for instance, headlines of the New York tabloid sheets had the German Reichswehr ready to overthrow Hitler and to set up a military dictatorship. But the Stalinists were no more fundamental in their approach to the question. From that source we are informed that we "stand on the threshold of the German proletarian revolution."

### Worthless Speculation

The one speculation is as deceptive and as worthless as the other. While the Stalinists, speculating with such criminal frivolity, proclaim, purely out of their own wishes, the arrival at this moment of the crucial hour in Germany, they are utterly oblivious to the imminent approach of the crucial hour in France. Or, it is because of their false conception that fascism "speeds up" the proletarian revolution that the same policy, applied with such disastrous consequences in Germany when Hitler came into power, is to be repeated in France? So it seems, because it is precisely that same treacherous policy of capitulation which we now witness in face of the growing French fascist movement. If, on the other hand, a correct and revolutionary strategy would be pursued in France that would undoubtedly improve the prospects all over Europe of beating back the fascist hordes. It would help to set the German workers into motion again. But this cannot be expected from the Stalinist organizers of defeat.

In Germany the objective historical processes follow at the present moment a course contrary to the Stalinist prognosis and not at all influenced by it. The von Papen address brings testimony to that fact. He speaks for a special class interest. He speaks for the masters of finance and industry and the large landholdings. In the "famous" address of June 17, prefaced by the remark that "the ultimate truth lies only with God", he proceeded to offer what is now called courageous criticism of the fascist regime. He insists that claims to "revolutionary" or national monopoly must not be held by any one class group and that no one single class must seize governmental power and raise totalitarian claims. There must be no annihilation of popular freedom, for a people cannot be united by terrorism, he said.

## Monthly Review New International Comes off Press

The long-awaited theoretical magazine of the International Communists is off the press. The first issue of the *New International* fulfills the high hopes it has aroused and marks an epochal advance of our struggle for the reorganization of the proletarian vanguard on the grandest foundation of revolutionary Marxism. The only one of the dissident factions to publish a weekly organ and a youth paper now adds a monthly magazine to its arsenal. The first number of the *New International* is rich in material for the student of the revolutionary movement. Trotsky contributes an article on "The Testament of Lenin". Cannon writes analytical reviews of the Minneapolis Strike and the Socialist Party Convention. A prominent German Communist, employing the pseudonym of A. Max writes on "The Legend of the Vienna Commune." Jack Weber discusses "New Trends Under the New Deal." An informative article on "Strikes and the Economic Cycle" is contributed by Alfred Weaver. Arne Swabeck analyzes "The Decay of the Stalinist Party."

In addition there are editorial articles by Max Shachtman on the Fourth International, the Soviets and the League of Nations, and the question of the "Dictatorship of the Party or Proletariat."

The appearance of the first issue of the new magazine at the New York picnic last Sunday aroused great enthusiasm. Auctions of the first five copies brought close to \$25.

But that was intended for popular consumption. The real essence of von Papen's warnings lie elsewhere. "Leadership will have to watch out", he admonishes, "lest a new class struggle revive under different colors."

**Von Papen's Program**  
"I have outlined", says von Papen, "the problems of the German revolution and my attitude to it so sharply because there is no end of talk of a second wave, which is to complete the revolution. . . . Nor is it clear where such a second wave should lead. There is much talk of the coming socialization. Have

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## Factions Struggle For Control of the Socialist Party

The Old Guard's rapidly growing apparatus—provocatively named "The National Committee for the Preservation of the Socialist Party"—completed its organization in the Eastern area, at a conference held in Philadelphia, June 24, and is now pressing westward for Middle Western and Western regional set-ups. The bold campaign of the Old Guard to bludgeon the party majority into submission to the Waldmans and Pankens continues with unabated fury.

Latest developments are the appearance of the first of a series of pamphlets by the "Preservation" committee, entitled "The Crisis in the Socialist Party"; the obtaining by the Old Guard of a resolution from the United Hebrew Trades, threatening to withdraw their support if the Declaration of Principles is permitted to stand—a threat which goes far beyond Dubinsky's crude attempt to dictate S. P. policies by sending the Detroit convention a telegram "that you will shape your policies and program to irrefutable American realities"; and a series of threats and onslaughts by the Old Guard in the *Forward* and the *New Leader*.

**Right Wing Threatens Split**  
The Old Guard continue to formulate their opposition to the Declaration of Principles in terms which make it clear that they will accept nothing but abject capitulation by the party majority. Panken, in the June 23rd *New Leader* says: "It is inconceivable that sane Socialists will vote in favor" of the Declaration, and flatly draws the dividing line by saying, "All true Socialists will oppose it." Another Old Guardist in the same issue, George Field, describes the party majority as borers from within who have "indicated that fairness and good will only will be answered with ruthlessness. That challenge must be met."

The most significant developments so far are: the reassertion by Waldman in the *New Leader* of June 16, in even more explicit terms than his earlier statements to the *New York Times*, that he repudiates the decision of the national convention; the post-convention meeting of the New York State Executive Committee of the S. P. which actually went so far as to pass a resolution condemning those N. Y. delegates who

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## Another Stalinist 'Strike'

Two weeks ago one of the workers of the Sterling Laundry, 258 E. 135th Street, Bronx, was fired for union activity. Loath to pass up such a golden opportunity, the Laundry Workers Industrial Union rushed in and called a "strike". The sixteen members of the union out of a hundred workers answered. Preparation, there was none. After the strike call was issued it was discovered by the strategists that a small detail had been overlooked, namely, that of informing the workers why the strike was called. Some of the drivers are union men—but they remain on the job.

The political level of the workers rises apace. **Daily Worker, Young Worker**, etc. salesmen are all around the laundry. Dr. Luttinger's "Health" magazine is alone conspicuous by its absence. Every-one pickets. I.C.L., C. P. and the "mass" organizations—except the laundry workers. Two days ago five out of the 16 went back to work. But the red, revolutionary, left wing industrial union is determined to continue the struggle in spite of this sabotage.

No drivers, 11 inside workers out of a hundred on strike and yet in a leaflet to the neighborhood populace the "union" appeals "Do not give your bundle to a scab."

—LANUDRY WORKER.

## Organization-Press Campaign Paves Way for Big Advances of Communist League

The Organization-Press Campaign is not in full swing as yet. The returns are still very small, but reports from our branches and groups of sympathizers of our movement indicate that the comrades are busy selling the coupons. One sympathizing school teacher reports: "Before our group leaves on its vacation, we will get together and take up the organization-press campaign. I expect to be able to turn in a fairly good sum as a result of this gathering, as we all get our checks at the end of the week."

An interesting letter, showing what the organization means to some of our sympathizers, came from Bryan, Ohio. It reads: "Dear Comrades: Thank you for your letter of recent date containing the coupon booklet issued for the Organization-Press campaign which I disposed of as you requested, and an inclosing a dollar for the ten coupons. With a little more time I think I could sell two or three more booklets if you would send them. With International Communist greetings,—Jefferson Rail"

Of course, the books are immediately sent. We hope that there are a number of such friends and sympathizers of our movement and that they will feel as keenly as comrade Rail does about the need to give material aid to our organization.

There are many "friends" and "sympathizers" of communism in quotation marks. Our friends and sympathizers have dropped the quotation marks, and stand ready to take their place in making a little sacrifice from time to time. If they cannot join our organization for the time being and give of their time and energy, we look to them for other support.

Just at the moment, the best way they can serve the movement is by supporting the Organization-Press Campaign.

Help put into practice the theories you believe in. Help us to enter the coming struggles of the workers. What our members did in Minneapolis can be done elsewhere. The first requisite is to stabilize The Militant and distribute it widely, and at the same time send organizers into the field. One of our comrades has already been asked

to go to Minneapolis. We must send one to Detroit where we now have a good base among the automobile workers, and another into the Pittsburgh area of the steel mills, where one of our members is an official of a local steel union.

Reports from both of these territories state that the workers are becoming more and more restless. To be a factor in these coming struggles, we must have qualified comrades in the field NOW. We should not wait until after the struggle has started. With a little sacrifice it can be done.

Every reader of The Militant; every sympathizer of our movement; every member of the organization must take upon himself and herself the personal responsibility of making sure that we have the means to carry out the program of sending out field organizers and securing The Militant. If you don't do your share NOW, you will have no right to demand results of us later.

**HOW MUCH WILL YOU SACRIFICE?**  
**SEND FUNDS WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY!**

**Receipts**  
Since last Report.

M. M.—Bronx	\$2.00
L. S.—Waukegan	1.00
Chicago Br. (Herman)	1.00
E. S.—Chicago	2.00
Anonymous—N.Y.C.	1.75
T. N. Fall—N.Y.C.	1.75
H. K.—N.Y.C.	1.00
Fred Brode	1.00
Sweet—N.Y.C.	1.00
Shiff & Michael—N.Y.C.	1.00
Bronx Branch—N.Y.C.	1.10
Manhattan Branch—N.Y.C.	.50
E. A. S.—Madison	.80
College Instructor	1.00

Here is an interesting letter from a young Socialist who finds it impossible to contribute:

"Dear Comrades: Unfortunately I find it necessary to return your booklet. Although I am very much interested in the activities of the Left Opposition and the Spartacus Youth Club, I am at present engaged in very intensive activity in the Young People's Socialist League, and all my energies are expended in activity for that organization.

Comradely yours,  
H. S."

## Minneapolis Union Forcing Action on Wage Demands

### Conference of Unions Prepares for Showdown

Thursday, June 28, is Date for Unity Meeting (Reprinted from "The Organizer," weekly organ of Minneapolis General Drivers' Union No. 574)

Packed to the doors in Eagles Hall, Thursday evening, the membership of 574 voted unanimously to call the employers bluff—to demand immediate wage increases, and to enforce this demand with a city-wide tie-up, preparations for which are to proceed at once. The report of efforts to negotiate with Employers on the question of wages and hours was made by Brother Dobbs who together with the committee have been working day and night to get results. Brother Dobbs' report revealed that the Employers have been deliberately stalling. They have delayed the nomination of their spokesman. They bring forward all the age-old excuses; business is bad, they will have to close their doors, etc., etc., in spite of the fact that they have signed an agreement which pledges them to negotiate wage scales. The Employers following custom has been popular among them in the past, continue to dodge, stall, and chisel.

The Union has long ago, even before the strike, presented its demands, worked out with great care and in full detail. They have been on file with the Regional Labor Board for months. Every Employer is familiar with the provisions of these demands. What is lacking is not knowledge of these demands but a willingness to grant these demands.

In view of the serious situation created by the arrogance of the Employers brought out in the report, the committee made the following proposal.

(1) That Local Union 574 call a strike conference of all Transportation Unions to be held within five days.

(2) The conference to prepare for the necessary action to force wage increases.

The proposals were endorsed unanimously with the understanding that the machinery for action is to be set in motion immediately.

Thursday night, June 28, has been selected as the conference date. The conference will be called to order at 8:00 p.m. in the Central Labor Union Hall, 614 First Avenue North.

Local 574 has just gone through a strike which, for militancy and organization, takes its place with the best labor struggles of the past; it has demonstrated in action the feasibility of building a powerful Union during a strike. Many sacrifices have been made by the membership of 574. That the workers from other organizations also made real contributions, both with finances and picket support, is well known to 574. We salute those brave fighters and call upon them to stand ready for further service in what we consider to be a cause worthy of the best that the Minneapolis Labor Movement can give.

The Strike brought into the Unions hundreds of new workers. All organizations have been strengthened. Local 574 won a fight against the solidly organized Citizens Alliance and their hired thugs. Victory on the Picket Lines meant a staggering blow to the organized Bosses.

These Bosses are now attempting to reorganize their forces in order to swindle the members of 574 out of this victory. What could not be done by brutal assault is now tried by double-crossing and stealth. Every Trade Union member must understand that the movement faces a crisis. Either the Employers will abide by the signed agreement, raise wages, and adjust working conditions, or the Trade Unions as a unit must move onto the battle front prepared for a finish fight.

The issue is clear. A Union city where men and women can feel and enjoy the benefits of Union security, and a decent standard of life—or, Minneapolis ruled by Black reaction in the hands of the profit mad Bosses.

All Unions into the conference! All workers into the Unions!

For shorter hours—for better working conditions and a higher standard of life!

## A.F. of L. Moves Against Pacific Coast Dock Strike

### «Red Scare» Raised in San Francisco Labor Council

#### SEATTLE

**Seattle, Smith's Cove.**—There is enough happening in the dockworkers' strike to fill a miniature encyclopedia for a class struggle manual. Here in the cove an English steamer was unloaded yesterday by scabs—under heavy guard of 200 police and thugs, with fences erected to keep out the strikers. Traps of every nature have been laid by the authorities, varying from the wholesale attempts at wrecking the strike—by the "liberalism" and hurt feelings of the Oregonian and other tear jerking rags like the *Seattle Star*, and then the usual blab from the Hearst corporation.

"The strike is hurting business"; "the government must stop it"; "what else is its function—that is what we expect from it."

Down in Portland the strike is strong; all over the Northwest it is holding down. The Alaska boats were loaded because scabs were working elsewhere under the authorities.

The attempt to set up opposition unions—by some hired members of the I.L.A.—has fallen through. The dockworkers have well taken care of these splitters and agents of the shipping companies.

The police are now following the tactic of concentrating at a certain pier. Under this concentration the scabs go to work. The unloading of the second ship is being attempted right now.

Down in Portland, as well as up here, the dockworkers and sailors are embattled right along the wharves, having rigged up shanties. They maintain constant patrols, watching the freights, questioning everybody coming in. "Keep away from the docks"; "Section 7a of the NRA allows us of the right . . ." But they are firm and will not be fooled by sweet words.

The scabs are kept at sea, living on tugboats or on the vessels in the stream. It should be demanded of the workers of foreign ships that any attempt at unloading of scabs should be answered by a sympathy strike.

Mr. Ryan and Mr. McGrady are up in the air; the aeroplane service from Washington to Frisco and Seattle is first rate. First a talk in Washington and then a hop out here to try and convince the members of the I.L.A. to settle on Mr. Ryan's "terms". But the strike, despite such speed in modern technique of travel, holds down fast. The workers are on the seventh week and all the ports, excepting San Pedro, are literally encroachments of class warfare.

—HARRY ROSS.

#### OAKLAND

**Oakland, Calif., June 18.**—The latest effort to break the Pacific Coast strike has just flopped.

Mayor Rossi announced in all of the west coast papers on June 14 that he would conduct negotiations with the strikers and settle the strike. Next day every paper in the bay region carried huge headlines that strike negotiations were being successfully conducted under the direction of Mayor Rossi. This pompous ass was suddenly the man of the hour.

Early June 16 the papers stated that a strike settlement was only a matter of a few hours. At one o'clock extras were on the streets, "STRIKE OVER", "Mayor Rossi Successfully Ends Strike", etc. etc. And at 2 P. M. the next day extras were again on the streets. Every local from Canada to Mexico had overwhelmingly rejected the strike settlement. In San Francisco, Oakland and Portland the vote was over 97% against the settlement.

**Terms of Rejected Settlement**  
A labor relations committee of three employers and three longshoremen to be selected at each port:

1. To determine wages and working rules.
2. To establish and operate halls for registration, hiring and dispatching of longshoremen.
3. To act as a court of appeal between employer and employee. In the event members of the committee cannot agree they shall select an impartial disinterested chairman whose vote shall determine the issue.

4. That employers recognize the I.L.A. as representatives of all longshoremen for purposes of collective bargaining.

5. Any longshoreman not a member of the I.L.A. shall pay monthly to the hiring hall committee a sum equal to his pro rata share of the hall expense. (Note: Union pays hall expense.)

6. Existing wage and hours disputes shall be submitted to arbitration.

Ryan tried to get this settlement accepted by threatening the entire membership with expulsion from the International, and said he would then recognize Lee Holman's company union. This threat of Ryan aroused such a storm of protest that he later had to eat his words and issue a half-hearted endorsement of the I.L.A. call for a general strike.

Casey, head of the Teamsters Union, has issued a statement that the teamsters are no longer on strike. But the teamsters are still acting on the picket lines and their numbers are larger today than they were last week.

The capitalist press of June 26, in reporting the case of the lock-out of its 653 employees of the Harriman Hosiery Mills of Knoxville, Tenn., published a letter sent by the latter firm to the National Labor Board, consisting of William Green, John L. Lewis, and George Barry, representatives of organized labor; Father Francis Haas, "avowed labor union supporter"; Leo Wolman, "consumer member"; and Pierre du Pont, "representing industry". This letter definitely contradicts the latter institution of open strike-breaking.

Listen to what the Harriman Hosiery Mills has to say (N. Y. Times, June 26, 1934):  
"In our opinion, the National Labor Board is not qualified to judge 'bad faith'. Their general counsel, in a meeting with mill officials, suggested that trickery be utilized to deceive the strikers in settling the strike. This scheme was also suggested by the director of compliance."

"We were advised by those two gentlemen to make the strikers believe we were going to take them back and then take a few, and that this sort of cheap trickery would satisfy those two branches of the 'New Deal'."

"Even your own secretary, in discussing ways and means of settling the strike, advised us to take back fifty strikers, work them for a week or ten days and then let them out . . ."

Need any more be added to demonstrate the true attitude of the industry, and the "labor leaders" who sit in its boards?

**San Francisco, June 23.**—The San Francisco Labor Council's reactionary leadership last night opened up an attack on the waterfront strike, whose spread and militancy they have watched with dismay.

With the anti-strike drive of the Chamber of Commerce going on, and the press screaming that the strike is in the hands of the Reds, the officials of the Labor Council nobly responded, and repudiated "communism" in the strike.

The overwhelming support given to the strike by the rank and file of the labor movement here had forced the bureaucracy of the council to bide its time. But the favorable opportunity came—presented to them by the Stalinists—and they opened up.

### The Ground for the Attack

A gigantic mass meeting of 15,000 trade unionists and other workers had been held early this week in support of the strike. At this meeting the Stalinist elements in the strike leadership, threw the specific issues of the strike to the winds, and launched a general "theoretical" attack on the American Federation of Labor. Also, in opposition to the wishes of many of the members of the joint strike committee, they insisted that a representative of the T.U.U.L. organization, the Marine Workers Industrial Union, be allowed to speak. In their attacks on the A. F. of L. and insisting on a speaker from the Marine Workers Industrial Union, the Stalinists were merely following their time honored policy of advancing their own special organization interests at any cost, even if it should result in the wrecking of the strike. The result was disastrous and played directly into the hands of the reactionaries by raising the issue of a rival union.

**Reactionaries Act**  
Immediately after the mass meeting, the leaders of the Seaman's Union and two other striking unions, presented a resolution to the Executive Committee of the Labor Council demanding a repudiation of the mass meeting, condemning the Marine Workers Industrial Union, and calling upon the Longshoremen's organization to clean itself of "communist elements". This resolution came up before the delegates to the Labor Council last evening for action. A hot debate developed, which brought out openly that the resolution was not aimed primarily at Communism but was actually an attack on the leadership of the strike itself. Those opposed to the resolution pointed out that this was an attack on the strike, would weaken the splendid support given the marine workers by the trade union movement, and play directly into the hands of the ship owners and the Chamber of Commerce.

John O'Connell, Secretary of the Council, Paul Scharenberg, President of the State Federation of Labor, John McLaughlin, Secretary of the Teamsters, and others, whipped up the red scare and told the delegates to choose between the principles of the American Federation of Labor and the disruptive germ of communism. Under this assault the delegates were brought into line and the resolution carried by a vote of 129 to 22.

**"Red-Hunt" Voted Down**  
Following this vote, a motion was made by Michael Casey, President of the Teamsters, and one of the most reactionary figures in the council. He demanded that the Executive Committee examine the credentials of the delegates to the Council with a view of ascertaining communist affiliation of any of its members. This heresy-hunting proposal, however, was too raw for even the conservative delegates and, in revolt against the machine, speaker after speaker denounced the motion, which was voted down 61 to 20.

The importance of the drive of the bureaucracy of the Labor Council against the striking marine workers at this time can hardly be underestimated. It is especially designed to nip in the bud the general strike movement, which has already been voted for by six or more unions. The strike is reaching a crucial point. Through the Secretary of Labor, the Government has now stepped in, demanding that the workers arbitrate. The ship owners are calling for the port to be opened by force. The Chamber of Commerce, the Industrial Association and the press are attacking the strikers as being under commu-

## Show up Labor Board

The capitalist press of June 26, in reporting the case of the lock-out of its 653 employees of the Harriman Hosiery Mills of Knoxville, Tenn., published a letter sent by the latter firm to the National Labor Board, consisting of William Green, John L. Lewis, and George Barry, representatives of organized labor; Father Francis Haas, "avowed labor union supporter"; Leo Wolman, "consumer member"; and Pierre du Pont, "representing industry". This letter definitely contradicts the latter institution of open strike-breaking.

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REVIEWING THE NEWS

Dangerous Propaganda

A mob of two hundred Knitted Out-wear Mfrs. met at the Hotel McAlpin on the night of June 19th to plan ways and means of defeating unionism among the workers...

For God—For King and Country Charging Premier Brownlee of Alberta, Canada with seducing her, Vivian McMillan has brought the Premier into court. She claims that he told her that it was her patriotic duty to respond to his advances...

Another Honest Politician

The statement of Postmaster General Farley, former New York prize-fight commissioner, that "Politicians (of course, bourgeois politicians) are the most honest men I know" was an insult to Boo Boo Hoff...

A Royal Socialist Midwife

Many workers in America stand in wonder at the ease with which that relic of the dark ages, the British Royal Family, are able to befriend the British working class. During the period of the MacDonald "Socialist" government the Socialist Home Secretary, Thomas, acted as a midwife to the Duchess of York...

Brain Trust at Work

Harry L. Hopkins, Relief Administrator for the Federal Government and one of the brightest minds of the brain-trust, gave out some pearls of wisdom this week. He declared that 16 million people are on relief rolls today. The Times reports him as saying "I can't see millions of people on direct relief. I don't think that is the American way of doing things."

From this program he saw a plan which "would put one million men to work one way and another that would put two million to work another way." He then went on to outline a plan by which the farmers, suffering from "over-production", would be put to work in industry and workers unemployed through "overproduction" in industry would be put to work on the land...

Tactics at Minneapolis

The General Strike Movement

It is interesting to observe that at the beginning of the strike the C. P. leaders estimated the strike would be a "fizzle". They based their attack on the strike leadership on this prognosis. At the close of the strike they were screaming at the "Social Fascist" A. F. of L. leaders to lead (nothing less) a general strike of all workers...

The Strategy of the Fight

In choosing the field for concentration of its efforts and forces in the Minneapolis labor movement, the Communist League picked the organization of the truck drivers because of the strategic position of this section of the working class in the economic life of the city. It was pointed out over a year and a half ago in the League councils how a struggle in this branch of industry would have a decisive bearing on the future of the trade union movement here...

Wednesday, the day after the strike started, the bosses met, and set up a committee above the heads of the trucking bosses, and started subscribing to a fund of \$200,000 to defeat the strike. The smallest union in the city was to be affected. This was the basis for soliciting and receiving the support of every workers' organization in the city.

United Front Policy

The Communist League was aware of this long before the strike, and armed with the united front policy it worked early and late to assemble every live force behind the striking drivers. As already reported on Thursday leaders large and small were called upon for every kind of assistance—cooks, carpenters, bakers, mechanics, electricians for the technical organization. The various union bodies and institutions had been spoken to long before the strike started, pledges had been received and re-checked from time to time. Friday, the first week, much work began to get financial support and sympathy action with the drivers. Saturday and Sunday the checks and pledges of sympathy came rolling in. Monday came the first sympathy strike of the iron-workers and the vote of the Central Labor Union to call for sympathy action...

Prospects of a General Strike

Wednesday, when the movement for general strike was reaching the depths of the labor movement and penetrating even into unorganized factories, the Stalinists came out with their leaflets calling for a general strike. Organizationally they did not pull out a single group of workers to support their belated adherence to an already live movement initiated by others. The movement was sound and healthy if it had but to depend upon the spirit and devotion of the thousands of honest proletarians and not, also, upon their patch-work organization, for the most part led by the most dubious of leaders, including the C. P. (Stalinists). How many timid reactionaries would crawl into their holes at the first flashes of a general action? What would the Stalinists bring to battle but disorganization and confusion? Judging by their floundering with the issues of a simple economic strike of the drivers and, what was worse yet, with the recent St. Paul Packing house strike, where they called a strike without strikers, "When the truck drivers gained their main demand, the recognition of the union, it would have been imprudent to risk this great gain in a general strike of doubtful outcome. One thing is certain: those who are shouting the loudest would have contributed the least to the success of such a venture."

If the number on your wrapper is 230 or smaller, your subscription to The Militant expired. Do not delay. Send your renewal in at once and so save us unnecessary labor and expense. If you cannot renew at this time let us know how soon you can.

The answer to the adventurers in the workingclass movement, the Bill Dunnes and the rest of the Stalinist bureaucrats who wished to see the workers of a single city against the capitalist nation, was given by his brother, in reporting for the strike committee for the settlement: "This is only a partial gain. Figured from the standards of yesterday, it is a big gain. The big fight is still ahead. We must draw back here and prepare for the victorious battles of tomorrow. All gains under this system of property are but partial gains. A relentless struggle must be conducted to the end. To do that we must have organization. This strike has gained us that and more. It has shown us many imperfections in our prevailing organizations. It has taught us many lessons. Let us assimilate these lessons, consolidate our organization and prepare for the future."

Strike Sidelights

Here's an escapade I got straight from the elevator woman in my building. Two young strikebreakers (erstwhile bond salesmen), spewed out of the market on that historic Tuesday morning at 11:40, burst into the Plymouth Store on Hennepin and Sixth, and dove headfirst under the counter. The alarmed manager hastened to lock the doors, thinking no doubt that the red dawn was here. Exactly one hour later the pair of ex-deps came out of hiding, both shaking like poplar trees in a big wind. "If we ever get out of here alive, we're going to make for the Courthouse and hand in our clubs and badges. No more strike-breaking for us!" Just a couple scissor-bills getting their first taste of the class struggle—and not liking it at all.

The local reporters did not record that beautiful swan dive headfirst into an ambulance, made by a six-foot spk. The guy was armed with a big club, the strikers that swept by him carried only barrel staves and laths. Yet, every striker that ran by swatted him. He was cracked on the conk a score of times and was too busy protecting himself to take the offensive. No man ever welcomed succor like this one did. He ran to meet the first ambulance that came over Sixth Street, and dove right in over the driver's head.

About the National Guard. From one of their members, we learned that the orders they received were, "Shoot to kill!" Here is one of the guardsmen talking: "Boy, just wait 'til I get a chance at those sonof-a-bitch strikers. With my uniform on, and a gun in my hands, why I'll kill a dozen of the bastards." Frankly, such black hatred puzzled me; until I learned that this young man had been stopped by pickets while trying to truck some lumber into town, and had been forced to make a long detour to steal home by a little-used road. But he was just one of the guard—and then, he was called out by a "farmer-labor" governor. Here is another one who has come up to headquarters on Wednesday. At the door he is met by a picket.

"What do you want?" "I want to talk to Dunne." "What about. He's terribly busy. Maybe I can help you."

"I've just got orders to report to National Guard headquarters. I want to know what I should do about it."

"Well, you are in a pickle. You'll have to go along, that's all there is to it."

"Hell!" "Here's what you can do. When you get among the other men, tell them about the strikers, how they're fighting, what they're up against."

At this point, one of the strike leaders comes up and repeats these instructions. He impresses upon the boy the fact that he must learn his lesson from this, and tell all his young worker friends. There must have been many such friends of the strikers among the National Guardsmen, patiently explaining to their fellow riflemen why they should side with the strikers, against the exploiters. Maybe some more were won over to our side, maybe not. It must have been hard work. The newspapers and the officers were trying to work up a frenzy of hatred among the men against the workers. Heavy wiring was thrown up over the windows of the armory, armed guards patrolled the roof and the surrounding alleys day and night—to "guard against a sudden attack from the strikers."

Minneapolis workers have shown decisively that they can conquer over any civic forces that the bosses can throw in the field against them. But the Guards, the Federal troops—that is another thing. This we know: there are coming other strikes, bigger strikes; and the strikers will be called out again. Good work among them now will bear fine fruit for the future.

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

QUESTION BOX

Sympathizer, Waterbury.—Before answering your question concerning the law which turns over 75,000 rifles to the American Legion, we believe the subject to be of sufficient importance, and the manner in which it was reported by the N. Y. World-Telegram of such significance, that the article which appeared in the latter paper will bear reprinting in full. This follows:

"Washington, June 11.—CONGRESS HAS QUIETLY PASSED AND PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT HAS SIGNED a law turning over to private citizens probably 75,000 or more high-powered army rifles, of an obsolete type. The law converts into gifts the loan of these rifles to American Legion posts for drill-team, burial-squad, parade and similar uses. They are Krag-Jorgensons, 1898 model, the weapon made famous by a Filipino Insurrection soldier ballad which had the refrain 'Civilize em with a Krag.' 'Modern gun-slugs and cartridge belts were issued with the rifles."

"POSSIBILITY OF THE GUNS BEING UTILIZED IN ANY DOMESTIC OR INTERNAL VIOLENCE, SUCH AS LABOR WARS OR THE LIKE, IS DISCOUNTED HERE." (Emphasis ours.)

As to your question. There is no basis for "discounting" the possibility that the rifles will be used against workers. This would be so only if the rifles were ineffective or if ammunition were not available for them. Neither is the case. Cartridges for the Krag are standard and are to be found listed in any ammunition manufacturers catalog. Both the present U. S. Government Springfield (1906 model) and the Krag are .30 caliber, the range of the former being only slightly larger. When fighting at long range this would give an army equipped with the Springfields a slight THEORETICAL advantage over one equipped with Krags, but the effectiveness of the latter against unarmed workers, mostly at short range, is equal to the former.

Comrade G-11, N.Y.—There is a scarcity of information on conditions in Italy. If there were no other facts available, this alone serves to condemn Italian Fascism. Mussolini does not dare let the world know the true state of affairs, and since he is tied closely to American imperialism through loans (the so-called "Morgan-Loan" of about \$400,000,000) and through the war debts (about 2 billions), he is given powerful aid in suppressing the truth.

A few bits are available, however. Hugh Quigley, in "Current History", for June gives the following: The average industrial wage at the end of 1932 was about 9 and 1/3 cents an hour, while in agriculture the HIGHEST wage paid was 6 and 1/3 cents an hour for men and about 3 1/2 cents an hour for women. By 1933 these were still further reduced. At least one-third of all workers in industry were idle.

In addition to the above it can be added that the universal eight-hour day law was changed to nine hours in 1926 so that a 54 hour week is the legal minimum. It is one of those open secrets that the work-day, thanks to the "attention" which the fascists pay to the workers' interests, averages about two hours more than the legal minimum, so that the Italian workers are blessed with a work week of about 66 hours. It is quite clear that, from fascism, the Italian masses get the burdens of a dying economic system, and nothing more.

Ex-Stalinist Still Studying the Question.—Your conclusion that the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union could be replaced only by overthrowing the proletarian dictatorship could be accepted only if no distinction is made between the dictatorship and the bureaucracy. Regardless of what happens to the Stalinist clique, the proletarian dictatorship will remain as long as the workers own the means of production. (See Trotsky's "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" for a complete analysis of this question.)

It is difficult to see how you draw your conclusions since you believe (and quite correctly) that the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy are not in the best interest of the Workers' Republic. The Stalinist followers, at least, proceed from the premise that Stalin is infallible.

The capitalist crisis affects the Soviet Union in several ways (and here the tie between Soviet and world economy is clearly demonstrated). In the first place the exports of the Soviet Union are mainly raw materials whereas imports are mostly the products of heavy industry (machinery, etc.). The world market prices of the former fell proportionately more than those of the latter, thus putting the Soviet Union in the position where it was necessary to export a greater quantity of raw material in order to import the same quantity of machinery. In addition to this, the contraction of the world market decreased the possibility for Soviet exports and, as a result, for imports.

Imperial Valley Notes

The Brawley News, the most flagrant and red baiting paper in the Valley, a few days ago printed a statement released to the News by A. N. Jacks, president of the Imperial Valley Growers and Shippers Protective Association, containing charges that the U. S. Government is conspiring in the organization of a red union—to stir up trouble in the Valley. One can read that for what it is worth and pass on to what is really taking place.

Chester Williams of the American Civil Liberties Union arrived in Brawley last week and had conferences with the recently appointed labor conciliator, General Pelham D. Glassford—infamous or famous, as you will have it, for his Bonus Army rout, and later as a "liberal" who protested against the

Government's attitude toward the Brawley News. Mr. Williams was termed as "the leader of the good will tourists" and his subsequent conversations with the General was splashed over the News, with brazen declarations of his Communist leadership and the Red invasion of the Valley; that his entrance into Brawley strangely coincided with the arrival of Mexican "red agitators" who were, it seemed, interested in organizing the workers for the Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union. The News, not to be outdone by such simple matter of fact things as organizing workers, continued, "They are attempting to influence members of the local Mexican Union to withdraw". The Mexican Union, or the Mexican Workers Assn. is under the patronage of the Growers of the valley, and of Mr. Jouquin Terrazas, who is strangely also the Mexican Consul at Brawley.

Pledge Fund

Table with columns for Branch, Name, and Amount. Includes Manhattan Branch and Others in New York City.

Table with columns for Branch, Name, and Amount. Includes Bronx and Newark, N. J.

Table with columns for Branch, Name, and Amount. Includes Boston.

Table with columns for Branch, Name, and Amount. Includes Local New York Climbs to the Top.

Militant Builders

Local New York Climbs to the Top; Minneapolis Branch Takes Second Place. As the second club plan sub drive (4 six-month subs for \$1) draws to an end, the branches are getting busy, keeping us guessing as to who will lead the following week.

The following subs were received during the past week: George Truhar for the Cleveland Branch, 4; Doughty for the Los Angeles Br. 8; Leonard Lewis for the Manhattan Branch, New York Local 4 and the New York City Organizer 8; Philadelphia Br. 4; Ross Moran of Patterson 4. A total of 32 new subs. REMEMBER! THE DRIVE ENDS AUGUST 1st. GET YOUR CARDS NOW!

Table with columns for Branch, Name, and Amount. Includes Complete Record and ORGANIZATION-PRESS CAMPAIGN.

Headlines and editorials contain their motives all too clearly, such as this: "Williams promises to stay away"—"Williams not leaving today as promised." An intended visit of professional men from lower California including Mr. Taft, head of the Civil Liberties Union, caused Mr. Williams to wait over, so that the investigations of the visiting professionals would be conducted along organized lines. Excepting Mr. Taft, these men had nothing to do with the Civil Liberties, nor had they any association with radical organizations.

The melon season is to begin this week. The Brawley News, having evidently no fear of the truth, struts over its pages with the pride of a golden peacock, saying: "Many pickers were earning \$6 to \$6.50 a day, and as the season goes on will make more." Or this: "An election held on the ranches among the real workers who are employed would show that at least 90 to 95 percent are well satisfied with the Mexican Assn. and that they have no sympathy with, or liking for, the so-called red union." Then why isn't the election taking place?

And to illustrate further that the Growers Assn. fears nothing (but repudiation of their darling Mexican Assn.) the News continues: "We wonder just what right Chester Williams has to stir up trouble in Imperial Valley. The employers and their field workers are working together harmoniously and with contentment". Such an idyllic situation, where nothing but peace and plenty exist! no terrorism, kidnapping, slugging and attempted murder—as has happened in the last months.

Everything in the world news under Communism is played up so that the Vigilantes will be officially sponsored as an aid to "Valley unionism". An organization has been formed to fight Communism called the "Imperial Valley Anti-Communist Association". A few days ago Mrs. G. C. Johnson, the wife of Grover C. Johnson, an International Labor Defense lawyer, was convicted in El Centro on the charge of possessing a gun without a permit, and given a fine of \$250 or 125 days at two dollars a day; she chose the 125 days, and was refused an appeal.

No Time To Lose Big Tasks Ahead

Minneapolis, Toledo, California strikes showed that the workers are ready to fight for their rights. The Steel, Automobile and Textile industries are like volcanoes about to erupt. We must be prepared to enter the coming struggles as a militant force, applying the experiences and lessons of Minneapolis.

STRENGTHEN OUR PRESS. BUILD OUR ORGANIZATION. SEND ORGANIZERS INTO THE FIELD. STABILIZE THE MILITANT. Help raise the necessary funds. Get a book of ten coupons for One Dollar.

Sell them among friends and sympathizers of our movement. Support the ORGANIZATION-PRESS CAMPAIGN 50% to The Militant—50% for the Communist League of America. 126 East 16th Street New York City

THE MILITANT Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published Weekly by the Communist League of America 126 East 16th Street, New York, N.Y. Phone: Gramercy 5-9524 Vol. 7, No. 25, (Whole No. 229) SATURDAY, JUNE 30, 1934 EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Aberg James P. Cannon Mar Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck Bundle rates one cent per copy. Subscription rate: \$1.00 per month \$0.50 per half year — Canada and Foreign: \$1.50 per year; 75c for six months.

MARCH OF EVENTS

Contraction of the Stalinist Bureaucracy

The more the Stalinist bureaucracy loses its mass support, the more it feels its isolation and divorce from the masses, the greater becomes its contraction into a bureaucratic directory. The process of elimination of all control, even the fictitious control by the left-over apparatus of what was once the powerful Russian Communist party, goes on apace. Nothing could prove more conclusively the utter disintegration of the Russian Party than the cavalier fashion in which the most prized symbols of Soviet power created by the revolutionary Bolsheviks are ushered out of existence.

A stroke of Stalin's pen is enough to wipe out the Workers and Peasants' Inspection. Lenin hailed this institution as the means of uprooting the growing bureaucracy which he saw menacing the progress of the proletarian dictatorship. Ironically enough, Stalin placed Ordjanikidze at the head of this organization, formed to eliminate these very Ordjanikidzes. It will be remembered that Lenin had demanded the expulsion of this same Ordjanikidze for his high-handed bureaucracy in the Caucasus. And to think of this man made head of the Control Commission!

Following this blow at the October Revolution there came the elimination by simple decree (there could be no discussion of such vital problems in a dead party) of the once all-powerful G.P.U. The latter institution embodied a force of bureaucrats knowing too much of Stalinist intrigue and methods of dealing with opposition.

The Bonapartist Danger

Now comes a still more ominous step in the direction of Thermidor and Bonapartism. This is the abolition of the Peoples' Commissariat of War (the Revolutionary War Council) and the concentration of power in the hands of Voroshiloff as Supreme Commander of the Red Army. We recall that these same bureaucrats, aiming at this type of uncontrolled Bonapartist power attributed their own design to Comrade Trotsky, creator of the Red Army and organizer of its revolutionary successes. The bureaucracy naturally cloaks its arbitrary acts under the guise of increasing efficiency and individual initiative and responsibility. (And who is to bring this reactionary clique to task for inefficiency, nay for its crimes against the international proletariat and the October Revolution?)

As the danger of imperialist war looms closer and closer the Stalinist bureaucracy entrenches itself ever more firmly. One can see the outlines of a future Directory of Public Safety established for the "efficient" carrying out of Soviet defense. Whether this Directory will consist of its present candidates,—Stalin, Voroshiloff, Molotov, Kaganowitch, Ordjanikidze,—no one can now predict, for developments become rapid during national crises. That the dictatorship of the proletariat that has not yet been liquidated, since the Soviet system still endures, is nevertheless under the gravest danger from the ever contracting bureaucracy, goes without saying.

Build New Parties

The fate of the international revolution, which means the fate of the Soviet Union, for the years to come depends on the rallying of the revolutionary vanguard of the world's working class under the banner of the Fourth International, on the speed with which the new parties of the Fourth International can be constituted. The Russian workers have forgotten their leading role in the world revolution. Stalinist defeats have turned their attention inwards on national problems. Only a new party of Internationalist Communists in the Soviet Union too can guide the Russian masses back on the road of world revolution. Only the new party can prepare for the dangers that lie ahead in the further evolution of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union. The defense of the Soviet Union becomes linked more and more abroad and at home with the construction of the Fourth International.

The Infallibility of Stalinism

As this Militant goes to press the Daily Worker comes out with an offer of United Front in the struggle against fascism—with the new executive committee of the Socialist Party. What will become of the infallibility of the Stalinist leadership with such an offer made from organization to organization? Is this a United Front from below or from above? We shall await with interest the outcome of this most belated action. Needless to say, the past of the Stalinist Party here has hardly led up to a ready acceptance of such an offer by anybody. Events will demonstrate whether this is a maneuver to save the party from the type of split that occurred in St. Denis. —JACK WEBER.

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# The Burning Question In France

## Towards Opportunism or Towards Marxism --- There Is No Other Road

### CONVERSATION WITH A COMRADE FROM THE SAINT-DENIS DISTRICT

After the events in Germany, Doriot, foundation member of the Communist party of France and a member of its Central Committee, requested a wide discussion in the party on the united front question and a revision of its insane policy of "united front from below". The Central Committee dared not bring this question into the open and tried to "influence" Doriot by a combination of cajolery and threats. All the attempts to get a hearing in the party press, to have his point of view presented to the party membership having failed, and realizing that the aim of the party apparatus was to isolate him completely from the membership, Doriot made his views public in the paper, *L'Emancipation*. This brought matters to a show-down. Doriot found himself outside the official party but carried the whole district Saint-Denis (about 400 members) with him.

The party apparatus is cracking under the pressure of the rank and file, clamoring for real unity of action of the proletariat in struggle against fascism. Saint-Denis tore itself away from the official party, but whether it is going? In the brilliant article reprinted below from our French organ, *La Verite*, the author indicates the road it should follow. Tr. note—S.W.)

—If one is to believe *L'Humanite*, you are following us into "the camp of the counter-revolution". In that case when are you scheduled for expulsion from the Communist Party? And what do you think of doing?

—As to our expulsion, the Central Committee will not be long in pronouncing it. For the Saint-Denis district decided by over 350 votes against just a handful to break off relations from now on with the party leadership. What will we do? Give life to our Vigilance Committee and help the workers to establish more of them throughout the whole country to resist fascism.

### For Unity There Must be a Vanguard Party

—To realize the unity of action of the workers, is very fine; we support you on this point for which we have been fighting for a number of years (you recall the German events). To fight, the working class needs unity despite all its political divisions: reformists and revolutionists must close ranks. But if you break with the Communist Party because it tramples the teachings of Lenin on the United Front, I do not believe that you want to trample the teachings of Lenin on the question of the party. If a party which calls itself Communist, if the Third International is no longer the organization of the Marxist vanguard of the proletariat, it is necessary to build a new party, a Fourth International. Will your district harness itself to this task?

—We do not want to trample the teachings of Lenin, but we refuse to follow you in the building of a party and of an International. These organizations cannot be set up arbitrarily.

—I agree with you that it is harmful to set up organizations arbitrarily; that is why we, the Communist League, have combatted the Amsterdam-Pleyel movement which was an apparatus contrivance for evading unity of action with socialist organizations by utilizing the cover of literary and artistic personalities, of whose talents I cannot judge, but who are absolutely devoid of responsibility before the organization of the working class.

You have recognized in action that Amsterdam-Pleyel did not permit the safeguarding of real unity of action of the workers. Others (Autonomous Federation of Employees, Action Socialiste, etc.) have come to the same conclusions. It is necessary to come to an understanding to do away with this arbitrary combination which can only stage a few meetings where a Thorez (member of the C. C. of the French party—tr.) can parade, but which, as a consequence, can create obstacles to unity of action in every community, in every quarter, by opposing itself to all committees of real organizations which may exist.

### If No Party Exists We Must Create a New One

Let us do away with artificially set-up organizations. But the working class needs a party, a Communist International. If none exists now, we must work to build it up; we must pose the problem clearly; this does not mean that we can solve it in a couple of days.

—Of course, it is not arbitrary to say that the working class needs a Communist Party, but to build it you need definite conditions. It would be premature today, the masses would not follow it: they will follow the Vigilance Committees, they are for unity of action. To pose, as you do, the question of creating a new party is to appear as a splitter and to isolate oneself from the masses.

—I cannot entertain the argument of "splitters"; you are a Com-

munist and consequently you know well that to gather the vanguard to the proletariat means not only to split it but to create the basic condition for rallying it in struggle. But I will take up your other arguments: it is too soon, we are too few. You advance arguments of opportunism but not of principles. Is it too soon because the masses are not there? For one, I am certain that we are more numerous than Lenin was at the end of 1914 when he proclaimed "Long live the Third International"; he knew the masses well, and at certain moments was not afraid of being almost alone; secondly, how can we lead the masses to an idea, to a conception without explaining it to them clearly? It cannot be too soon for laying down a clear political basis and this is the surest means of becoming more numerous.

### Reaction and Fascism

—You forget the principal task of the present hour: to bar the road to fascism and for that to develop committees of vigilance, to bind them to the masses. A new organization of the proletariat vanguard can crystallize itself in action and not in struggles over these.

—I am far from forgetting reaction and fascism, and it is precisely in order to combat them that I pose the question of the party, without opposing it, but on the contrary, by tying it to the work of the united front. To bar the road to fascism, to bar it once and for all, it does not suffice that workers oppose it physically at demonstrations, it does not suffice to denounce its infamies in Germany and Italy. Today we defend ourselves against the rise of reaction, but—and you have stated it in your "open letter to the C. I."—to be efficacious this resistance must transform itself into a struggle for power. The Vigilance Committee—you wrote correctly—must be a step towards the Soviets. But tell me from whom can we expect the proper slogans for the struggle of the Vigilance Committee, a program of action around which the slow process of gathering the masses should proceed? Not from the Socialist party, I am sure; and an anti-fascist com-

mittee is not a fountain of youth where the decrepit social democracy can rejuvenate itself. Nor from the masses as a whole; the masses undergo their own experiences which permit them to choose and to progress along the revolutionary road but on condition that they find a vanguard which, at every stage of the struggle, explains the situation to them, shows them the objectives to be attained, the methods to use and the ultimate perspectives. It is only by means of an initial nucleus, which acts in an independent and disciplined manner that the selection can proceed inside the Vigilance Committee. Without that, even the most numerous aggregation of workers would have no future.

The Vigilance committee is not a sufficient base to assure the life of the Saint-Denis district. To limit oneself to that is to condemn oneself to disintegration. None of the local nuclei which detached themselves from the Communist party escaped that: Municipalism, Pupism (Partie Unitaire Populaire—Tr.), social democracy eat into them.

### "Soviets Without Communists"

One more word. Your committees of vigilance without a Communist party, they remind me of the slogan of . . . Mensheviks and counter-revolutionaries; by this I do not want to call you a Menshevik or a counter-revolutionist. When the October revolution found itself at loggerheads with its worst difficulties, when civil war and famine raged, the enemies of proletarian power advanced the slogan: "Soviets without Communists". The counter-revolution understood instinctively that even the Soviet form is not immune against its influence and were there no Communists in the Soviets to introduce into them class intransigence, counter-revolution could make use of Soviets against the revolution. And if this is true after the Soviets have conquered power, how much more true is it with regard to Vigilance committees which are not Soviets; one may be sure that Committees of Vigilance without Communists (that is without a party, since there is no communist action outside of an organization) could never be-

## A Falsified Biography of Lenin

A book—a biography no less than a novel or a play—like a building must be constructed according to a plan and definite rules. The first law of biography is to tell the truth as you see it and understand it.

That is not the basis of Fox's biography of Lenin, nor is the book informed with the spirit of truth or even a respect for accuracy. Fox is no disciple of Diogenes. He lies about Lenin, about Trotsky, yea, about Stalin. In his biography all three appear like the caricatures in the mirrors at Coney Island: Lenin is seen as in a mist, suspiciously god-like; Trotsky is the Evil One; Stalin is the Bolshevik angel Gabriel of the Russian Revolution.

The truth is—Ralph Fox is a Stalinist, a leading member of the British Communist Party, a product and defender of the system of lies, slander, terror and defeat which has entered into history under the name of Stalinism. His work is written from that bias in support of its political needs.

But after all the thing has the form of a biography and must be judged as one. Let us examine its plan, first with regard to Lenin. If you have the patience to wade through its lies and distortions you will find the author's thesis explicitly and precisely stated on page 309, Lenin "... had knowledge, intellectual power, vision; the power of swift decision and decisive action; courage beyond the normal; ..."

### False Picture of Lenin

It is true; Lenin had courage, intellectual power, knowledge. But the possession of these qualities did not by themselves distinguish him from thousands of men in the world's history, nor yet from hundreds of revolutionary leaders. Nor does Fox allow for a peculiar combination of these qualities of Lenin which could conceivably explain his greatness.

Fox himself must have felt the shortcoming of his explanation for he attempts to add in the same sentence quoted above, precisely that quality which, in his opinion, distinguished Lenin from all men in all the years of the world's recorded history, and explains his greatness: "... but yet the most striking thing in his whole character is that he was a man like other men". Here is wisdom! Lenin was great because he was not!

But it is not a laughing matter. For this stupidity serves Fox as a means of misrepresenting Lenin and all that he stood for. It would take a volume equal in size to Fox's lamentable work to set aright the errors and lies he encompasses in 313 pages.

Suffice it to say that on this basis Fox has no need to explain Lenin in relation to the epoch in which he lived, the conditions in which he worked, and the impres-

sion he made on the world and the movement. For the explanation lies entirely in Lenin himself. Thus Fox can entirely neglect the question of internationalism so decisive for Lenin. A sentence or two for the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences and not a word about the first four Congresses of the C. I.! So it is with Lenin's fundamental analysis of the post-war epoch of capitalism as one of wars and revolutions. There is very little discussion of it so that it is impossible for Fox to illuminate Lenin's historic struggle against the Second International which culminated in the founding of the Third.

### No Word of Lenin's Ideas

As a result there is not a word—literally not a word—about Lenin's conception of a revolutionary communist party as a centralized, sternly disciplined organization based on a democratic, inner life. How could anyone with the knowledge of what a Stalinist party is like today discuss Lenin's conception of what a vanguard party should be!

What results it that Fox, looking at Lenin through the colored glass of Stalin's embalming of Leninism, makes a mystic out of a great, human, revolutionary leader. Read the passages in which assassins are turned from the execution of their foul designs by some mysterious force in Lenin which transcends all human understanding and "explains better than a thousand political theses what was happening in Russia".

If Fox is forced to exercise some restraint in his treatment of Lenin, the current needs of Stalinism give him carte blanche to heap abuse and lies on one of the great figures of the revolutionary movement of the modern proletariat. In his treatment of Trotsky Fox reveals himself as a literary assassin: Trotsky underestimated the peasantry; he agitated for peace during the war; he patronized Lenin; he was wrong in the revolution of 1905; he was a leader of the Liquidators; he was responsible for the defeat of the Finnish revolution; he was only a figure head in the armed insurrection of October; he bungled the military direction of the civil war; he was partly responsible for Lenin's death; and so on and so forth.

And all this structure of lies rests on a thesis, if you please, which the author is not ashamed to advance as the solemn truth: "Trotsky's whole political life and outlook were colored by the outlook of those petty-bourgeois elements in Russia whom history had forced on to the revolutionary stage". Let us put a cross over the slander and pass on.

Fox advances no explicit thesis about Stalin. But there is one. Let us put together what he says about

come Soviets and would never take power.

**The Struggle Against War**  
And then one other question intrudes itself into the question of the struggle against fascism and for power; that is, the question of the struggle against war. Who will lead this struggle? Strictly speaking the committees of vigilance could organize actions against the preparations of war, against the two-years service, etc. But who will lead the anti-fascist work, who will launch defeatism? In the united front you have socialists, imbued with patriotism or pacifists, defenders of the League of Nations. Soon you will find the latter even within the official Communist party due to the Soviet Union's entry into this association of brigands.

—I warn you openly that we will never approve of your attacks against the U.S.S.R.; we will never join you in that.

—And I will answer you no less openly: we have never attacked the U.S.S.R. Consequently you do not have to join that which does not exist. What we have done is to combat a policy which we consider false, harmful to the October revolution and to the world revolution.

You struggle against the policy of the C. I. in France; do you believe that it is independent of the general policy of the C. I. and also of the policy of the U. S. S. R.? When Lenin and Trotsky led the Comintern and the Soviet Union they did not practise two contradictory policies, one a good, the other a bad one: the policy of the C. I. and that of the Soviet Union complemented each other in serving the needs of the international proletarian revolution. When the revolutionary wave receded, when the workers' state had to make concessions, its leaders explained this openly to all the workers. While today, what do you read in *L'Humanite*? First, that the revolutionary movement in all countries does not stop growing, that it goes from success to success, that at the same time the U.S.S.R. marches at a rapid pace to socialism, and finally, that the U.S.S.R. is about to join the League of Nations. Do you believe that this act is a manifestation of strength, of power?

### Compromises and Compromises

—The U.S.S.R. is encircled by a hostile world; it must know how to utilize the differences in the capitalist class and how to make compromises with certain of the states to break up the bloc of its enemies.

—Obviously, no Communist could reproach the Soviet government for making compromises, although there are compromises and compromises. But what is impermissible is to present them as victories over the bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and on the other, to base all its activity on the quality of its diplomacy instead of building the defense of the U. S. S. R. on the forces of the revolutionary movement. Why did the foreign policy of the Soviet Union suffer such a sharp turn to the right if not because of the defeat of the German proletariat? And do you believe that if reaction should triumph in France that the talents of Litvinov would suffice to preserve the achievements of the five year plan against the fascist tide? A policy hostile to unity of action and a policy which presents the entry of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations as a victory, is one and the same policy, that of the ruling bureaucracy of the U.S.S.R. whose horizon is limited to the Soviet Union and which neglects and even fears the revolutionary struggles in other countries.

Thus to defend the U.S.S.R. not only by hollow phrases, but in reality, that is to develop a revolutionary struggle, in face of and against an apparatus of good-for-nothings, it is necessary to do what we do, what the Communist League does, to work towards the rebuilding of a revolutionary party of the proletariat. This is the road which you, the region of Saint-Denis, must follow to be true to yourselves; this is "the road of Trotsky" that the *L'Humanite* wants to frighten you with.

—We want to follow the road of revolution.

—That is the same thing. *La Verite*, June 8, 1934

his master: Stalin really organized the insurrection in October 1917; it is implied that he saved the day for Lenin in April when "he threw the great weight of his authority behind the theses (on bourgeois democracy) presented by Lenin"; Lenin turned Stalin "into a kind of specialist for saving the situation at desperate moments on almost every front. Indeed Stalin himself wrote to Lenin that he was being turned into a specialist for cleaning the stables of the war department!"

Enough! Enough! The major thesis of the book should now be clear: Lenin was a demi-god; Stalin is his flesh-and-blood continuator. Trotsky's record and activity challenge the whole, false conception. Trotsky must be destroyed even if it is necessary to rewrite history, slander Trotsky, lie about Stalin, deify Lenin.

History and truth, like murder, cannot be long concealed. They must make their way through all obstacles into the thinking of the masses. They are doing it now. And as they do Stalinism and its prostituted servitors are fast becoming an abomination in the labor movement.

—STAMM.

# Recovery "For the Farmers"

## No Solution for the Agricultural Crisis Is Possible on a Capitalist Basis

In arriving at an objective understanding of American agriculture, its position and relation to world agriculture, it is necessary to know that the historic role of American agriculture has been that of preparing the foundation for the mighty structure of American imperialism. The young but vigorous capitalism of the post-Civil War days could not advance to maturity and power without the financial assistance of the European States. This assistance was obtained by ceaselessly pushing onto the European market every conceivable ounce of agricultural produce beyond domestic need and building its own economy on European savings.

Just about 1890 when this task was largely accomplished an artificially conjured spectre of starvation in the Malthusian took possession of the minds of the American governing classes and an additional spur was given to extension of the agricultural domain together with the extension of its scientific technique. Budgetary allotments to the Department of Agriculture began to run in figures of seven and eight numerals. It was during these years that we witnessed the launching of the giant irrigation projects, land reclamation, governmental experimental stations for crop improvement and a general back-to-the-land crusade.

### Opening New Homesteads

Knowing that an increased food supply meant a great increase in the exploitation of the greater cultivatable land areas, vast areas of free homestead land was opened up, particularly in the west. But this was not determined wholly and solely by the Malthusian obsession. The rapidly developing industrial East was absorbing more and more of its working population into the factories and the development of West and Midwest agriculture was a necessary corollary. Land values continued to mount and while the periodic crises of capitalism hurt agriculture it continued pretty much as a going concern for many years.

Later on the requirements of American imperialism demanded further increased acreage. The imperialist world war which took tens of millions out of production and set them to the task of destroying life and the means of life brought with it a pressing demand for foods and fibers to "win the war for democracy". In the seven years from 1913 to 1920, from 30 to 40 million acres was brought under the plow in the United States. Land values mounted sky high. Almost every conceivable inch of land was brought under cultivation and this on the very eve of a constricting world market. Humpty Dumpty was indeed preparing for the great fall.

### Present-day Capitalism in the U.S.

Modern capitalism in the United States today is characterized by two things:

1. The United States is the creditor nation of the world, and
2. It is imperialist and forced to export capital to all parts of the globe.

The tremendous effect this has on present and future agriculture in America can be seen when we remember that our position to the European market has been completely reversed since the world war. Before we shipped agricultural goods to Europe to pay the interest on debts owed. Now we must be prepared to receive these from Europe since it is Europe who is the debtor and we the creditor. So much for the United States position as the creditor nation.

Now a brief word concerning the second characteristic mentioned above. The surplus profits of the capitalists which could not be reinvested profitably in American business has been invested elsewhere (1) by loans to Canada, Mexico, South America, Africa, Australia, and Asiatic countries who in turn can only balance their international payments by selling on that same world market on which American agriculture has in the past loaned so heavily, and (2) by the direct investment of American capital in foreign land holdings.

### Why Agrarian Crisis Is Insoluble

The foregoing are the most significant reasons why the crisis in American agriculture is not merely passing but permanent. Out of the World War there emerged a completely changed orientation among the European ruling classes. Italy and Germany strive toward a national self-sufficiency, England tries in every possible way to favor her own over-seas possessions, other European countries favor Poland and Denmark for the sake of trade advantages whereby they may unload some of their own surplus industrial products, while Japan, for the sake of its Indian market, is quite willing to buy Indian cotton.

Britain, while not satisfied with this agreement, looks on for the sake of profitable alliances later on in the event of a war against the Soviet Union.

Perhaps the most significant facts of the changed international position in agriculture can be gleaned from the following figures. Between 1913 and 1932 the United States increased its areas for the production of principal crops from 290,000,000 acres to 320,000,000 or a little more than 10%. In the

same period the other leading countries increased their acreage from 631,000,000 to 724,000,000 or more than 16%. The crop output in the foreign areas was far greater than this, being recorded in the neighborhood of 40% while the increase in American crop output is put at about 10% over the pre-war acreage.

### "Too Many Farmers"

Quite recently and rather suddenly the American ruling class has discovered that there are too many farmers just as there are too many industrial workers, and the reason why there are too many is because they have produced too much. The overabundance is starvation and misery for those who in blood and toil and sweat have produced America's wealth. The burden of the ruling class has always been the problem of getting rid of surpluses at a profit. Now they are faced with a surplus population and its disposal is giving them no end of a headache.

"Recovery" politicians and their brain trusters have discovered the fact that 50% of the farmers in the U. S. produce 90% of the total value of all crops. Hence 50% of the farmers could be "withdrawn" from production with only a loss of 10% of the products grown for sale. To this end we have the subdivision of the farmers into two classes: "marginal" (rich) and "sub-marginal" (poor). It is proposed to "eliminate" the "sub-marginal" as a competitive factor and leave the field free for the "it". The solution is (believe it or not) subsistence homesteads.

### Turning the Clock Backward

Subsistence homesteads! Millions of people are to learn again the ancient arts of spinning and weaving. The clock of history is to be turned backward and millions are to return to the simple primitive peasant economy of a thousand years ago. And this at a time when the productive forces necessary for the creation of all the material requirements for all humanity has been developed to an exceedingly high degree. In the words of Marx

it is indeed time that the "productive forces have come into conflict with the existing property relations". Therein lies the problem. The cost of such subsistence homesteads, which in the end is to be borne by the worker, is estimated at not less than \$2,500 per family and the total cost, if the plan were put into operation, would be a grand total of \$10,000,000,000. Thus while the living standards of the masses are driven to lower levels, and while the government continues to regard cynically and lightmindedly the whole question of federal relief, the spending of billions to still further increase the suffering of the poor farmers and the workers, all for the sake of adding more millions to the coffers of the rich farmers, the food speculators and capitalists in general, meets with no serious opposition.

### The Farmers' Way Out

Under capitalism there is no solution to the problem of the poor farmers. The crisis in agriculture is a part of the general crisis of decaying capitalism. The withdrawal of millions of farmers to the "self-supporting" (!) subsistence homesteads would result in a still further contraction of the domestic market, purchases of industrially produced commodities would fall off to be followed by more unemployment, more speed-up, more wage cuts, more misery for the workers. Workers and farmers must get together against the starvation program of the "recovery" schemes of the Roosevelt New Dealers!

The poor farmers can solve their problems only by placing themselves under the leadership of the industrial proletariat, the only class in modern society which is historically fitted for the organization of a new society which will be based on production for use and not for profit, a society where the slogan will be: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs. For the realization of this the old order must perish, must be wiped out, by the revolutionary masses.

—G. ROBERTS.

## Strikes and the National Guard

A bright page has already been added to the history of the American labor movement by the heroic struggle of the Minneapolis truckmen and the Toledo Auto-lite workers. The militant battle put up by them against overwhelming odds shows that the fighting spirit of the American working class is not crushed.

Since the inception of the NRA strikes have broken out often and frequently. But for genuine militance and determination to win nothing like these two have been seen in the last few years. It of course redounds to our credit that members of our organization played a leading role in one of these—Minneapolis. But from both of these strikes, one lesson among others must be learned, if we are to take the lead in building a new revolutionary party.

### The Police and Strikes

To a Marxist the role of the state is known in advance. That it will unleash its police against striking workers at the first sign of militancy on their part is elementary. Should this not suffice, the hiring of gangsters, the deputizing of "better elements", and the issuing of injunctions can always be counted upon to augment the regular police force. The gardarmes of the law are but too happy to be utilized against the workers. That their itching palms are usually greased by a grateful boss or association, plays, of course, no little role.

A policeman, however, is by and large only a glorified thug, sworn in to protect private property; backed by the state and considered by the average man as "the law," he becomes arrogant and bullying. Added to this is the fact that the average man is brought up to respect "the law" and that he rarely if ever demurs at a gruff—"git along now". The cop therefore assumes a contemptuous attitude towards him and his almost unbridled authority over people gives him qualities common to all bullies. He feels it needs but a wave of his club to rout any one.

### Strikes Transform the Worker

But John Smith, the peaceful citizen, becomes changed into something entirely different during a strike in which he is participating, as the Minneapolis and Toledo police and special deputies found out to their sorrow. There the strikers were out to get the scabs and stop production. And this they did, despite police special deputies and the "better element", who were armed with guns, tear gas and clubs.

The blazing courage and brave fight of these militants put to rout the hirelings of authority and laid down the challenge of labor to the entire American boss class. What worker has not tingled from head to foot as he saw the picket lines, photographs and newsreels of these battles? What scab has not felt the icy hand of fear clutch his throat? It heralds the new dawn

### Role of the National Guard

The capitalist class, when it sees its minions of the law—the police—powerless, resorts to other especially armed bodies of men to enforce its reign of terror. Chief among those used in industrial strikes is the National Guard. Up to now the National Guard has been the ace in the hole of American capitalists. It is at present its chief form of suppression and coercion of strike movements. However, the National Guard is by no means a force that cannot be neutralized. Sections of it can even be won over to the side of the working class. Indeed its very composition makes it ideal for weaning it away from the influence of its commanding officers.

Basically it is composed of young men and boys from the city, springing from proletarian stock and themselves proletarians, their average age being about 18 years. Most of them enlisted for a lark or because they are unemployed. The fact that they drill but once a week and have only two weeks camping mobilization during the summer, the discipline within it is not as strong as in the regular army. But that does not mean that it is loose or non-existent; as many a striker can testify.

It becomes then the stern revolutionary duty of the Spartacus Youth Clubs in their task of helping to build a new revolutionary organization to concentrate on these young workers dressed in soldiers uniform.

### Tasks of Our Youth

Both the Yipsels and the Y.C.L. have hardly any of its membership enrolled in this important force. Their anti-war activity is confined to meetings and an occasional distribution of leaflets. Nor has the Young Communist League been able to do much more. Perhaps a few scattered Y.C.L.ers here and there. Or at best a nuclei of two or three. Their activity is blessed with the same results that crown all Stalinist efforts—nothing comes of it.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs must assign a certain definite proportion of its membership to carry on work in the National Guard; that is, to enlist within it and to work there as if they were a fraction in a shop or factory. In their activity the youth comrades must be given every possible aid by the Communist League. Contacts must be made and leaflets put out on important issues. These to be distributed within the armory whenever possible.

To help build a new revolutionary party we must root ourselves in the trade unions. The events in Minneapolis have given us a grand start. It is clear that in the future we will again be faced by the National Guard. Therefore it is important that special work in this field be not neglected.

—AL DASCH.

# Factions Vie for Control of Socialist Party

(Continued from Page 1)

voted for the Declaration of Principles; and the Open Letter to the party by Louis Hendin, Old Guard and secretary of the N. Y. Labor Committee, printed in the New Leader, June 16.

### "No Compromise"

Hendin bluntly refuses a post offered him on the National Labor Committee, "until the infantile Communist Declaration of Principles is rejected." Hendin makes no bones about how far the Old Guard is willing to go, but says plainly: "Comrades, let us be frank about it. There can be no compromise between democratic Socialism and that anarcho-Communism which the Declaration represents." He makes clear that the issue is not merely one of verbal formulation of the Declaration, but says to the new executive of the party: "Some of you may realize too late that by ruthlessly eliminating all the forces that built the party (i.e. by not re-electing the Old Guard) you will have destroyed the very movement you have set out to capture." In other words, the Old Guard is not merely fighting to defeat the Declaration, but to take over the party or smash it and start their own.

The temper of the Old Guard is also revealed by a vicious reactionary attack on the S. P. convention by B. Charney Vladeck, in the Forward of June 15. Vladeck even denounced the convention's decision to put back on the application for membership the phrase "class struggle", which had been removed in 1928, Vladeck declaring that the "class struggle" has no place in a party desirous of getting the support of American farmers! Furthermore, Vladeck puts aside the pretenses of some of the Old Guard, who said they objected to the Declaration of Principles, but would not have objected to the St. Louis anti-war resolution. Vladeck declares that he is grateful to Waldman for not pretending that the St. Louis Resolution was correct. For his part, Vladeck says that "All that the St. Louis Resolution did was to disorganize the Party, to send hundreds of Oklahoma farmers to jail, and to shorten the life of Eugene Debs." Refusing to declare himself even a pacifist, Vladeck demagogically thinks up a "good war", Russia against Japan

and German, and says that in such a war he would be in favor of "America fighting on Russia's side."

### No Criticism of Labor Fake, or NRA

The idea of criticizing the A. F. of L. bureaucracy moves Vladeck to heights of frenzied denunciation, and he ends with this glorification of the labor fakers: "When, when will we learn that Dubinsky, Hillman, Zaritzky, Miller and Hochman and Nagler, have done more for socialism through building their unions than all the delegates to the convention." Even the NRA resolution, which the Old Guard successfully bowdlerized on the convention floor, by removing any reference to the A. F. of L., is attacked by Vladeck for not giving credit to the NRA! He declares the Socialists should give Roosevelt full support, thus pushing him left. "To say that every concession given by Roosevelt is only a trick, makes workers laugh at us."

In the face of this onslaught by the Old Guard, the "Militant" party majority has responded by conciliatory moves and fervent cries of unity. With the Old Guard refusing any compromise and carrying the attack to their enemy full force, the cry of unity can only signify the majority's tendency to capitulate to the Old Guard. What does it mean, to cry unity, when Waldman has already repudiated the party decisions, Hendin has refused to work for the party until it withdraws the Declaration, Pankens makes distinctions between "same" and "insane" Socialists? It can only mean that the party majority has no will to fight.

### Pious Hopes for "Peace"

Thus, in the face of the open threats of split and of Waldman and Hendin's written statements, which of course are the decisions of the whole Old Guard apparatus, Norman Thomas with Christlike innocence writes in the New Leader of June 16, that it is "gratifying" that "group after group in the party is declaring itself against wild rumors of split which unfortunately were being circulated"—a nice set of euphemisms to describe what Thomas heard and read with his own ears and eyes. "I think," Thomas says, "there will be no more intemperate discussions in the capitalist press." One can be sure that this is merely a pious hope, for

Waldman certainly gave him no guarantee.

Worse still, Thomas sought to conciliate the Old Guard by continuing the re-interpretation of the Declaration of Principles which began with the pro-Declaration speeches at the convention. At least at Detroit, however, Thomas did speak of "new beginnings"; but now the whole Declaration becomes meaningless, when he says: "We have been together too long to divide now on a question of how to say what in their hearts most Socialists agree ought to be said." If "most Socialists" include the Oneals, Pankens, Waldmans, Hendins, Matthew Levys, Charles Solomons, Joseph Sharts, etc. etc., then the Declaration is not even an ambiguous, centrist document, but a reformist fraud. Rather than being ashamed of the cynical right wing support of the Declaration, which was given as part of a horse-trade in votes, Thomas exhibits this right-wing support as proof that the Declaration is all right! He says: "Nowhere does the Declaration of Principles in words or by implication support any kind of dictatorship." "A document supported by the Wisconsin delegates (Mayor Hoan, etc.) and President Graham of the Montana Federation of Labor cannot be too strong for American workers."

### Conciliatory Gestures

Thomas continues his defeatist conciliatory gestures in the New Leader of June 23; he can find no stronger words than to say it is "not encouraging" that "the party which has not yet raised a fifth of its quota of the National Fund Drive can raise so much for factional controversy." Why does Thomas say "the party", when it is only the Old Guard raising money for the fight; certainly the Thomasites and the Militants are not only not raising money, but aren't even fighting. All that Thomas can do is to sigh at the Old Guard's boast that it can raise \$50,000 for its fight; says Thomas, "comrades can meet at expensive hotels to plan a campaign which, alas, has not so far confined itself to the discussion of principles but to attacks on persons."

One must search high and low to find any evidence of any militancy in the "Militant" camp. The nearest thing to an appropriate answer to the Old Guard is a resolution by the Y.P.S.L. of New York (New Leader June 16) which says that "some individual party members have made certain threats which, if pursued further by these individuals, can only result in a defection in our movement." And what does the Y.P.S.L. say in answer to these "individuals"? Why, that "For these individuals, the Y.P.S.L. can only express contempt and disdain." A militant voice. The only other explicit recognition of the deliberately splitting and anti-democratic methods of the Old Guard was Murray Baron's statement in the New Leader of June 23, which refers to Waldman's "disloyalty" which must not go unchallenged" and his "recent statements in the New York Times which warrant the severest discipline." Outside of been a peep out of the Militants, whose every move, at the Detroit convention and since, betrays the name that designates them.

### R.P.C.-Militant Merger?

In view of the failure of the Thomasites and the Militants to put up any fight against the Old Guard, while the Old Guard goes rip-roaring along in its bludgeoning campaign, the various and widespread attempts to merge the Revolutionary Policy Committee with the Militants, expose the real quality of some of the R.P.C. leaders all the more glaringly. It is already clear that the Thomasites and Militants, first by writing an ambiguous centrist resolution, which means any thing except a revolutionary policy, and secondly by watering down that resolution, by a series of re-interpretations since the convention, are already on the road to a shameful and unprincipled compromise with the Old Guard. The only reason that compromise is not already made is that the Old Guard will not have it, but demands open and complete capitulation. In view of this situation, the revolutionary elements in the Socialist Party are crystallizing in opposition to the merger and are quite correctly denouncing it as a treacherous maneuver to disperse the left wing and deprive it of a rallying center. These elements are also flatly rejecting the proposal that they vote for the centrist "Declaration of Principles" and are demanding that a declaration of their own be voted on.

### Help Cuban Comrades

One of the most effective means of delivering some powerful blows against our own exploiting class is to help our Cuban comrades who hold a strategic position in the struggle of the Cuban masses against American imperialism and their lackeys. The pressure of the Cuban masses against the native exploiters and the United States imperialists has already forced them to grant some concessions. We appeal to the readers of the Militant to collect money to aid our Cuban comrades. Ask your shop mates and friends to contribute. And then, with the money you collect, send in your own contribution to: The Militant, 126 East 16th St., New York City.

# Behind the Scenes In Fascist Germany

(Continued from Page 1)

we gone through an anti-Marxist revolution in order to carry out a Marxist program? For every attempt to solve the social problem by collectivization of property is Marxism."

"Would the German people do better by it, would anybody do better, except perhaps those who scent booty in such a pillaging raid, Social problems certainly exist, but they can be mastered only when property is again put under responsibility—not through making collective responsibility the ruling principle."

This is clear and precise. The danger conjured up by Von Papen is not the danger of the proletarian revolution in Germany, for even he knows that this would not be possible without a revolutionary proletarian leadership and least of all without a revolutionary international party. He is speaking directly for the benefit of the fascist guardians of the capitalist system. His task is to remind Hitler and his lieutenants that their first essential service has been performed. With their petty-bourgeois and plebeian fascist hordes they destroyed the German labor and revolutionary movement. They liberated their masters from the fear of strikes, revolts or proletarian insurrections and put the working class in chains. The many fists in the petty-bourgeois and plebeian army was the dagger their only value to the exploiters.

### Too Many Fists

But von Papen is now calling attention also to the danger lurking in the many upraised petty-bourgeois and plebeian fists. Too many of them have taken seriously the demagogic pledges that were embodied in the fascist program in order to rally the mob and to create a mass movement against the proletariat. Too many of them still remain under the illusion that they can cash in on these pledges. At the same time even the Fascist leaders cannot fail to take into account the present enormous strain on the German national economy, the reduction of the whole standard of living of the German masses, including the middle class, and as a result of this, the enormous danger of a seething discontent.

Certain points in the Nazi's demagogic program, declared to be unalterable for all time, still remain imprinted in the minds of the plebeian brown hordes. Point 13 of the official program reads: "We demand the nationalization of all businesses which have been up to the present formed into companies (trusts)." And, further on, point 17 reads: "We demand land reform suitable to our national requirements, confiscation without compensation of land for communal purposes and the abolition of interest on land loans."

These points were inserted to attract the masses, particularly the urban and rural middle class. It stands to reason that they were never intended to be carried out. The Fascist army was not created for any such purpose. It came into being at the time when German capitalism could no longer function on the old basis, when the masses could no longer be held in subjection even by a regime of social reformism and when the continued existence of capitalism required the ruthless extermination of all working class organization as a prerequisite for increasing the intensity of exploitation.

### What the New Program Means

That function was performed by the fascist army, tempering its artificially instilled hatred to Marxism in a ruthless campaign of terror. But the demagogic pledges advanced in order to create this army also served to instill into its mind the subsequent demand for the completion of the fascist revolution. Because of that the fascist leaders are compelled to give heed to the peremptory ultimatum of German capitalism, as now advanced by von Papen, that the regime base itself more exclusively on the reactionary state bureaucracy and put a brake on the petty-bourgeois and plebeian demands for completion of the fascist revolution. In accordance with this steps are being taken to reduce the numbers of the brown army, and thereby disarm many of its unreliable elements. This is the real meaning of the present movement. Hitler, however, hurries his assurance that what is developing now is not a change in the fascist regime.

In his special interview given to the New York Times reporter of June 24, thumping his fist on the table, he said: "At the risk of appearing to talk nonsense I will tell you that this movement will go on for a thousand years. The people are more behind me today than they were a year ago. They follow me wherever I go and will continue to do so."

This is his boast and it is easy to affirm that it has as little to do with the objective historical processes as has the Stalinist prognosis of standing at this moment on the threshold of the proletarian revolution in Germany. Hitler's greatest difficulties are still ahead of him. But that subject will have to be left for another article.

—ARNE SWABECK.

# West Coast Strike

(Continued from last issue)

nist leadership. They also condemn the longshoremen for repudiating the agreement signed by the International President, Ryan, which granted none of the basic demands of the dock workers, such as union control of hiring halls, union recognition etc., and which entirely left out of the settlement the other marine unions. At the same time, through the radio, press, and pulpit the American Legion has opened its campaign against Communism.

### For Labor Solidarity

In the face of this united assault on the part of the employers and their agents, the unity of the labor movement must be maintained at all cost. A further continuance of such maneuvers on the part of the Stalinists will tend to weaken the strike and split away the bulk of the labor movement. The campaign for a general strike must be waged seriously and systematically. The rank and file of the labor movement must clearly understand that this is their fight. They must be shown that the attack of the ship owners, Chamber of Commerce and the capitalist press is an attack on the rights of all labor unions. Victory in the marine strike will give new confidence and prestige to the labor movement, and free it from the paralyzing conservative influence which has so long been dominant in the bay region.

—D. E.

**CLEVELAND First Annual P I C N I C**  
Given by  
**Communist League of America (Cleveland Branch)**  
SUNDAY, JULY 22, 1934  
Garfield Park — Section 7  
(Take 105th St. Car—Garfield Pk.)  
Admission 10c. Free Refreshments

# Y. C. L. CONVENTION

The Seventh national convention of the Young Communist League is over. According to reports in the Daily Worker little was analyzed, less was planned, nothing was accomplished. On the basis of this source we can get a picture of the bankruptcy of the Stalinists in the youth movement.

"100% Increase in Membership" boldly proclaimed the Daily (June 25, 1934) in a headline. But the next day it summarized the report of the organization secretary of the Y.C.L. "Marks specially made a sharp attack on the heavy and increasing fluctuation of the League membership, saying that though 15,000 members were recruited since the last convention only 6,000 are still in the League. 'We have slogans and resolutions about fluctuation, but we don't take steps to overcome it.' Nor does the report state what steps were proposed—if any—to overcome this condition."

**300% Turnover in Three Years**  
15,000 recruited in three years. A powerful testimony of the fact that wide sections of youth are and can be attracted to a revolutionary youth organization. Add the claimed 3,000 members at the time of the last convention and we get the sum of 18,000 youth. Yet only 6,000 remain. Not a 200% turnover! One will not find that in headlines!

The convention had as it avowed task the winning of the youth for the struggle for Soviet power. The struggle for Soviet power is on the order of the day in all capitalist countries according to the papal board of Stalinism. So it must likewise be in the United States, logically conclude the young American cardinals and bishops.

Precisely what is meant by this nobody knows. Obviously the building of Soviets is not an immediate task of revolutionaries in the United States. If however the vague phrase means winning of the young workers, through their immediate struggles, for the working class dictatorship and Soviet power, that is, for Communism, then the task is not a new one, but rather an old task for which conditions are better than ever before. A big step forward could have been made in the past period of the economic crisis. Why was it not made?

### Trade Union Policy

"Failure to understand the correct trade union policy in the A. F. of L. and organizing the revolutionary trade unions, he (the trade union reporter) said, accounts for the isolation of the League from the masses of young workers in industry, and especially those entering strike struggles", reports the Daily Worker (June 26, 1934.)

Not a wrong trade union policy—that would be heresy—but the usual complaint of a "failure to understand" the correct trade union policy which presumably the Communist Party and the Young Communist League have. But what is the policy? The reporter called for the formation of opposition groups in the A. F. of L. and independent trade unions. For what purpose: to split the unions and affiliate them to the new brain storm of the Stalinists, a new independent trade union, independent of the A. F. of L., independent of the Trade Union Unity League. Independent also of the masses? The reporter did not explain what this repetition about "opposition" groups in

# What the 73rd Congress Did for the Bosses

The actions taken by the 73rd Congress under the leadership of the Roosevelt regime reveal far-reaching bourgeois reforms aimed to prop up world capitalism.

The outstanding features of the 73rd Congress were:  
1. Cleverly demagogic but firm steps to centralize and support the exploiting minority, and weaken labor by tying it to class collaboration machinery. This was the main task of the internal measures of the Congressional session. Banking and Industry, Agriculture, and Labor are the three divisions under which these measures fall.

The two outstanding features of the NRA are:  
(A) The economic feature. It organizes the industries on a national scale under Code Authority Bodies. It sets aside the Anti-Trust Laws and enables further consolidation and centralization of finance and industry through government cooperation, to form cartels, national industrial groups and monopolies. The small capitalists and sections of the middle class are driven out of business.

(B) The "social relation" feature. It corrals the working class and their struggles against the capitalists into class collaboration machinery. The A. F. of L.'s class collaboration ideology was not sufficient to cope with the rising strike struggles and new class relations. The new and extensive machinery of labor boards and arbitration is needed to check, to disorganize and to prevent the workers' struggles, especially those of the semi-skilled and unskilled millions of American workers.

The NRA has been strengthened

in the last days of Congress by the act empowering the President to set up boards to attempt to force through arbitration wherever strikes threaten. In addition, the setting up of a national Railroad Adjustment Board shows the further steps necessary in this industry, which is one of the sickest capital enterprises today.

The monetary and banking apparatus is being adjusted to conform with the greater centralization of industry. Particularly the first steps were taken toward chain banks and a more unified and consistent bank structure to meet the international needs of American imperialism. The present banking structure of America is one of the most antiquated among leading imperialist countries.

The measures dealing with Agriculture will have far-reaching effects in reorganizing American agriculture to fit present requirements of American capitalism in a world of shrinking markets. The major effort of America is directed to increasing the export of capital, where safe investments can be found, and the export of industrial and finished commodities. This requires reorganizing agriculture, in order to leave the door open for the importation of raw material and some farm products to enable creditor nations to pay. This means a sharp curtailment of domestic production is necessary, and the AAA is designed to this end, as are also the bills for the compulsory control of tobacco and cotton. The curtailment program necessitated special relief to the drought area, and the measure, through the Frazer-Lemke Bill, to help the mortgage companies holding farmers' mortgages.

### Government Subsidies

Industry have become a dominant factor in this stage of capitalism. In the earliest stages of capitalism, government subsidies were a necessity for the development of the national capitalists. Now it is a necessity to maintain the decaying capitalist system. The direct loans to industry through the Federal Reserve Bank and the R.F.C. and the Housing Act are a huge subsidy, as we have pointed out before in the Militant, to stimulate the production of durable goods and turn the wheels in the heavy industries which has meant profits to industry and a slight increase of production, but with no appreciable effect on unemployment.

3. Outstanding is the fact that many issues, especially international issues, are not handled by Congress, and only reach Congress for its rubber stamp which, especially this year when Congress is thoroughly dominated by the President, means that for practical purposes international issues are in the hands of the Executive. In addition, Congress has delegated power to the President to conclude reciprocal treaties with foreign nations and to raise or lower duties by 50%.

### International Policy

The Gold Act, vesting control in the President, was not only significant as an internal measure, but as a weapon of international policy which is now out of the hands of Congress. In these various ways power and funds have been centered in the hands of the Executive, so that pressing international issues can be handled with dictatorial decisiveness and rapidity by the President. These issues are the imperialist armament race, which will be cloaked in naval treaties and peace pacts, and the trade war that is already in full swing, disguised by reciprocal treaties and tariff manipulations.

4. In spite of all this increase of dictatorial power and centralization, bourgeois democracy in the United States is still a powerful force. Under conditions in any way approximating the present situation, the bourgeoisie will not have to resort to an open dictatorship. It still has sufficient internal strength and resources, so that further shifts of the workers to the left will be met by concessions designed to check and scatter the concentration of this leftward shift.

### Unemployment Relief

Further struggles of the unemployed will bring forward additional relief funds. More basic reforms, dealing with the thirty-hour week and unemployment and old age insurance (o a kind) have been left over for the next Congress, as concessions to be held in reserve to be presented later when the class storms become greater. Naturally, even these bourgeois substitutes and imitations of real social insurance measures, are only granted if the pressure of the working class is sufficient to warrant such stop-gap measures.

The Administration hopes to be able to handle the rising strike struggles in the coming period as effectively as it handled the Auto and Steel strike threats. The measures passed in the last days of Congress, giving the President full power to act and the setting up of arbitration boards is to be used in an attempt to keep class peace at home and the workers in subjection while the imperialist mongers are busy with the international problems confronting them in their attempt to organize the world.

—HUGO OEHLER.

# MINNEAPOLIS NOTES

### The Organizer. Weekly paper of General Drivers No. 574, Minneapolis. Vol. 1, No. 1.

It is evident that the militant Minneapolis truck drivers' union is moving ahead with all possible speed to clinch the opportunities which have been presented due to the splendid strike of a few weeks ago. Recruiting into the union goes on with gratifying speed (an average of 25 members daily still coming into the Drivers); study classes in trade union history, union structure and strike strategy have been formed and are under way. And on June 25 appeared the first issue of The Organizer, new weekly paper of Local 574, designed to cement together the bond of understanding among the membership, and to blaze a trail of progress before all labor, organized and unorganized, in this section.

Five thousand copies of this first 4-page sheet were published. Most readable, progressive in character, the paper has gauged to a nicety the general trade-union and political development of the workers within the union. As the class consciousness of the members is inevitably brought to new levels, one can anticipate that the editors of The Organizer will reflect and lead this consciousness.

In the first issue are articles dealing with the latest organization campaigns among petroleum workers and laundry drivers, the status of recent wage arbitration with the employer committees, a write-up of the last general membership meeting, the relation of the unions to the unemployed, etc. A feature of the paper is an excellent humor column, "The Sharp Shooter". And do not think that a lot of humor does not crop up in a city dominated by such a gang of touchy, super-civilized bandits as is the Minneapolis Citizens' Alliance.

One word about the mechanical make-up of this potent weapon in the fight against the bosses. Because of its handy size, The Organizer is going to prove most flexible in times of stress. It will be no problem to get out daily editions during strike battles. With the success of the handbill printed after that Tuesday battle in the Market, one can appreciate just what this will mean.

The editor of The Organizer is Farrell Dobbs. —H.

### PLOT FRAME-UP IN MPLS

The Hennepin County chapter of the Minnesota Law and Order League (a desk in the offices of the Minneapolis Citizens' Alliance) is going ahead with its plans to frame militant workers involved in the recent truckdrivers strike, out of which arose the killing of two bus-inesmen thugs who were acting as special debs, Arthur Lyman and Peter Erath.

The hysterical Citizens' Alliance, frothing at the mouth over the loss of their "Christian Soldier", Lyman, have raised a fund of over \$10,000 in the last few weeks, out of which rewards of \$5,000 are being offered for information leading to the arrest and conviction on the charge of murder or manslaughter of the persons guilty of either killing. The capitalist press, at the beck and call of the Alliance, is featuring news of these rewards on the front pages.

The very fact that the organized reaction has moved so slowly and with such hesitation indicates that, despite their frantic questioning of stool pigeons and poring over of newsreels taken during the Tuesday battle in the Market, they have not a shred of evidence as to the identity of the "criminals". And, of much more importance, the fact that there is in the field such a strong, militant union has deterred the reaction from moving with any confidence and decision.

The president of the Hennepin County chapter of the "Law and Order League" announced that "in carrying out the purpose of the League in aiding the city and county authorities to maintain law and order, efforts will be made to set up a permanent fund for rewards to be paid for like information in connection with law violations generally that are of a serious nature. The offer of such rewards would undoubtedly assist materially to prevent the commission of crimes and to bring offenders to justice."

### THE "RANK AND FILE OPPOSITION"

The drivers' situation is still tense. Held a mass membership meeting last Thursday to try and arrive at a way to force the employers to negotiate the wage scale demands. It was decided to call a joint strike conference of all transportation unions for Thursday P.M. the 28th.

The Stalinists issued two leaflets last week over the signature of "Rank and File Committee", attacking the settlement, leadership and conduct of the strike. The leadership took the leaflets up and got two of the "rank and file committee" to come forward. The rank and file of the union would not allow them to speak. It was shown that while these critics had May buttons of the union, they had no receipts and no union cards.

They barely were able to get out of the hall under guard furnished by the union and after the union president had spoken and asked for their safe conduct from the hall; in spite of this, one of them got a bat in the jaw.