



## MINNEAPOLIS DRIVERS VICTORIOUS

### Green & Co. Declare War On Militants

Playing, as usual, squarely into the hands of the vigilantes, citizens' alliances, American Legion thugs, and other avowed enemies of all organized labor, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, announces that he plans a relentless and organized war on the "reds" within the ranks.

### The Reactionary Program

The three-points of the program are in part:

First: To call upon all subordinate organized units to ferret out the Communists within its ranks and to expel them from membership.

Second: "We shall call upon the proper governmental authorities to protect trade unionists who seek to comply with agreements made with employers through collective bargaining, against the attacks of Communists who seek to compel them through force, intimidation, violence, to become identified with the Communist organization."

Third: "The Executive Council will call upon the Department of Labor to deport alien Communists... who are deportable under the immigration statute."

Translate these three points on the anti-Red program, and they mean, first: that Green will lend his support to the California and Minneapolis red-baiting program of the employers, who also want to rid labor of its "Communist" i.e. militant, elements. Second, that the cops will be called in to support trade-union bureaucrats in their sell-outs of the workers, against the revolt of the rank-and-file. Third, that Green will support the Department of Labor's strike-breaking deportation policy.

The situation becomes particularly ominous when one bears in mind that the next convention of the A. F. of L. will be held shortly—October 3—in San Francisco, and that handpicked delegates are more than likely to railroad through the anti-Red program of the executive council.

**Fascist Bands Will Approve**  
Thus, on the scene where organized labor is most menaced by lawless, quasi-Fascist mobs, the instigators of the lawlessness and terror will be able to point to the approval of the American Federation of Labor, of organized labor.

The bosses who broke the San Francisco general strike by the use of armed thugs, aided by police, will be able to say: "We were only making war on the Reds, just as the A. F. of L. was forced to do."

Bill Green's rule is threatened. Locals are in open rebellion, and the seething discontent is beginning to force its way into the ranks of the top leadership. The war against this rebellion will be masked as a war against the "Reds" (not even the bosses are more adept than Green at drawing the red-herring across the trail) but all the dissatisfied elements will be smashed before the war is over—if Green has his way.

**Minneapolis Shows the Way**  
The answer of the workers who won the glorious battle of Minneapolis should be the answer of all trade unionists to Bill Green's latest pronouncement. They refused to be diverted by Tobin's and Green's red-herring, and they continued under their own militant leadership to win one of the most significant victories in the history of labor in the last 15 years.

Trade-union membership belongs to all workers, regardless of their political affiliations and convictions, who are willing to actively fight for improvement of workers' conditions. The most active members have been the leftward moving members, who are in revolt against Bill Green's policy of betrayal.

### NEW DEAL DEFENDS PROFIT SYSTEM, SAYS SECRETARY

For such timid capitalists—if such there be—who were seriously concerned lest the New Deal assail their sacred rights to profit off the sweat and blood of the workingman, Secretary of Commerce Roper has issued a soothing reassurance.

"To the business man let me say," he said in a radio address, "that your government and the masses of people resent unthinking statements or subtle suggestions that the profit motive in American life has been or is to be abolished."

With recent disclosures to the effect that milk companies have been enjoying 300 per cent profit while dairy farmers were begging for a government pittance, with textile companies enjoying 370 per cent increase in profits, with General Motors showing a 16 per cent increase in profits, and Dupont a 50 cents extra dividend, the honorable secretary's assurances would seem to be superfluous.

Nor do the starving masses need to be told that the profit motive still rules. How strongly it rules, and how unscrupulously, they will further discover when the prices of food, and other necessities of life, begin to rocket this winter.

### Japan Prepares Seizure of Chinese Eastern Railroad

The Soviet officials of the Chinese Eastern Railway seized last week are still being kept in prison by the Manchukuoan authorities who refuse to free them. Their release has been refused despite repeated protests on the part of Soviet Russia, even threatening to temporarily suspend all negotiations for the sale of the road. Japan, arrogant bully of the East, has merely continued its incarceration of the Line's officials, thereby hoping to force the Soviet Union to agree to their terms.

Following the seizure of Manchuria by Japan, the latter's warlords, sensing the weakness of the Workers' Republic, forcibly seized control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which had formerly been owned jointly by Soviet Russia and China. Forced by the protestations of the Soviets to relinquish part of the control to the Russian officials, Japan has since then been attempting

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### An Open Letter to the C. P. and S. P. on the United Front

To the Communist Party of the United States  
To the Socialist Party of the United States  
Dear Comrades:

You are now considering the establishment of a united front of common struggle for certain immediate aims. Formally such a proposal has been made by the Communist Party to the Socialist Party, and naturally we urge its acceptance.

It is a fact well known to you that we have consistently advocated the united front of Communist and Socialist organizations. When others rejected this idea we remained steadfast in our conviction of its imperative necessity and its feasibility. Particularly in face of the advancing Fascist menace in Europe and its developing tendencies also in the United States did we persist in our demand for a united front of common action against the class enemy. Our concern can be only that of the needs of our class. That is the only point of view which has any meaning and from that point of view the realization of the united front will mean a victory for the working class.

It is not necessary for us to restate here the pressing needs of the united front of Communist and Socialist organizations; they have been stated often enough. But we feel that it is necessary for us to emphasize that the united front must be genuine in its substance and in its objectives. This would mean first of all that it must include all Communist and Socialist organizations ready to accept a program of common struggle and ready to collaborate loyally in carrying it into actual life. It would mean

### Labor Skates Stall General Textile Strike

The much heralded textile union general strike threatens to join the much heralded steel strike into a siding.

Already the timorous, the treacherous, textile union leaders are paying the way for the sell-out.

The special "strike committee", headed by Francis J. Gorman, first vice-president of the United Textile Workers, is hopeful that "President Roosevelt or someone else with real authority" will be able to avert the walkout.

The President's sop to the demands of the workers, in the form of a reduction of hours from 40 to 36, is hailed by Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, as a "living symbol of the NRA" (which it is) and "a new approach to real economic democracy".

Having thus prepared the workers with these fine, militant slogans for a battle to the death, the finishing touches to the strike campaign is supplied by William Green, president of the A. F. of L.

Green has appointed a committee to cooperate with the general strike committee. Green's committee comprises John L. Lewis, Matthew Woll, Frank Morrison, and similar fire-fighters, all calculated to dampen the most promising conflagration that might arise in union circles, and to put out all scattered flames of revolt as well.

In a word, the leaders of the textile union are not only stalling on the strike issue, but such preparations as they are making are in the direction of strangling the strike should it begin.

The only hope for the strike, if it is called, is that the workers themselves may rebel against such obviously lukewarm leadership, and demand a genuine rank-and-file strike committee, responsible neither to Bill Green, nor to the NRA, but representing the needs and demands of the workers in the textile industry.

### FOOD PRICES RISE 22 PERCENT

Coincident with the reports of increased corporation profits and increased unemployment (359,000 laid off between June and July of this year—Francis Perkins) come those of rising food prices.

Food prices on July 31 reached the highest point in 30 months, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Where a worker paid 90 cents for food in April 1933, he today has to pay \$1.10, an increase of 22 percent.

the extension of its scope to embrace every live force in the labor movement, to embrace the trade unions and the largest possible mass of workers willing to cooperate; and it would mean also the engaging in actions of a militant character which will serve in the greatest measure to defend the rights of our class against the vicious attacks of the common enemy. In our opinion this cannot be accomplished by means of a non-aggression pact which denies the freedom of criticism within the limits of loyal collaboration in the united front. We hold that the independence of organization of the participants and this freedom of criticism on a comradely basis is imperative to give to the united front that genuine dynamic character that is so essential for it to record a real gain for the working class.

We do not presume to lay down any conditions in advance for the creation of a united front or for our collaboration with the other organizations in it. The conditions and the objectives, we believe, can best be worked out by common consultation of representatives of the various organizations. Therefore, we declare ourselves ready to participate in such consultations; we declare ourselves ready to collaborate loyally with you and the other workers' organizations in attaining such aims that may be commonly agreed upon in a genuine united front. We urge its speedy realization and await your answer.

Fraternally yours,  
National Committee  
Communist League of America  
ARNE SWABECK  
Secretary

### Local 574 Wins Right to Represent Inside Men; Discrimination Barred

### Agreement Answers Lies and Slanders

(Reprinted below are the terms of the settlement adopted by the membership, of 574 and agreed to by the "100" employers. We believe that this is the surest way to answer all lies and put the calumniators in their place.—Ed.)

1. The strike and all strike activities to be terminated at once.  
2. All employees now on strike shall be reinstated on the basis of seniority, without discrimination.  
3. Each employer who does not at once reinstate all his employees to their former positions, shall within three (3) days after the strike is terminated, prepare and file with the Minneapolis-St. Paul Regional Labor Board a preferential list. Such employers shall place on the preferential list the names of employees on their payrolls as of July 16th, 1934, and they shall engage workers from this list in seniority order, and will not hire or maintain on their payrolls any other employes (as defined in paragraphs four (4) and five (5) hereof) until this preferential list is exhausted.

4. In the twenty-two (22) firms known as the "market firms," the provisions hereof shall cover Drivers, Helpers, Platform Workers and "Inside Workers." The term "Inside Workers" shall mean all employes of these firms except Drivers, Helpers, Platform Workers, Office Workers and Salesmen. The term "Salesman" shall mean any employe who devotes at least sixty per cent (60%) of his time to selling.

5. In the one hundred and forty-four (144) firms other than the "market firms," the provisions hereof shall cover only Drivers, Helpers and Platform Workers directly engaged in loading or unloading trucks. In any plant where there are inside employes handling merchandise who went out on strike, they shall be returned to their former positions, but they shall not be eligible to vote in the election as called for in paragraph seven (7) hereof; unless all "Inside Workers" in said plant or plants be also entitled to vote.

6. No employer shall discriminate against any employe because of Union membership.

7. Within ten (10) days after the termination of the strike, an election shall be held in each of the one hundred and sixty-six (166) firms to determine representation of the employes in these firms (as defined in paragraphs four (4) and five (5) hereof). All employes so defined whose names appear on the payroll or list of employes as of July 16, 1934, shall be eligible to vote. The election shall be by secret ballot and conducted under the supervision of the Minneapolis-St. Paul Regional Labor Board.

Representatives chosen by the majority shall bargain for all said employes eligible to vote. Each employer shall deal with such person, persons, or organization as the majority of his employes (as defined in paragraphs four (4) and five (5) hereof) shall select for purposes of collective bargaining.

8. Each firm agrees to pay for a period of at least one year, not less than fifty (50c) cents per hour to Truck Drivers, and not less than forty (40c) cents per hour to Helpers, Platform Workers and "Inside Workers" as above defined. These hourly rates shall remain in effect unless changed by agreement or arbitration. If a dispute arises in any individual firm regarding hourly rates, which can not be settled by negotiation, the dispute shall be submitted to arbitration. The affected employer shall within three (3) days after the request is made appoint two (2) representatives to the Arbitration Board the employes (as defined in paragraphs four (4) and five (5) hereof) by majority representation, within three days after the request is made, shall

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### The Strike Triumphant

The stirring news of the victory of the Minneapolis strike will give heart and hope to every class conscious and union conscious worker in the United States. It comes as a beacon light on the dark sea of defeats that have engulfed the labor unions in the second strike movement under the NRA. The thrilling outcome of the battle will give confidence to the doubting worker that labor need not lose and capitalism can be defeated. It will strengthen the conviction in the minds of every revolutionist that the policies of consistent class struggle are the only method of crowning the struggles of the working class with success.

But the working class has little time to rejoice. Bigger and fiercer battles are ahead. It must forge its weapons and prepare. Let the workers learn and assimilate the lessons of Minneapolis and they will have gained an invaluable addition to the arsenal of class weapons against capital. And Minneapolis is rich in lessons, so rich that if but a part of them are digested the proletariat will take a huge stride forward.

With hardly an exception practically all of the major problems of strike strategy were telescoped in the battle of 574. Lack of space does not permit us to deal with all of them, but to mention them in part: maintaining a picket line to cope with scabs, feeding five thousand strikers and their families, providing relief to the more destitute of the workers, holding high the morale of the strikers for the long weeks of the struggle, answering the lies, the calumnies and the slanders of the boss press and radio, conducting negotiations with the employers and federal arbitrators, gaining the support of workers in other unions, combatting the police and the city officials.

These are the customary problems faced by the workers when they rebel for better conditions. But the Minneapolis strike was complicated with other and far more perplexing matters. From the very word go, the strike was faced with a vehement "red" scare of the bosses, kept alive for its entire duration. This was joined in by the International President of the Teamsters, Tobin, who declared the strike illegal at the very outset. Then, to make confusion worse confounded, a farmer-labor governor, having the confidence of the overwhelming majority of the workers, dealt some deadly blows at the strike while pretending friendship. A backward rank-and-file, fighting mad, but steeped in all the prejudices that the bosses had inculcated into them for years finishes the picture.

Any other leadership than the one in Minneapolis would have foundered on the rocks of this stupendous problem. This is not because of the personal qualities or the integrity of the men, although that contributed heavily, but rather because the tactics they pursued were Marxian from beginning to end. They were thoroughly fused with the workers in the ranks. They carried on their work in the trade union not with the purpose of some sensational stunt. Building on organization, leading it to victory and helping the workers learn from their own experiences in the class struggle—that was their aim.

Previous issues of the Militant have commented on the military-efficient organization of the strike apparatus. But it does not hurt to repeat some of them, for it was on this very thing that success was founded. To enumerate: the picket line on wheels ready to move at a moment's notice, in contact at every step with strike headquarters—the commissary serving five thousand strikers daily on the solid assumption that an army travels on its belly—the Ladies Auxiliary giving the women a direct interest in the struggle, making them an encouragement and an aid instead of a drag on the strikers—the mobilization of the unemployed for support—and finally the daily strike bulletin, which we can safely say is one of the greatest contributions to strike strategy in recent times. Here was a paper that inspired the strikers, answered the lies of the boss press day in, day out, fanned their flagging enthusiasm, warned them of traps set by the bosses and arbitrators, showed the class lines of the struggle and performed a thousand and one other services. This was the unshakable foundation of the strike.

Yet all of this would have been wrecked by the "red" scare had the union leaders not been prepared to meet it. In Frisco the cry of "Communist" tore a deep hole into the strike front. In Minneapolis it was a complete dud. The leaders faced the issue squarely. They did not rush into print denying the accusations. Nor did they shout their opinions to the wide world. They explained to the men that this was part of a plot of the bosses to evade the issues, sow confusion and division in the ranks and thus smash the strike. The results are known. The red-scare fell on deaf ears.

Quite as important, if not more so, was the role of Governor Olson. With a cunning play of demagoguery and harmless attacks on the employers he established himself as the "friend" of the strikers. So much so, that when he called the troops onto the streets and declared martial law, opinion was general among the drivers that it was done in their interest. Pickets began to rely on Olson's soldiers. Knowing the class nature of the state, the leaders saw how fatal such an attitude would be for the strike. They were quick to act. The Organizer, at the risk of incurring the displeasure of the union men, pointed out the real purpose of the troops—to break the strike. But they did not confine themselves to denunciation. Only experience would teach the strikers. A test of the right of picketing was decided upon. And then... by raiding the strike headquarters, imprisoning the leaders and the best pickets, Olson taught the strikers more about Olson than all the editorials in the world could have done. A different opinion of the Governor of Minnesota and the purpose of the state now pervades not a few members of 574.

The union saw to it that the struggle against Olson be further pushed by exerting the severest pressure on Olson's men, the conservative leaders of the Central Labor Union. The biggest barrier to Olson's game was the support of the drivers by the entire Minneapolis labor movement. By adroit and skillful tactics the leaders of 574 forced the heads of the C.L.U. to give their assistance to the drivers and not to condemn them. When the union called upon the officials to declare a general strike in answer to the raid on the headquarters, they resisted but they were on the carpet. They brought pressure to bear on Olson and he released the strike leaders and restored the hall. While the officials of the C. L. U. and the Minnesota State Federation of Labor were successful in preventing a general strike, their answer was a living demonstration to the workers of Minneapolis of the stuff these "leaders" are made. A general strike is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. And the conservatives at the head of the Minneapolis labor movement deprived 574 of this powerful means. The rank and file will draw the proper conclusions!

In the gratifying conclusion of the battle there lie the features that distinguish the Minneapolis strike from all others in recent times. For the first time in years militants, indigenous to the industry, have entered an A. F. of L. union; converted it from a craft to an industrial union; built it up patiently and quietly; prepared carefully and struck at the proper moment; combined organization with militancy and political wisdom, and emerged from a five week's strike against insuperable odds with victory in their laps. And on top of all this, what is almost unprecedented in such strikes—not only is the union intact but the leadership is still in the hands of the genuine militants.

The example of the Minneapolis leadership will be an inspiration everywhere!  
It can and will be repeated!

### 574 Acts in Enforcement of Settlement

Minneapolis, Aug. 22.—Triumphant 574 is celebrating tonight.

The Minneapolis drivers have battled through five weeks of the toughest strike struggle in recent times and have emerged from it with a victory that will warm the hearts of the militants from Maine to California.

In the most significant duel in years between reaction, the bosses, the governor, the soldiers, the cops, the press, the radio, the church, on the one side and the dauntless militancy of 574 supported by the Minneapolis working class on the other, labor has won.

### Defeating a Mighty Foe

The enemy was powerful. It flooded the press with a Niagara of vituperation against the union and its leaders.

It impressed its paid agent, Daniel J. Tobin International Teamsters President into service to denounce the leadership as Communists.

It barked into the radio day after day in a never-ending tirade against the "Communists who wanted to overthrow established law and order."

It murdered two unarmed workers in cold blood and did not even make the pretense of apprehending their assassins.

It raided the union headquarters.

It imprisoned the leaders and the best militants in a military stockade.

It declared martial law, gave free rein to the troops who strangled the picketing that had tied up Minneapolis trucking tight as a drum.

This Citizens Alliance wanted to smash 574 and organized labor. But though it was backed by all the gold of Wall Street, it has cracked like an egg shell under the fist of the truckers union.

The settlement, agreed to by the union and proposed by P. A. Donahue, who had been sent here from Washington after the raw frame-up by Haas and Dunnigan had been exposed by the rank and file of 574, gives the union the most important of the demands for which they fought.

### Win On Major Issue

The paramount demand of the strike—the recognition of the inside men in the market firms—has been granted the union.

All the strikers are to be restored to their jobs without discrimination and on the basis of seniority.

Although certain concessions have been made, as in the wage scale and on the elections to determine the right of the union to represent the drivers, nevertheless the capitulation of the bosses on the cardinal issues, made the union feel strong enough to yield on these questions.

### Statement of Dunne

The statement of Vincent R. Dunne, strike leader, summarizes the position of the union on the settlement:

"The action of the membership tonight, in adopting the settlement as recommended by the Strike Committee of 100, gives Local 574 substantially what it has fought and bled for since the beginning of the strike more than five weeks ago. While the Union has accepted certain modifications of its original demands, the settlement establishes the basis for the unconditional return of all strikers without discrimination, and leaves the right of Local 574 to represent the inside men in the market—the basic issue in the strike—unchallenged. The settlement differs in some respects from the Haas-Dunnigan plan which the union had adopted as a minimum, but it is so close to it in fundamentals that the committee felt justified in recommending its acceptance, and the membership by an almost unanimous vote endorsed this recommendation.

"We consider as fundamental in the settlement the fact that previous attempts to discriminate against strikers and active pickets in re-employment, is entirely eliminated."  
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REVIEWING THE NEWS

Attention Browder!

Albert Tustar, Holiness preacher of Sylvia N. C., to prove his faith in God, allowed a rattlesnake to bite him. His arm swelled up, his tongue became so swollen that it filled his mouth, he screamed with pain but he did not die and his followers held a Victory-Halle (V) demonstration. For half an hour or more they prayed, danced, sang and rolled on the ground led by 20 "saints". Looks like a perfect set-up for a Stalinist united front.

"National Socialism"

The Nazi under-Secretary of Economics, Posse, is reported by Time, Aug. 6th, as stating that the workers in Germany were caught by the Nazis' "socialism" like "flies on fly paper". An apt comparison. Section 7a of the NRA is another form of "Tanglefoot".

The Union Label

Workers are being gassed, shot and bayoneted on picket lines. Strike headquarters and trade union headquarters are occupied by National Guards. Fellow workers in other trades show their solidarity by sympathetic strikes and by support on picket lines with their striking brothers. Fascism threatens to smash the labor movement of the world. Never was there a time when courageous and determined leadership was such a vital matter to the American labor movement as now. And—Green and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. propose a campaign for—the Union Label!

"Splinters"

Lovestone refers to the "Trotskyists" as splinters from Communism. If he and Brandler keep on whitening down the "International Communist Opposition" he won't have enough left to even dignify with the name "splinters".

"Deuces Wild"

Aristotle Caidis, Gitlow's third deuce, finds that the Communist League cannot be "divorced from the interests of the counter-revolution" in a truly "brilliant" historical sketch in that penny-ante pot which they call Labor Front. Aristotle should leave writing to Gitlow and spend his time "with sleeves rolled up" threshing out differences over the Talmud with Harry Watson who according to Gitlow has "a very healthy viewpoint."

Not Entirely . . .

In the thesis presented to and endorsed by the "National" Plenum of the Lovestone group, note is taken of the "disintegration" of the Trotskyists after which Lovestone states in these words: "However, we must frankly declare that the ICO has not been immune from the crisis pervading the labor movement." Not quite, as the letter of H. Zam shows. Writes Zam: "I write this after hearing the report of our international representative that the Alsatian section of the ICO, the C. P. of Alsace, has been expelled. This was the strongest section of the ICO after the Swedish party which was similarly expelled some months ago. The expulsion of the Alsatian section marks one of the major steps in the disintegration of the ICO. . . . The ICO as an international factor no longer exists." Lovestone's admission that they have not entirely escaped the crisis must be accepted as another example of that "frankness" for which he and the C. P. O. have long been famous.

Silence on Union Square

We recently commented on the ukase issued by the Stalinists here that picketing and talking must cease on Union Square August 1st. One of the "proletarian guards" elected to enforce the decision writes to the "D.W." "Although it was in the Daily Worker on the first page, August 1st urging the comrades to pay attention to the speakers, they were doing otherwise. The separate meetings and the conversations were worse than before." We would suggest that a joint statement signed by Browder and Father Divine be issued for the next meeting and printed "in the Daily Worker first page." If that doesn't silence the masses then the only thing to do is to expel them from Union Square as counter-revolutionary social-fascists. We must have silence while the Tallentyses and Divines speak.

Protest Deporting Of Bellussi

Terming impending deportation on September 1 of Antonio Bellussi, Italian anti-Fascist, a manifest injustice, a group of prominent liberals today petitioned Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins to reinvestigate Bellussi's case.

Bellussi, according to the petition, which accompanies a legal memorandum prepared by the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, was arrested in Pennsylvania in March 1933, ordered deported to Italy, and kept in jail nine months. Recently the order of deportation was modified to allow Bellussi's departure to a country other than Italy. No visa could be obtained from the countries approached, and Bellussi is again in danger of being deported to Fascist Italy.

His defenders fear that heavy punishment awaits him if he is sent back to his native land, because of his known anti-Fascist views and activities.

Among the signers of the petition to Secretary Perkins are: Professor Irwin Edman, Oswald Garrison Villard, Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Edmund Wilson, Maxwell S. Stewart, Frieda Kirchwey, Professor Mark Van Doren, Professor Frank Boas, James Rorty and Professor Karl Llewellyn.

The petition sets forth that Bellussi was arrested when he sought to heckle a speaker at a meeting of the Fascist Khaki Shirts. His home was searched without warrant, in violation of his constitutional rights. Evidence was produced indicating that he was a member of the Communist Party of America, presumably making his deportation mandatory, when, as a matter of fact, he had been expelled from the Communist Party five years earlier.

On these grounds and others the petition seeks to re-open the case.

Klan Rears Its Head in Fort Wayne

Fort Wayne, Ind., Aug. 20—The menace of the American fascist movement is becoming more evident every day. Various varieties of fascism, all bearing a marked resemblance of the original German model, and all sporting an ambitious "Der Fuehrer" or two, are raising themselves and making a bid for a mass following, and more than that, heavy financial support from the captains of industry.

Such a movement is presented in the revival of the Klu Klux Klan in Indiana. This American prototype of Hitlerism is engaged, like the Silver Shirts, in an acrimonious drive against Jews and radicals in the best approved Nazi manner. Leaflets and literature is issued denouncing "International Jewry" and warning citizens against voting for Jewish candidates for public office.

Their most vicious vituperation however, is directed against Communists. All sorts of blood-curling charges are brought against the "international band of red criminals who are trying to Russify America." "Communism will not be tolerated" declare placards posted by the K.K.K. But these would-be Hitler make one mistake: it is fascism, not communism, that will not be tolerated by the working class.

Stirred by the wave of strikes and the valuable, concrete work of the Communist League of America, particularly in Minneapolis, the Friends of the Militant of Chicago decided to raise additional funds to its previous contributions.

A meeting was called last week and upon the suggestion of one of our members, comrade Rose Casano a decision was made to have an outing and to charge \$1.00 per person, which price should include transportation by automobile, two complete meals, entertainment, etc. With the whole-hearted cooperation of all members, some contributing machines, others helping in preparing and serving the food, the picnic was held last Sunday, August 5th at one of the Forest Preserves, and the net result was a complete success, both in a material and ideological sense. Twenty-five dollars were netted, several new contacts were made and in general, the interest in the viewpoints of the movement stimulated.

The success of this out of door affair was due not only to the activities of our own members, but also to the splendid help we received from outsiders who attended the affair.

Painters Strike Sags In New York

The huge mass-meeting at Mecca Temple on Monday night, August 20, called by the Brotherhood of Painters District Council No. 9, marked the beginning of the fourth week of the general painters strike in New York for the maintenance of the \$9 wage scale and the seven hour work day.

Rumors were in circulation before the meeting, that this would be the conclusion of the strike; that the D. C. had it all fixed up with the bosses and the occasion would be taken merely as a formal announcement of the fact. But as it turned out, the series of conferences held during the day with the employers, in which every angle and every conceivable point was discussed, had not led to any agreement, and the Master Painters Association were stubbornly holding out for the eight-hour day.

Therefore, after sufficient ground had been prepared and the strikers' sentiment aroused to a high pitch, a resolution was read and unanimously adopted by a rising vote, that the Master Painters Assn. be given a 48-hour ultimatum, to come to terms or be damned; that in expiration of 48 hours the negotiations will be broken off completely and only individual employers would be dealt with thereafter.

The reading of this seemingly radical resolution, which was introduced with a real gust of bravado, was calculated to strike the militant tone of the gathering, to gull the gullible and to embolden the leaders. And this pilloried demagogue Zauser, has not miscalculated. The meeting thereafter was, though enthusiastic, most orderly and quiet: not a single disruption was heard throughout the speech-making. The Stalinists, who had split the union by refusing to cooperate with the D.C. in the strike were kept outside, as were all the 600 rank and file members of the Stalinists' local No. 499, whose charter had recently been revoked. Every man had to show his membership book at the door. The corrupt Zauser machine, together with many invited guest politicians and outside labor fakers, had full control of the gathering.

Molley Crowd of Speakers

Amongst the speakers were a representative of the Regional Labor Board, Ben Golden, a sly cunning politician who was introduced as an "impartial observer", George Meany from the Plumbers union, who was hailed by Phillip Zauser as the coming State Secretary of the American Federation of Labor. Next came Louis Waldman of the Socialist Party, and last but not least Joseph B. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Assn. and of the Central Trades and Labor Council. He was introduced by the chairman as the "generalissimo" of the trade union movement, embracing more than 400,000 organized workers in New York City.

All these "stars", with a score of lesser lights, sat in a great semi-circle on the stage, with Zauser rattling on most of the time with an adroit volubility, saying little, but keeping the audience at their ease, like a country hostess. He talked interminably but failed to touch the sore spots of the union—the excessive dues and taxes, the terror and intimidations, the favoritism and gangsterism. He addressed the painters in the audience as "my boys". Whenever he accidentally came close to a tender subject, he dexterously fled under a cloud of words.

The other high priests were apparently invited on the scene to entertain the strikers; entertain them and keep them in good spirits with gross demagoguery, rosy promises and prophecies, funny anecdotes, bombastic recitations, stuff full of rhetoric and wind. Louis Waldman, who was promised as the spice, the delicacy of the program, lived up to this promise, by delectably introducing the "class nature" of the strike into the conservative chorus, much to the elation of the audience.

Gradually, as the speeches dragged on, the congregation became more and more restless and tired from the hot air delivered for them from the platform. The applause diminished. The leaders, sensing that they had sowed wind, and if they did not want to reap whirlwind, they might as well end it right there. At ten o'clock the melange of painters were on the streets.

The strike is going on as usual. Very little picketing is being done. Many of the painters who had worked before the strike are back at the jobs, as more than 200 independent bosses have signed up. The strikers are becoming more demoralized and tired of registering twice a day at their local unions. Those who work are scheming for ways and means to shirk the 50 cent a day work tax imposed on them by Zauser. The membership does not seem to care what the outcome of the strike will be. Many of the painters are clinging to the union simply to see what the hell is coming next.

The terrorism and sluggings, so familiar in the early days of the strike, have considerably abated. The disciplinary force, or strong-

IN THE TRADE UNIONS

N.Y. Truckers Strike Looms

arm-men (also called—strike committees, election committees etc.); mercenaries largely recruited from the underworld, are not so much in evidence. This coterie of beasts as devoid of principle as their hires are laying low for lack of funds and work, since the Stalinists have scabbed on them by isolating all the militant elements from the battlefield, who would have given any trouble to the corrupt officialdom.

While the opportunities for the settlement of the strike is propitious at the present time, the union leaders seem to evade the actual step, because a slow, peaceful and dragged-out strike means a good source of income for them. The strikers in their part, despite their demoralization, are becoming somewhat incensed at the stalling of their leaders in securing a settlement.

There are times when patience ceases to be a virtue, and the time is approaching in the painters union, when the strikers' patience will be exhausted. The painters are getting fed up on Zauser's lies, his petty cheats, his miserable deceptions, his double dealings, and everything that goes to constitute a clique that is full of slyster tricks.

But Zauser and his creatures will not cease terrorizing and bulldozing the painters; certainly not until the rank and file wakes up and takes matters into its own hands.

MEMBER OF BROTHERHOOD

Molders in Unity Move

St. Louis.—A movement towards a merger between the International Molders Union of North America and the Brotherhood of Foundry Employees is now on foot and will probably go into effect at the twenty-eighth convention of the I. M. U. to be held in Chicago on August 13. At the time of writing we have no report of the convention. This is an important step forward, one which has been forced on the leadership by the rank and file of both organizations.

Stevenson, Vice-President of the I. M. U., is reported to have said that little or no opposition is expected from the delegates on the merger question. The only opposition which is anticipated will come from Dannenberg, head of the B. F. E., who is ready for the amalgamation or anything else so long as he is able to preserve his pie-card.

Then there is the old-line leadership of the A. F. of L. who of course view any move towards the industrial union as a threat to the "established order" of hamstringing the workers in the outworn or obsolete craft union.

Bureaucrat Wants Pie-Card

All the negotiations with Dannenberg revolved around the question of the number of fat-salaried positions which will be allowed in the new organization. Dannenberg's position, however, is in the main a hopeless struggle and the convention will make short shrift of him. As for the A. F. of L., Stevenson is reported to have said that if withdrawing from it is the only way to achieve this unification then withdrawal will take place.

Stevenson, who was on a national tour, told of shop conditions around the country and especially those in the south as being so terrible as to defy description. In the south, the Negro workers are very enthusiastic about the organization. Hopes aroused by the organization have already inspired the terribly exploited workers, mostly Negro, of one of the large southern shops to go on a courageous and militant strike for the betterment of their conditions. Negroes, in other parts of the country particularly around East St. Louis are also flocking to the banner of the union.

The NRA code, setting a flat rate for sections of the foundry industry, making no discrimination between skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers has led to ridiculous wage scales. In many shops skilled and unskilled are paid the same wage and in one plant it is reported that where laborers receive 32 cents an hour the molders receive only 30 cents an hour.

In addition to this, machinery has to a large extent obliterated the difference between skilled and unskilled labor. On one type of mold five workers are employed, supposedly one "molder" and five "laborers". The most experienced eye watching the operation would be unable to say which was the "molder" and which the "laborer". To continue to maintain craft lines under such conditions is foolish and suicidal.

The membership of the I. M. U. is for the most part old and conservative. The amalgamation will fuse into the new union new and young blood, younger in years as well as organization. The militants in the I. M. U. will receive from the new membership the support they need to go ahead with a program that will make the foundry bosses sit up and take notice. The brutally exploited foundry workers will have in their hands a weapon for obtaining lower hours, better conditions and a higher standard of living. That weapon is the organizational union.

Hathaway Slurs Mpls. Strike

A large audience attended a meeting on Friday, August 10 at Irving Plaza. They were there to learn the "Lessons of Minneapolis" through the medium of Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker.

Having failed to learn anything from the Minneapolis strike himself, Hathaway was therefore unable to impart anything of importance to the workers. It is true he spoke for one and one half hours on the "sell-out", the "wrong policy", the "collaboration of the Trotskyists with Olson", etc., etc., ad nauseum—a long series of distortions, misstatements, outright lies, provocative slanders.

Model Strike

Here is a strike that stands out as a model for the working class. Fighting against great odds, all of the state forces lined up against it, Local 574 is putting up as militant a struggle as has ever been witnessed in labor history. The efficiency of the strike apparatus, the strike committee of 100, the strike headquarters, the preparations for relief, the strike hospital, the daily strike newspaper, the loud speaker bulletins over Station 574, the discipline and fighting courage of the workers, the solidarity of workers with the leaders—these are some of the facts of the Minneapolis strike which are unique in American labor history and will serve as lessons to the working class in future struggles.

But Hathaway could not find one word of praise or make one constructive criticism for this magnificent battle. Only written questions were permitted and the chairman was free to choose those to be answered. A protest from the floor arose. One worker stated to the chairman that he had recently returned from Minneapolis, that he had several copies of the Organizer, the strike paper, which contained direct refutation of statements made by Hathaway and requested the floor to read them. The request was refused.

Provocative Slander

A little later Hathaway resorted to a vile, provocative trick to arouse the workers to a pitch of violence (shades of Madison Square Garden). Said Hathaway: "The Trotskyists organized squads to beat up the Communists who distributed leaflets." Unable to restrain himself the worker who had previously attempted to get the floor shouted: "That's a lie! I was there and you weren't." A cry of "throw him out" arose from many throats. A contingent of strong arm guys started to converge on the worker and there would have been violence but for the order from Hathaway that he would handle the question. Then came a shock.

Pocketbook Workers Oust Wolinsky

The long over-due resignation of Ossip Wolinsky was finally accepted at a packed membership meeting of 1,500 Pocketbook Workers held at Stuyvesant Casino on August 16.

The resignation of the notorious "legal adviser", Wolinsky had been accepted by the Joint Council of Pocketbook workers a few weeks ago. On July 21 Wolinsky's gang broke up a meeting not permitting a vote on the resignation.

After the recording secretary had read the report of the Joint Council, one of Wolinsky's lickspittles, the anarchist Wisotsky, appealed to the chair saying that Wolinsky's resignation could not be discussed by the membership since the resignation had been sent to the press and not to the members.

This was a maneuver and a test to feel out the sentiment of the membership.

Demonstration Against Wolinsky

The chairman, a former Wolinsky supporter, ruled against the appeal and put the question to a vote. He was sustained and the announcement of the results 628 as against 534 brought a stormy demonstration from the workers which lasted more than ten minutes.

Two speakers for and two against the resignation were then given the floor by the chairman. The Wolinsky supporters made no attempt to speak but rather to shout and yell so as to break up the meeting before a vote could be taken. Their trick failed.

A thunder of "yeas" arose from the great mass of the workers in the viva voce vote on the question. The chairman announced the resignation accepted and adjourned the meeting.

The Wolinsky patriots, however, remained in the hall continuing the meeting. Wolinsky himself took the floor, calling on his lieutenants to refuse to pay dues and to institute a regime of expulsions and slugging.

Wolinsky wants to force himself on the workers, in a reign of terror, as the Hitler of the pocketbook makers union. The militants in the entire trade union movement must answer the challenge by coming to the aid of the pocketbook workers in the present crisis.

A Program of Action

What is to be done? First, a new agreement should immediately be negotiated and the workers mobilized for a battle.

Second, shop meetings should be held at once and all chairmen and committee men supporting Wolinsky removed.

There must be no delay in executing this program. The season is rapidly approaching its end. Without an agreement and with an internal fight in its ranks the danger is great that the union will receive a smashing blow if prompt action is not taken.

Present Leaders Not Trustworthy The same workers who oppose Wolinsky have no confidence in the present administration, Stein, Goldman, Lubliner, Wise and others. It would be fatal to entrust the negotiations to them. They are respon-

MARCH OF EVENTS

The Pre-Revolutionary Situation In France

With unprecedented speed the crisis in France has sharpened the class struggle to the point where a growing and unbridgeable rift is clearly visible between the bourgeoisie and the working class. The coup d'etat by which the reactionary pre-fascist government of Doumergue achieved power in February was so evidently a blow at bourgeois parliamentary democracy and so clearly the planned work of fascist forces, that it set in motion a molecular process of change among the masses. The workers and toilers realized that the Doumergue Bonapartist regime, a police-military regime, was merely a bridge to aid the fascist forces of extreme reaction to come to power. Under this frightful threat, having in mind the lessons of Germany and Austria, the masses moved leftwards, turning their backs on those who advocated the more obvious forms of class collaboration and exerting tremendous pressure on the bureaucratic organizations for unity. The result was the splitting of every party without exception, from the outright bourgeois democratic radical socialists, and the social democrats to the centrist Stalinist party, the C. P. Despite the desires of the bureaucracies of the two centrist parties, the S. D. and the C. P., the workers in these parties forced the acceptance of the united front to defend the proletariat against the fascist menace.

Socialists and the United Front

At the Toulouse congress of the S. P., its titular leader Blum still defended Frossard, who had betrayed his party in parliament by helping to oust the Daladier government in favor of the Doumergue government of "national concentration", and attacked the "left" wing, Pivert and Zyromski, advocates of the united front. So witty have events moved since Toulouse that only recently the delegates at the meeting of the National Council of the S. P. voted 3,471 against 306 in favor of the united front with the C. P. Blum was now forced to attack Frossard who attempted to scare the bureaucracy with the dire consequence of losing their parliamentary posts in the coming October elections.

Significance of the United Front

The united front thus achieved is only a beginning so far as a real defense against fascist attack on the working class is concerned. The bureaucracies of both parties are acting to limit and bridle the necessary action of the masses, to confine the united front to "agreements" at the top. But it is necessary to broaden this unity to include all workers' organizations, and above all it is necessary to accomplish the task, through the united front, of creating a drilled workers' guard, to arm the workers to meet the drilled and armed forces of the fascists. There is also the task of beating back fascism by wresting state power from its aid, the Doumergue government, which can only be done by preparing now for a general strike.

Despite the meagre achievement

thus far, we welcome the united front even in its limited preliminary form, particularly because of the mood of the French masses for unity is reflected through it. Each step correctly taken for the defense of the workers means also the quickening of the tempo of the struggle and the speeding up of the efforts of reaction. There is ample evidence for this in the reception by the French bourgeois press of the news of the united front. Thus the vote of the S. P. leads the organ of big industry, La Journée Industrielle, to say, "The Sunday event leads us but to one simple conclusion: the necessity to reorganize more and more actively the forces resisting the social revolution." Le Temps, that semi-official organ which Jaures called "the bourgeoisie turned newspaper", writes: "The hour is approaching when there will be in France but two opposed political conceptions: the national and democratic (read fascist!) conception and the international and democratic (read proletarian revolution) pure and simple. Marxism on one side, Anti-Marxism on the other. It is no longer a question of a dilemma involving a theoretical and ideological opposition (read the puerile parliamentary opposition of social democracy), but a real opposition which corresponds to the antagonism of irreconcilable conceptions, partly organized (read armed) and ready for action." Thus the bourgeoisie, having taken alarm, gives us warning that the time is short, that already the two irreconcilable forces in capitalist society have crystallized out, that the dual power will have to be resolved by the test of armed action. It is now that the French proletariat will have to learn anew the lessons of the Com-

THE MILITANT

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sible for Wolinsky's return to the union. Moreover, they have worked hand in glove with the employers for years, double-crossing the workers whenever it was necessary to gain their own ends.

A few weeks ago this same "Anti-Wolinsky" committee called a meeting in the Rand School where the speakers were the very men, Kleinman, Lubliner, Wise, etc., who engineered Wolinsky's return. Just as at union meetings they refused to give the floor to rank-and-file workers. The workers left the meeting in disgust.

Is it any wonder that the Wolinsky gang received 534 votes at the union meeting?

This "Anti-Wolinsky" committee issued not a single statement clarifying the situation and their position. The same goes for the Stalinist "rank and file committee" which made no fight against the "Fraternal Club" administration with whom they are in a united front. The Stalinists will yet have to give an accounting of themselves and an explanation of all their monstrous blunders in the Wolinsky affair.

POCKETBOOK WORKER.

ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILITANTS—ONE CENT PER COPY.

MARCH OF EVENTS

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—JACK WEBER.

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QUESTION BOX

GERALD DAVIS, Philadelphia—(Continued from last week)—Point 3. The Stalinist argument that they formed the T.U.U.L. in order to organize the unorganized runs about as follows: There are about 4 million workers in the U. S. of whom only about 4 million are in the A. F. of L. Do you think that we are going to organize the other 36 million and turn them over to the A. F. of L. reactionaries?

This reasoning, at first sight unassailable, is false. As Lovovsky's quotation, given last week shows, it is precisely upon the basis of this revolutionary mass, over whom the revolutionaries will have the decisive influence because the left wing will have organized them, that the Communists can capture the trade unions. Furthermore the Stalinists admit by this contention that they lack confidence in their ability to combat the reactionary union bureaucracy, that they are afraid of them. How can such people have confidence in their ability to fight the powerful American imperialists if they are stopped by a much weaker adversary?

Point 4. If the T.U.U.L. was formed primarily to organize the unorganized, one would have to assume that, prior to the inception of this trade union center, the C. P. either did not stand for the organization of the unorganized or had no policy for accomplishing it either within the framework of the existing organizations. Neither is the case and the contention falls on this point alone.

For proof we will dig up the ghost of Wm. Z. Foster, the most authoritative of the C. P. leaders on the trade union question:

"A most important question for T.U.E.L. militants to understand in order to carry through successfully our work of organizing the unorganized is our relationship to the A. F. of L. and Independent Unions. Our goal must be to build mass labor organizations of the workers, and to bring or maintain these unions in affiliation with the general labor movement, the American Federation of Labor. . . The two evils we have to guard against are on the one side, the devil of dual unionism, and on the other, the dogma of unity with the old trade unions 'at any price'."

"In the industries where there are no A. F. of L. unions our course is clear. We must form new unions and bring them into affiliation with the broad labor movement as quickly as practicability permits. Or if there are independent unions in such industries we must give them our active support and work for their affiliation to the A. F. of L. . .

"In industries where there are A. F. of L. unions, but where these unions are so weak and decrepit, with corrupt leadership, hidebound agreements, etc., that it is impossible to stimulate them into the necessary activity to mobilize the mass militant organization campaigns or to defend their interests in strikes arising therefrom, our problem is more complicated. There the advantage of affiliation may easily be outweighed by the disadvantages. Such situations raise the question of independent unionism in its most intricate form. In spite of our most urgent desire for unity with the general labor movement, we will often, under these circumstances, be compelled to form independent unions."

"But wherever we form such new unions, whether because there are no A. F. of L. unions in the field or because those that may exist are absolutely decrepit, we must from the outset follow a program for the affiliation of these unions to the A. F. of L. We must be keenly on our guard not to get into a dual union position, by declaring against the A. F. of L. in principle or by permitting an open warfare to develop against it. Experience teaches us that dual unionism means sectarianism, isolation from the broad labor movement, and eventually disintegration. One of the outstanding contributions of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions to the American labor movement is their categorical condemnation of dual unionism." (Wm. Z. Foster, "Organize the Unorganized", pp. 13 and 14, published in 1926.)

You will find the same position advanced in Foster's "Strike Strategy" and in his "Misleaders of Labor."

It is obvious from the material which has been presented that all the reasons which the Stalinists give for having formed the T.U.U.L. are merely apologies for an untenable position.

TEXTILE WORKER, Fall River.—Since you are unable to supply details it is impossible to state why your boss is "losing" money despite the fact that he has increased speed and cut your wages. The following may help you determine what has taken place. It is to be understood that, for simplicity, abstraction is made from all those factors which enter into the capitalist mode of production, but which would only complicate but not change anything which follows.

In computing profits the capitalists deduct from the selling price of their product, in addition to the amount advanced for wages, raw and auxiliary materials, and overhead a value for wear, tear, and depreciation of his fixed capital (machinery, buildings, etc.). How much should this latter be? In the final analysis the market itself over a period of time determines how much of the fixed capital is socially necessary and therefore how much is really transferred to the value of the commodities produced. The capitalist, however, deducts from his selling price an amount estimated on what he thinks is the value of his TOTAL fixed capital, regardless of whether his plant is operating at full capacity, or during a crisis, at partial capacity.

Let us suppose a corporation with two plants of equal size operating at full capacity and making a profit of \$1,000,000 on each plant. Assume further in computing this profit the capitalist has correctly estimated the wear and tear etc. on his plant as \$1,000,000 a year. With one plant completely shut down, and assuming for the moment no change in prices or wages, the profit from the plant which is operated is still a million dollars, but, since the books will probably show a loss due to wear and tear etc. on the idle plant of a million dollars, the capitalist's records will show that he made no profit that year. Where there is only one plant operating at part capacity the case is similar to this.

The capitalist might just as well have lost the million in a gambling house and then entered it in his books, which would then show the same results. In addition to the above there are cases where, despite this method of bookkeeping, a profit is shown, but the particular owner or owners of the plant take an immediate financial loss. Suppose a capitalist starts a plant with \$500,000 of his own and \$500,000 of borrowed money for which he has guaranteed to pay 5% or \$25,000 a year. If, with a reduced capacity there is shown only a profit of \$20,000, he must dig up \$5,000 from his own capital in order to pay the interest. The same might apply if he had a high fixed rent to pay which at times was larger than the profit shown. In these cases of the interest and the rent, however, what is the loss of one capitalist is the gain of another. A case in point is the railroads which in 1933 earned about \$385,000,000 but paid out in interest on bonds \$525,000,000.

In actuality one does not find examples as simple as are used here; a combination of all these factors plus changes in prices, wages, rate of exploitation, etc. intermingling simultaneously.

A Capitalist Institution

Suicide

Our great liberal press never tires of rebuking us Communists for our "narrow-mindedness" and "unscientific" spirit. We present, in their opinion a one sided picture of the complex organism of modern society. We are too much involved, they state, in the "dogmas" of the class struggle, and so fail to see the other factors of our civilization, equally, if not more important, than the class struggle. In contrast, their own writings, dispassionately take into consideration all the complex factors of our civilization and point out the "good" features as well as the "bad" ones.

We too are anxious to be scientific and broad-minded. Learning in their press, that by concerning ourselves with the class struggle, we have grown provincial and have lost touch with the mysteries of modern life, we determined to continue our "interrupted" scientific studies. We hunted through our files for a subject, which was suitable for scientific analysis and which presented at the same time an essential feature of modern life. At last we found an absolutely ideal subject: Suicide. Suicide! What study could be more dispassionate, more objective, more removed from the class struggle, so as to guarantee the proper historical perspective and to guarantee its scientific validity.

We embarked on our scientific researches in deadly earnest, beginning with the study of Suicide by Ruth Shohle Cavan. Here is a book which is modern, has been highly praised by the experts, and is published by a great cultural institution, the University of Chicago Press. Nothing more could be desired.

Chicago: A "Normal" City

We began by reading through accounts of suicide in Rome and Greece and the South Sea Islands etc., suddenly we came upon an account of the suicide record of Chicago since the war. Chicago has a "medium" rate of suicide, it is a large urban center, has a mixture of all sorts of nationalities, races, etc., all of which makes it an ideal city for our purposes, as it is "normal" in every sense of the word, so far as suicide is concerned. We learned that Chicago has four suicide areas: "the Loop" . . . and its periphery of cheap hotels for men and sooty flats over stores, 2) the Lower North Side, . . . which has a shifting population of unattached men and an equally shifting population of young men and women in the rooming house area, 3) the North Side linking the loop on the North . . . and the West Madison area, with its womanless street of flophouses, missions, cheap restaurants and hundreds of men who drift in aimless, bleary-eyed abandon."

Having progressed this far with our investigations, we don't mind confessing we were becoming slightly annoyed. Flophouses, Missions . . . these were the very things we were attempting to escape, the very things against which our liberals had warned us. We decided we had better skip all about conditions in the urban centers and tackle the "case histories" After all, our psychologists assure us, suicide is a "psychological" problem and therefore it is perfectly proper to study the individual cases involved. Most of these case histories are taken from the Coroner of Cook County or from the United Charity Records. (We just mention this to assure our readers of the "objectivity" of the documents quoted.)

A Typical "Case History"

First, we learned that one George Rowsk, a Pole born in Austria, killed himself at the age of 45. He was a carpenter who came to Chicago in 1905 and continued working in his trade until about 1911 at which time he lost his job. Since then he continually was forced to appeal to the charities. At this time, he was perfectly normal and sane. After he and his wife and children "lived" on charity for about ten years, he began developing insanity, dementia praecox and a "fixation"; and so overburdened with all these riches, on June 1924, Mr. Rowsk decided to call it a day and hanged himself in the city of Chicago.

After finishing taking notes of this and other case histories, we grew very, very worried. If to forget the class struggle was our purpose, we might just as well not have wasted our time on this book at all. Slightly discouraged, we tore up our notes and decided to make a fresh start. This time we weren't taking any chances. We consulted a prominent social worker, who advised us to read a book by J. M. Williams entitled "The Human Aspects of Unemployment and Relief." The book has been published in 1933 and so we at least felt safe we wouldn't come across Rome or Greece or the South Sea Islands. We also learned that Mr. Williams is a Ph.D. and that his book is published by another great educational institution, this time of the South, the University of South Carolina. Without further ado, we looked up the pages in the index, dealing with Suicide.

The Class Struggle Again

Dr. Williams seems to be one of those "on the one hand we must admit, on the other hand we must confess" variety of writers. Still,

plowing through the verbiage, the facts bare a startling resemblance to those in Cavan's book. "The hardships of the depression have driven fathers and mothers to suicide." "The suicide rate in New York has risen since 1929. . ." We read of Jimmie Capasso, one of the best pupils of his class, was forced to leave school at 15, out for months looking for work, couldn't find a job; his morale was shattered. One day, he went down the cellar of his house, and shot himself in the heart with his father's pistol.

This time we were genuinely frightened. Maybe Williams was one of those professors on the Brain Trust. Hastily we turned to the beginning of the book and found our great chagrin in the opening sentence a quotation of the Greek philosopher, Plato, "Any city, however small, is in fact divided into two, one of the city of the poor, the other of the rich." These two cities are "at war with one another."

That was all we wanted. That will be a lesson for us, anyhow, to start reading books from the beginning in the future and not somewhere in the middle or the end. For all we know to the contrary, Williams may be a radical. Imagine writing a "scientific" work, with the aid of a man like that.

Looking for "Solid" Stuff

Our notes were all in the waste basket and a good day wasted. What to do now? Give it up? We decided we would make one more stab at it, but we washed our hands clean of all professors and educational institutions. Now we were going to pursue with the realists, the business men, the people who don't let their feelings run away with them.

We took up the annual studies of suicide, covering the country as a whole, in the Spectator—a business paper of insurance. The studies are written by Frederick L. Hoffman, one of the world's most famous statisticians and, to further guarantee the "objectivity", consulting statistician of the Prudential Insurance Company. Writing in the early part of 1929, Mr. Hoffman finds the suicide rate for 100 cities to be 12.3 per 100,000 in 1920 and a leap way up to 17.0 per 100,000 in 1928. Here we had eight solid years of prosperity and suicide was increasing at an enormous rate. What could be the meaning of this?

"The increase in rate is difficult to understand in view of the generally favorable industrial and business conditions. . ." states Mr. Hoffman. Maybe love-affairs had something to do with the rise? No! Mr. Hoffman warns us "It is easy to draw false conclusions from the prevailing prosperity, which after all may be much more apparent than real in countless individual cases where the struggle for existence falls with crushing weight upon persons unable to cope with circumstances beyond their control."

In a book that Hoffman wrote on Suicide Problems he reproduces a chart published by Bradstreets. We are not going to quote it here. You can look it up for yourself if you are interested. But this chart shows with a mathematical regularity, that the years when business bankruptcies increase and business indices fall, when it becomes hard to find a job and make a living; in these years suicides increase rapidly and in the years when bankruptcies decrease, and business conditions ease up, the suicide record decreases. That is why in 1929 and '30, '31, '32, '33, taking the country as a whole, the suicide record has been increasing steadily every year, because the struggle for existence has become so bitter and so hard that life becomes too unbearable for many unemployed workers, professionals, etc. Writing in 1932, Mr. Hoffman says: "A review of our homicide and suicide records leads to no other conclusion than that the cheapest commodity in the United States at the present time is human life." Mr. Hoffman realizes it is an important problem because "even the life insurance companies are becoming alarmed at the losses sustained through voluntary self-destruction, which now cut quite a figure in their annual claim payments."

We are not particularly concerned about the Life Insurance Companies, but we realize by this time that suicide is no more "distinct" from the system of capitalism than the class struggle itself and that the decrease in the suicidal rate will never be accomplished by "scientific reforms" but only by eliminating the miseries of modern life to thousands of unemployed men and women. This will only be accomplished by destroying the robber system of capitalism and replacing it with a workers and farmers government, which will create real equality of opportunity of life by building Socialism.

—BURKT COCHRANE.

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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.

Under the Heel of Wall Street

Imperialism

The American Imperialist Colossus looks southward on a domain several times the size of its own soil. In the Caribbean, in Central and South America live approximately ninety million people, divided by the boundaries of close to twenty countries, by racial differences which reach back, in some cases, to an undeterminable antiquity, upon which have been imposed the feudal and capitalist national, cultural and religious mores of Spain, Portugal, Germany, France and now the United States and Japan.

In their vast majority they have come within the orbit and under the heel of imperialist capitalism: American, British, German, French, Japanese, Portuguese. The process of extracting profit from the limitless resources and natural wealth of this great area has condemned millions to unimaginable poverty, disease, peonage, serfdom, physical and spiritual deformation and to suffering which they bear like the omnipresent and indispensable burden.

The problem of their emancipation is an extremely complicated one. Once the beacon light of the Communist International under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky could have pointed the road to freedom from degradation and abysmal poverty, to a better life, fruitful and rich like the lands they inhabit. But that light has been put out by the treacherous wreckers of the revolutionary movement, the Stalinists. Of the Fourth International only a mere handful know anything although their number is growing and they are situated in the decisive cities and sinking roots in the proletariat. The vast majority of this tremendous population knows, as yet, only its own suffering and hatred for its imperialist and native capitalist oppressors.

Stake of American Imperialism

The penetration of imperialism, the merciless work of the crisis which imperialism unloads on the people's backs and the ever sharpening competition for the Latin American market, always at the expense of the native population, have combined to produce a situation in Latin America which is full of explosive possibilities. The stake of American imperialism is immense. Its investments run into billions. It will fight tooth and nail to preserve these investments and the condition on which they can be profitable, the ousting of its imperialist rivals and the poverty of the people.

The question of the Latin American revolution is therefore one of the major and fundamental problems of the American proletarian revolution. The workers of the United States cannot emancipate themselves without at the same time striking the chains of wage slavery and feudalism from their Latin American brothers. On the other hand the Latin American workers, as the Cuban revolution has demonstrated, in striking at their American imperialist oppressors to emancipate themselves from the yoke of slavery, are striking at the enemy of the American workers.

Clear Answer Needed

Revolutionary working class organizations and organizations which claim to be revolutionary must work out and give clear theoretical answers to the complicated problems of the Latin American revolution and the relation of the American to the Latin American revolution. Certainly the parties of the Fourth International will not be able to lead the workers to victory unless they can pose and solve these problems in Marxist terms, in theory and action.

Today the problem is concretized by two situations: the Cuban revolution and the war in the Gran Chaco.

In Cuba the working class is posing the questions of the fight against imperialism and the entire system of capitalist exploitation with great strikes and demonstrations that have thus far, because of the absence of a revolutionary proletarian party standing on the ground of Marxism and rooted in the masses, fallen short of the proletarian revolution.

In the Gran Chaco British and American imperialism through the bodies of the Paraguayan and Bolivian soldiers have come to grips over oil wells and fields and outlets to the sea. So intense is the greed of these blood-sucking giants that populations of two and four millions have been forced to put armies of thirty, forty, fifty, sixty thousand men and more in the field to fight a battle out of which, as it is conducted, they stand to win only a possible change of masters. Both belligerent countries are approaching a state of exhaustion and social explosions are indicated. Once again war and, possibly revolution, will pose all questions with the maximum sharpness and demand unequivocal answers from those who are and profess to be revolutionists.

—JOHN COATES.  
San Luis Potosi, Mexico, Aug. 15.

THE NEXT STEP

To date the question of the necessity for a new communist international has been recognized and openly voiced at two international conferences. Four groups, the Independent Socialist Party of Holland (O.S.P.), the Socialist Workers Party of Germany (S.A.P.), the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland (which shortly after joined the I.C.L.) and the League of International Communists united on a common declaration, the "Necessity and Principles of a New International". At the same conference another group, namely the S. A.P., the O.S.P. the British I.L.P. and the Norwegian Labor Party and several other less important organizations adopted a joint resolution on "the necessity of the regeneration of the international working class movement".

At the youth conference held in Lille in February 1932 a resolution was adopted on the necessity for a new international youth organization as well as a new international organization and responsibility for its "creation" and "crystallization" accepted. While few organizational consequences flowed from the "declaration of the Four" in August 1933, the "Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations" with a permanent International Secretariat resulted from the Youth Conference. It was no accident that the youth organizations of both parties, the I.L.P. and the N.L.P. which subscribed only to the unanimously adopted resolution at the Paris conference and opposed the creation of a new international, did not take part in the work of the International Bureau of the Revolutionary Youth Organizations.

A Progressive Mission The plenary session of the Bureau to be held in August must draw the consequences of the Lille resolution on "The work for the crystallization of a new international organization". There is one way to realize these tasks. The declaration of the four organizations at Paris has to date not led to any extension of common activity between the four organizations. The International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations will fulfill a great progressive mission if it subscribes to the Declaration on "Necessity and the Principles of a new International", and calls upon the organizations which have already signed the declaration, to organize common activity on the basis of this declaration and is itself drawn into this work.

There is nothing unusual and nothing especially new in this step. The assistance given to the building of the C. I. by the international revolutionary youth in the war,

later the Y.C.I. is well known. And in later World Congresses of the C.I. there was hardly a commission of importance to which a representative of the Y.C.I. was not delegated.

Deep Ferment in Youth Movement

The International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations has no grounds—on the excuse of the ideological backwardness of the international youth movement—to shrink from such a step. A deep-going oppositional current in several important national organizations of the Socialist Youth International is noticeable even today. In Spain a large section of the Socialist Youth League has already split and united with the Bolshevik Leninist Youth of Spain. At the National Congress of the Socialist Youth of Spain the question of international affiliation was placed before the entire organization and only 103 representatives out of a possible 779 pronounced themselves for remaining any longer in the Socialist Youth International and the 2nd International. 76 voted for the creation of a Fourth International and 600 abstained from voting.

French Youth for New International

Even deeper is the ferment in the Socialist youth organization in France where the lefts, who advocate the creation of a new Communist international and a new youth international, have won an overwhelming majority in certain districts (e.g. the Seine district) and have temporarily come into open conflict with the bureaucracy. There are similar developments in Belgium and in the United States.

If the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations is not to be left straggling behind the march of events but on the contrary will play the role it should play, that of pointing out the road to the vanguard of the international proletarian youth, then it must adopt as its own the declaration of the four accepted in August 1933. Should it fail to do so it will be in danger of becoming an obstacle in the path of history instead of a progressive and history-making factor.

—WALTER HELD  
(Member of the International Secretariat of the Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations)

BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MILITANT

There are only a limited number of Bound Volumes for the year 1933 on hand. They can be obtained from Pioneer Publishers at \$1.50 post-paid. This holds for any part of the United States.

WORLD OF LABOR

SPAIN

In answer to a C. P. Youth call for a united front, the S. P. youth replied that the Alianza Obrera, or united front committees now operating in a large part of the country, was a true united front and asked the C. P. youth why they did not join them?

Subsequently Largo Caballero, left-centrist Socialist leader and at present president of the party, made a speech in which he said that a united front as proposed by the C. P., without a concrete basis or given aims, and postulating a kind of vague fusion, was bound to fail; whereas the proper alternative was the Alianza Obrera. This was the first speech made by Largo Caballero for some months. When last heard from he was agitating for an immediate revolutionary stand, but has since been silenced by the reformists, who are engaging in under-cover deals with the republicans. Rank-and-file pressure for some open stand on the united front issue provided a good "out" for Largo Caballero, in this case; but actually the S. P. has been accepting the Alianza Obrera in word, but doing nothing much about it in deed, and wherever possible, quietly sabotaging it by inaction.

The significance of the S. P. youth answer is this, that our comrades have maintained and are maintaining close contact with S. P. youth members and leaders, many of whom are deeply influenced by the League position. The S. P. Youth is the most active section of the S. P., and is at present wholly committed to a Communist position on every point, but wavers on the question of which International.

CHINA

The government terror has dealt some heavy blows to the Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists. After the unification conference of the four left opposition groups in July 1931, seven members of the Executive Committee were arrested and imprisoned. It will also be recalled that in September 1932 Chen Dui Hsu and ten members of the Shanghai District Committee were condemned to long terms. Chen is still alive but in poor health. Thanks to his prestige and to the intervention of several bourgeois admirers he is not subjected to the same treatment as the other political prisoners. His release, however, depends entirely upon international action.

The present organization is composed of 5 sections: Shanghai (60 members), Honkong-Canton (100), Pekin (40), Tsingtao-Tsinan (70), Foochow in Fukien province (20) and several other scattered groups. This makes a total of 300 members, 90% of whom are active. With the exception of Pekin, which is composed of intellectuals, the majority are proletarians. In Tsingtao there is a strong percentage of soldiers and several peasants. Two illegal organs are published: The Spark in Pekin and the Vanguard in Shanghai. A translation of "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" by comrade Trotsky was recently made.

ARGENTINA

The following note was received from one of our groups in Argentina, the "Tribune Leninista" and transmitted to us by the International Secretariat of the League of International Communists.

"The Congress of the Young Socialists was held in May and although confused, took a definite stand against the nationalist attitude of the social-democracy and adopted resolutions which indicate that the socialist youth are evolving towards Communism. The Federation of Young Socialists has 140 groups and a total of 7,000 members. Several days later, on the 26th, the regular biennial congress of the Socialist Party was held at Santa Fe where two currents clashed, a Marxist and an avowedly nationalist wing. In one of the contests, the right received 10,000 votes and the Left 4,000. Several days after this congress the Executive Committee of the S. P. dissolved the Socialist Youth Conference and asked for and obtained, in part, the expulsion of the left socialist leaders.

"The Stalinists, despite an enormous loss of prestige, succeeded in deriving some gain from the situation by their usual methods but with absolutely no results to date. Our comrades of the Tribuna Leninista have attempted to give an orientation to the young socialists towards our organization as is demonstrated in their growing influence in that sphere. They state that in a meeting called for the purpose of pressing the Left leaders to a clear position our comrades were invited for the express purpose of offering their contribution to the discussion."

COSTA RICAN BANANA WORKERS STRIKE

The workers on the extensive plantations of the United Fruit Company are striking against semi-slavery conditions and starvation wages. This promises to be the greatest labor struggle in Costa Rica for many years and recalls to mind the great plantation strike in the same company's Colombian plantations in 1926.

All evidences point to the probability of violent clashes between the strikers and the armed forces, especially if reports of the existence of an armed workers "militia" of 400 men in the plantation area, are true. August 17th (Friday) and the days immediately following will witness the first real test of strength when the company attempts to cut the fruit for loading on ships due then. Many of the strikers are foreign born workers, from other Caribbean countries—both Spanish and English speaking. The plantation workers' strike is led by the Communist Party, which, although of recent formation, is very influential, publishes a regular weekly paper, and functions legally, enjoying considerable prestige in the labor unions of the whole country. It is interesting to note that the C. P. of Costa Rica has the unique distinction of having increased in membership and influence, while most of the other sections of the C. I. are more or less definitely on the downgrade, organizationally as well as politically. In the recent elections, two Communist deputies were elected out of a Chamber of thirty, in addition to several aldermen in the capital and other towns.

The Costa Rican labor movement is now in line for its first great test. Upon the success of the Costa Rican banana workers, depends in great part, the future of the whole labor movement in Central America for many years to come.

NEW STRIKE WAVE RISING IN CUBA

The Post Office and Telegraph workers of Havana have been on strike since August 10th and workers of other government departments are preparing to join the movement. This together with the sharp conflict between Batista and the ABC, is creating a new political crisis in the Cuban capital. True to its idiotic antics, the Cuban Stalinists issued a manifesto calling on the workers to support an insurrection for the establishment of Soviet rule on August 14th. The Stalinist bombast fell flat and nothing serious occurred. Once more, the need for the building a real revolutionary party of the Cuban proletariat is made apparent, as the Stalinists repeat their demonstrations of bankruptcy, stupidity and betrayal. It is our duty to aid our Cuban section, the Bolshevik Leninist Party in this, in its period of financial crisis. Branches and comrades holding collection lists for this campaign should make special efforts to have them fill out and sent in to the National Office as soon as possible.

# Profits of Large Corporations Rise; Greed Unsatiated

The reports of industrial corporation profits for the first six months of this year reveal an enormous increase over the returns for the same period of 1933. These increases, in some cases of gigantic importance, have taken place despite the fact that the accompanying figures of unemployment in the manufacturing industries have shown only slight improvement.

Corporation profits for the first six months of this year show a total increase of 220 percent over the same six month period of 1933. This brought the annual rate of return (on the basis of all stock issued—water, hide, and hair) up from 1.7 percent profit for 1933 to 5.7 percent for 1934. These figures are derived from a study of the report of 250 leading industrial corporations representing a capital worth of almost 10 billion dollars. Were public utility companies and railroads included the results would undoubtedly show even more profits for the bosses.

## Low Textile Wages Make Enormous Profits

This enormous spurt was aided considerably by the results of the "nine dollar and eleven dollar a week" textile industry that showed a 370 percent increase in profit over that made during the first six months last year. A direct link can be drawn between this enormous increase in profit, the speed-up and stretch-out systems, and the present talk of a general strike in the industry.

The General Motors Company, another company which was threatened with a strike and with which the NRA board was so liberal, shows an increase of 44.8 percent in profits. General Motors, although not showing so large an increase in profit, continued to head the list in annual rate of return. This, close to a billion dollar combine, showed a return on its stock of 16 percent as compared to only a paltry 11.2 percent profit last year. To celebrate this in the good old-fashioned way, the company recently declared an extra dividend of 50 cents a share for common stock.

Interesting too, in view of the recent militant strike at the Toledo plant of the Electric-Auto-Lite Company, are the reported returns for the automobile accessory industries. As compared to a deficit of 7.4 percent in 1933, they now show a profit of 15.2 percent. This profit would have been much higher, but the companies were required to contribute more to the tax fund—for the purchase of tear and vomit gas.

**Gunpowder Turns to Profits**  
The E. I. du Pont de Nemours Company, makers of gunpowder, tear gas, and dynamite, profited by the war scare and strike wave to the tune of 12 million dollars in the second quarter of 1934 as compared to 9 million for the second quarter of 1933, showing earnings even surpassing those of the U. S. Steel Corporation, which makes the steel jackets surrounding the du Pont gunpowder in the cartridge shells used against the workers.

The profit shown is one that has been sustained ever since the introduction of the "new deal" and certainly indicates a new deal for the bosses, although one could hardly say the same for the workers. Separate reports by quarter years are available for 201 of the companies in the tabulation and show combined net profits of 98 million dollars in the first quarter of this year and 144 million dollars in the second quarter. Last year, the same companies had a net deficit of 19 million dollars in the first quarter, and a net profit of 85 million dollars in the second.

Despite this sharp upturn, and despite the return of 5.7 percent on the watered stock, and in the face of the continued unemployment, mass misery and starvation, the National City Bank complains: "that the rate of return on invested capital is still relatively low" (as compared to the 18 percent profit for the 1919-1929 period) and calls for increased wage cuts to "take industry out of the red".

## OPEN FORUM

"How Should Communists Work In A. F. of L. Unions?"  
Speaker: SYLVIA BLEECKER  
Friday, Aug. 31, 8 P.M.  
at 144 Second Avenue, N.Y.C.  
Auspices: Downtown Branch Communist League of America

## CELEBRATE 19th ANNIVERSARY INTERNATIONAL YOUTH DAY

with the  
Spartacus Youth League.  
Come to the  
SOCIAL AND DANCE  
Saturday, Sept. 1, at 8 P.M.  
144 Second Ave., N.Y.C.  
ADMISSION 15c

And to the  
M.A.S.S. MEETING  
Speakers:  
JOSEPH CARTER  
SAM GORDON  
and Comrades from Newark, New Haven and Philadelphia  
Chairman: M. Garrett  
Sunday, Sept. 2, at 8 P.M.  
144 Second Ave., N.Y.C.  
ADMISSION FREE.

# 20 Million Live on Crumbs On Government Relief

Approximately five million families, or some 20,000,000 people, are receiving relief through the Federal government's various relief agencies, according to official figures, quoted in a recent editorial in the Nation.

This does not include, the Nation points out, the millions receiving local relief, the flop-house refugees, the poorhouse inmates, the recipients of chieory, cornmeal and rotten potatoes, distributed by the county and community guardians of the poor. It does not include the thousands upon thousands dependent upon private charity, or the wearied pity of friends and relatives.

**At the Bottom of the Heap**  
Nor does it include, one might add, the thousands upon thousands who need aid, but get none, the Philadelphia "squatters" braving police guns and flames to get to a blazing pyre of tainted prunes; the suicides that mount daily, the "malnutrition" cases, the thousands who are permitted to die literally of starvation.

Moreover, the Nation points out, the number on relief increases daily, and the number needing relief increases still more. In New York City, there were 77,000 more families on relief in June, 1934, than in June of the previous year.

At the same time, the sums available for relief are dwindling. These sums were at all times pitifully inadequate. About \$60,000,000 is spent each month by the combined federal, state, and county agencies. Divided among 20,000,000 people, this would make available the average of \$3 a month per person.

But this figure is misleading. Actually the government is not nearly so generous. One must deduct from the \$60,000,000 available the cost of administration, and of dirty graft and politics. One will have to deduct further the needs of the 2,000,000 farm families to be added to relief rolls as the result of the drought. And one must further remember that the 20,000,000 people include only those on federal relief rolls.

On this basis, it is doubtful whether \$1 a month per person, or \$5 a month per family, is available through the combined agencies of the federal, state and local relief. Some on relief get more, of course; others get much less.

These people on relief are of no use to the capitalist rulers of the United States, to the real rulers, the industrial and banking magnates, who pull the strings of the puppets nominally in charge. These people on relief can buy nothing, nor are they needed for profit-making production.

They stand, an unassimilable and ever increasing portion of the population, outside of the social structure as at present constituted. What to do with them is admittedly a problem too great for any capitalist regime to meet. Bourgeois statesmen and economists divide into two classes on the subject—those who would starve them to death slowly, and others, more merciful, who want them to die in a hurry.

**The Tories Protest at the Pittance**  
The latter class, the Tory class, is beginning to grumble about the high cost of relief, and the consequent mounting of taxes.

They resent the fact that these millions of useless poor continue to burden the political and economic system, that outrages of the starving continue to intrude upon their profit-making plans.

The Tory chieftain, Attorney General Wickesham, wants to deprive them of their right to vote, lest they make themselves heard at the polls.

All are agreed on shooting them down when they become too vociferous, in public demonstrations, on the picket lines.

For all in the bourgeois camp are joined in one great fear—that the pauperized millions may propose their own solution, that they may refuse to starve at the behest of their rulers, that they may organize to take matters in their own hands—for the operation of industry for the benefit of the people, of all the people.

# NEVER FORGET

On August 22, 1927, seven years ago, Sacco and Vanzetti, the shoe worker and the humble fish peddler, were murdered in cold blood by the State of Massachusetts.

Since then the working class of the world has had sad occasion to mourn many, many such victims, perished in fascist internment camps, tortured to death by sadistic executioners. Sacco and Vanzetti, at least died to better purpose.

Their death was an inspiration to the workers all over the world. They died as symbols of the class struggle, with a united working class battling vigorously, if in vain, on their behalf. Their death was the occasion for great rallying demonstrations in every corner of the globe. The great, tearing cry that arose when the news was flashed of their execution, caused the most powerful established rulers to tremble.

**An Irresistible Tide**  
For a while it seemed, indeed, as if governments would topple and tyrannies be overthrown forever, through the impetus given by the executioner's electric switch. So aroused was the whole working class, so infuriated by the murder of its best fighters.

Yes, it seemed at the time that their deaths would be dearly purchased. They became the accepted symbols of the class struggle—accepted by both sides. Capitalism, through the State of Massachusetts, and its brutal agents, held firm against the protests of millions in its demand for the blood of the two heroes. A great issue was at stake. The execution was a prelude, a rehearsal of fascist terror.

And to its eternal credit, militant labor, too refused to allow the issue to be obscured. It presented a united front to the murderers. There were huge demonstrations and riots in every capital of any importance anywhere in the world.

The workers lost their battle. The captors of Sacco and Vanzetti refused to relinquish them in the face of the universal outcry. But for some time after, the forces of reaction were thoughtful. It had not been easy to kill the two simple workmen. Almost they were cheated of their prey. The working class forces had revealed unexpected strength, surprising solidarity.

With much greater ease, the German Nazis, years later, were able to torture to death thousands upon thousands of workers. The working class of Germany, split by Stalinist tactics and Social Democratic treachery, surrendered its victims without a struggle. World protest was confused and weakened by disunity, and the bitterest of internal warfare in working class ranks.

So easily were the German executions accomplished, with so little opposition, that for a while the example of Germany threatened to sweep the capitalist world. The heroic resistance of the Austrian workers gave a second halt to the reaction. Mass demand for unity in working class ranks threatens now to break the barriers erected (in place of barricades) by bureaucratic Stalinist or Social Democratic leadership. The workers are prepared again to march in self-defense, in defense of their own.

Let Sacco and Vanzetti be again the rallying cry. They are clear symbols, belonging to no faction, to be claimed by no party, representing the fighting proletariat of all the world.

As they were defended, so must all victims of reaction be defended: Mooney rotting in San Quentin penitentiary, Thaelmann and Torgler held by the Nazi Inquisition, Angelo Herndon and the Scottsboro boys, Leon Trotsky, hounded by the French police agents.

A united defense, a true united front, in behalf of all victims of Fascism and capitalist oppression! In the name of Sacco and Vanzetti!

## New Haven Meeting On Minneapolis

New Haven, Aug. 8.—Comrade Kotz's meeting was a success. We have it on reliable authority that the Stalinists soon after called a special meeting of the city committee to consider the "Trotskyist menace". About half-way through the evening a couple of the Y.C.L.ers dropped in. They were told, quietly but determinedly by a six foot two comrade, that there was to be no heckling or interrupting of the speaker. They left soon after. Evidently serious, democratic discussion was too much of a strain.

Comrade Kotz's account of the Minneapolis strike was favorably received by the crowd of fifty, as was proven by the collection taken up at the close of the meeting. The donations and the final amount were larger than ever before collected, even from larger audiences, by the League. Starting with a chronological account of the events leading up to the strike, the speaker explained in detail the roles played by the League and the Stalinists. For an hour and a half we received a first hand account of the struggle waged by the workers of Minneapolis for the right to live.

# Young Spartacans Fight Stalinists Expel 6 Youth; Join S.Y.L. and League

The "First American Youth Congress" closed its three days sessions last Friday under the leadership of the Stalinist Young Communist League. With the withdrawal of the sponsoring group, the Central Bureau for Young America and its 50 delegates, the elected credentials committee reported that the Congress represented 78 organizations, among them 31 national ones, and 1,700,955 (!) youth. The committee recommended the seating of the delegates of the Spartacus Youth League and other organizations, mostly Stalinist, which arbitrarily had been barred from the Congress.

The Congress can record two achievements: the defeat of the Roosevelt program and leadership of the Central Bureau (which the Stalinists mistakenly call "Fascist"), and the presence of representatives of the major radical youth organizations in the country, particularly the Young Communist League, the Young Peoples Socialist League, Spartacus Youth League, National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy.

All talk about this being a Congress representative of the American youth is nonsense. Delegates from the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts and Young Men's Christian Association did not represent the views of the masses of youth in their organizations. American youth today are without doubt, unfortunate as it is, enthusiastic supporters of Roosevelt. Yet when a spokesman of the Civil Conservation Camps at the concluding session of the Congress praised Roosevelt and his program the delegates laughed. Does this express the sentiments of the great mass of American youth? Hardly! It was a radical youth assemblage with a sprinkling of liberals.

Despite this fact the Congress had a pacifist color. The united front took the form of Yipsel and Y.C.L. delegates not only from paper groups in New York and elsewhere. The superior organization of the Stalinist youth delegation, its concessions to pacifism, the lack of organization among the Yipsels, and their subsmissiveness to both the Y.C.L. and pacifism resulted in Stalinist leadership of the Congress.

No attempt was made on the Congress floor by either the Y.C.L. or the Yipsels to state their full program on the youth problems. They supported two resolutions in the resolutions committee which contained pacifist conceptions. In the resolution on education, they supported the conception that the R.O.T.C. should be abolished "since we believe that war holds nothing for the youth but destruction—physical, economic and moral". The Spartacus Youth League delegates on the floor of the congress attacked this section as pacifist since it rejected all wars. He stated that the R.O.T.C. should be abolished because it trains the youth in the patriotism of American imperialism and prepares them for capitalist war service. An N.S.L. delegate introduced an amendment which called for the abolition of the R.O.T.C. because it was a training place for American imperialist chauvinism. The amendment was carried unanimously.

In the discussion on the resolution on war and fascism, the Spartacus Youth League delegate repeated the objections he had presented at the progressive bloc conference. He amended the section reading: "For the support of the peace proposals of the Soviet Union for complete disarmament" to "Defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attacks." After three minutes objections were raised to the "lengthy" speech. Other delegates had spoken more than five minutes and several times on minor organizational questions, but for discussion on a fundamental question, the delegates for the first time established a time limit of . . . two minutes!

And here again the Yipsels and the Y.C.L. formed a united front. First in refusing to give adequate time to the representative of the S.Y.L. and second in opposing the amendment. A young Socialist stated that he opposed the slogan "Defense of the Soviet Union" for the united front; that he "was of course in favor of the Soviet Union", but why not include those countries of Europe where the Socialists play an important role, he stated! Politically this means support of a "democratic" war of action.

imperialist country where the Socialists are strong. But did the young Socialist understand the import of his remarks? He did not say a word in reply to the objections to the slogan of disarmament. Gil Green of the Young Communist League defended the original resolution. The proposal of the Spartacus Clubs is a provocation intended to break up (!) the Congress. It was explained at the conference (of the progressive bloc) that some delegates could not accept the slogan "Defense of the Soviet Union". We support the Soviet Union's proposal for disarmament, but this does not mean that we call upon the Roosevelt government to disarm! Such was Green's contribution. Everybody, but Green, had thought that the disputed section was a demand that the American government disarm!

The accusation of split was challenged by the delegate from the Communist Party (Opposition). He was quickly bowled down and ruled out of order. Then a Stalinist delegate was given the floor to "explain" what Green meant! When the delegate of the S.Y.L. asked for the floor to answer Green and his interpreter he was shouted down and declared out of order. The victory of the "democratic control" group obviously did not mean complete democracy!

The S. Y. L. had explained at the conference that if the slogan "Defense of the Soviet Union" was unacceptable to a majority of the delegates this should not force upon the militant and revolutionary youth organizations the the pacifist slogan of disarmament. The Stalinists thought otherwise; the section had been taken from the program of the "American League Against War and Fascism".

But the Stalinist pacifist bloc had its way. The confusion of the Yipsels on the paramount problems of war shows the immaturity of the militant trend in their ranks and their centrist character. The original resolution, with minor amendments was accepted.

In such an atmosphere the character of the continuations committee was determined. A Yipsel proposed a committee of fifteen which included the outstanding liberal, Socialist and Stalinist organizations. The Spartacus Youth League was the only national radical youth organization omitted. The same Yipsel explained that the continuations committee should have the power to solicit affiliations of new organizations.

The motion of the S.Y.L. that all national organizations be represented on the continuation committee, despite its support by several Stalinists and Socialists, was defeated by the Stalinists and liberals. They did not want the S.Y.L. on the committee, it would disturb the "peace"!

The Spartacus Youth League will make further efforts to affiliate to the Congress committee. However, a far more effective united front can be established by direct negotiations of the outstanding radical youth organizations, the Young Communist League, Young Peoples Socialist League, Spartacus Youth League Student L.I.D. and N.S.L. A militant program of action could be worked out on the basis of the needs of the young workers and students. Then local conferences could be held throughout the country leading up to a national congress representative of local and national radical and liberal youth sentiment.

To delude oneself that even such a conference can possibly represent the majority of the American youth is to be blind to the views of the mass of young workers and students. It is precisely the united front which can set in motion not only the present organized youth but substantial sections of the more backward young workers. Particularly in the field of unionizing the youth is this possible. Here also many obstacles will have to be overcome; in the first instance the dual unionist policy of the Stalinist Young Communist League.

A step forward has been made at the American Youth Congress. But only greater clarity on the role and mechanics of the united front, keener understanding of the danger of pacifism for the mass of youth, and finally greater participation in the united front movements by the small but only consistent revolutionary youth organization in the United States, the Spartacus Youth League, can bring about an effective all-inclusive united front support of a "democratic" war of action.

The Stalinists have added six more to their list of "renegade counter-revolutionaries" when they recently expelled six Y.C.L. members for contacting that dangerous disease Trotskyism. Fred Mauer, at one time agit-prop director of his section in New York City, and Al Garber, Lil Thompson, John Ristea, Sid Scott and Art Dolinsky, all active and leading members in Chicago, were expelled in the pre-convention discussion period of the Y.C.L. for daring to express their doubts as to the correctness of the line of the Communist Party.

Fred Mauer, whose membership in the Y.C.L. exceeded that of any member in his section, found himself outside its ranks for carrying out an appeal to the N.E.C. of the Y.C.L. calling upon the membership to send in articles to the Young Worker dealing with the various problems confronting the organization. Comrade Mauer sent in his contribution which was never printed because in it he pointed out the causes for the defeat of the German working class, that the errors made in Germany were not due to isolated individuals, but rather to a false conception of the united front, a false appreciation of the actual situation. Instead of opening a discussion on these most vital problems of the revolutionary movement the bureaucracy replied with immediate expulsion. There can be no hope for an organization which treats with its critics in this manner.

Similarly in Chicago, where five were expelled for Trotskyism. There, the five sought to participate in the pre-convention discussion by bringing up the trade union question. For stating the revolutionary axioms, that the place of Communists is in the trades unions where masses of workers are to be found today; for declaring that the majority of organized workers and those who are just coming to the union movement are in the A. F. of L.; that the Stalinists today are isolated from the masses of organized workers and incapable of influencing them with a militant, left-wing program; these comrades were summarily expelled from their organization. In addition, the have been attacked as stool-pigeons, spies, counter-revolutionaries and all the other choice words of the Stalinist dictionary.

These six comrades have now found their place with the Communist League of America and the Spartacus Youth League. They conclude from their experiences in the Y.C.L. that it is not by accident that the Stalinist organizations lead only to defeats for the working class, that the fundamental course of the Stalinists is false to revolutionary principles, and that it is now necessary to create a new Communist party in this country and a new revolutionary International. They know full well that a party which is blind to all its mistakes, that refuses to discuss and correct them, but demands blind and religious obedience—such an organization is hopeless.

We welcome these comrades to our ranks. They are not the first nor the last. The Stalinists are losing their best material to the Fourth International. These comrades are now where they belong, in the ranks of the internationalist revolutionists, building and creating that party which will lead the working class to Soviet America.

## Japan Prepares Seizure Of C. E. R.

(Continued from Page 1)

ing to force the Soviet Union to sell its share of the road.

Unable to bluff Russia to give up the road back in 1933, Japan-Manchukuo have been attempting ever since to force down the price of the Soviet's share. A campaign of banditry, of blowing up of bridges, of stealing movable property belonging to the Chinese Eastern, and of harassing the Russian officials in every conceivable manner has been going on throughout the entire period of negotiations. These acts on the part of the Japanese authorities have undoubtedly had their share in reducing the figure originally asked for by the Soviets to that asked for today (190 million yen).

The latter figure is only 40 million (12 million dollars) above that offered by Japan. It was for these 12 million dollars that Japan was bidding when she arrested the Soviet railway officials.

This time the Soviet Union called her bluff. The complete negotiations had been laid bare and the enormous concessions already made by Russia. Japan's hand was stayed and, although still keeping the men in prison, she has taken no further acts against them.

The danger that Japan may attempt to forcibly seize complete control of the railroad has already been pointed out by the Soviet Union.

Where the present action will lead to, one cannot say. Any spark today may start the world aflame again. It was the Balkans in 1914; will it be Manchuria in 1934?

## FALL TERM OF INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL TO OPEN OCTOBER 1st

The International Workers School will open at its new headquarters, 144 Second Avenue, on October 1st, with the following courses:

1. ABC of Marxism . . . . . Carl Cowl, Instructor
2. Organization Principles . . . . . Instructor to be Announced
3. History and Principles of the International Communists . . . . . Max Shachtman
4. State and Revolution . . . . . Jack Weber
5. American History . . . . . Felix Morrow
6. Elementary Marxian Economics . . . . . Alfred Weaver

You are urged to register now for whatever courses you are interested in. Registrations are accepted daily at the office of the school. Each course is \$1.50 for the complete term. Further information may be obtained by telephoning Gramercy 5-5924.

## The Terms of the Settlement

(Continued from Page 1)

appoint two (2) representatives to the Arbitration Board, and these four (4) shall select a fifth member to act as Impartial Chairman. The hours and overtime rates provided by the respective codes shall apply. In figuring overtime, it shall be based on rate of wage covered by this agreement.

If within five (5) days the two parties cannot agree upon a mutually acceptable Impartial Chairman, the Minneapolis-St. Paul Regional Labor Board will appoint a person to serve in this capacity.

Arbitration shall commence within two (2) days after the appointment of the Impartial Chairman, when any firm and its employees (as defined in paragraphs four (4) and five (5) hereof), or their duly accredited representatives cannot agree on minimum hourly rates; and in that event, the results of such arbitration shall be retroactive to the date that arbitration is requested.

The award of the Arbitration Board shall be final and binding and shall remain in full force and effect until August 22, 1935.

It is understood that the minimum wages herein specified do not apply to boys temporarily employed on small package delivery trucks, and they shall not be submitted to arbitration.

It is further understood that no wage rates in excess of the minimums above specified, will be reduced.

9. A consent decree covering the foregoing provisions and binding upon employers and their employees (as defined in paragraphs four (4) and five (5) hereof) or their representatives, shall be made and entered by the Minneapolis-St. Paul Regional Labor Board. It shall supersede the order made by said Board on May 31, 1934, and shall have the approval and consent of the National Labor Relations Board and of the United States Department of Labor.

10. Wherever the Minneapolis-St. Paul Regional Labor Board is referred to herein, it is understood and agreed that the terms hereof shall apply with equal force and effect to any board succeeding the said Minneapolis-St. Paul Regional Labor Board.

11. Any dispute arising out of the interpretation of this order shall be referred to the Minneapolis-St. Paul Regional Labor Board for decision. If either party objects to this decision, it shall be referred to the National Labor Board for final decision.

## DANCE AND ENTERTAINMENT

Three Bands  
Lots of Fun  
Given by  
Spartacus Youth League  
(Manhattan)  
at 144 Second Avenue  
Saturday, August 25, 1934  
ADMISSION 10c

## Union Acts in Enforcement

(Continued from Page 1)

minated. The basic principles of trade unionism have been maintained and vindicated.

"Local 574 has been through a heavy battle. We have made sacrifices and given martyrs to the cause of labor. Great forces were brought to bear against us. We felt throughout the fight that we were carrying the banner of trade unionism and fighting not for ourselves alone but for the whole trade union movement. That other trade unionists felt the same way about it, is evidenced by the generous support they gave us.

"We feel we were true to the cause of labor in everything we did in the strike. We consider the settlement a victory for unionism. "We are calling a mass meeting of Minneapolis workers at the Parade ground Friday night. There we will celebrate the victory of unionism in this fight and call on all the workers to redouble their efforts to make Minneapolis a union town."

But though it has fought its way through to the granting of the cardinal demands of the strike, 574 is not resting on its laurels. Eternal vigilance remains the motto of the union in the elections scheduled to take place ten days after the conclusion of the strike. "The union is prepared to spike any trick of the bosses and to come out of the elections with the same flying colors as they did from the strike.

The Organizer is to remain a daily until after the elections. 574 will pursue every detail of the settlement and see to it that they are carried out to the hilt. Any discrimination, in violation of the agreement, will be met with by the same solid resistance that characterized the entire policy of the strike committee.

But if the strikers and all of Minneapolis labor is burning up the town in jubilation, the Citizens Alliance is lurking in its dens like a pack of beaten wolves. Seeking some manner of revenge they have issued a statement through the mouth of their hireling, Mayor Bainbridge, which indicates that a frame-up is being prepared. All this under the customary talk of driving the Communists out of the city. But let them beware! 574 has not stopped fighting. Says the victory issue of the Organizer: "We warn all enemies of labor: Local 574 is going to take a hard against this kind of frame-up. Those who start this sort of business will be responsible for all the consequences."

**In the Next Issue**  
We have on hand a lengthy statement by Herbert Zam in which he resigns from the Lovestone group. Comrade Max Shachtman will write an analysis of this document in the next issue of the Militant.