

TEXTILE STRIKE BEGINS TODAY

Sinclair Plan a Daydream of Middle Class

In the biggest vote cast in a primary election in the State of California, Upton Sinclair, running as a Democrat, received the nomination for governor by an overwhelming majority of three to one over his nearest runner-up, George Creel. Sinclair's program was Epic-New Deal, Creel's was more or less New Deal, and Wardell, an out-and-out reactionary who made a very poor showing, was for the old deal.

The vote for Sinclair undoubtedly shows a nascent radicalization, or what is probably more correct, a distinct dissatisfaction with things as they are by a large section of the lower middle-class and to some extent the workers themselves. That it represents a swing to the left away from the old line two-party politics of American capitalism no one can deny. To estimate how far a swing to the left Sinclair's nomination indicates, an examination of his program will disclose.

E. P. I. C.

Upton Sinclair's EPIC (End Poverty in California) program is unquestionably a petty bourgeois program. Its effect is to reform one single state within the shell of the 48 capitalist states in the union. And typical of all demagogic programs, it promises something to everybody. To the worker, the farmer, the unemployed, the little business man and to the big business man . . . not forgetting the old, the maimed and the blind. To all shall be given, from none shall be taken. To the unemployed will be given scrip; to the big business man security—security in the fact that when the unemployed are "taken care of", the worker is "satisfied", then big business is secure. Idle factories will be taken over, the unemployed will be placed therein to produce shoes, clothing, etc., for themselves and for the farmers and farm-laborers on the idle land. From the idle land operated by unemployed farm-hands will come the foodstuffs for these categories. A system of barter will be instituted. Cash relief will be abolished. Money will flow out of the state and inflation will come in. But one point on the program which has more than passing significance for the working class in this country is that Sinclair promises to pardon Mooney immediately upon being inducted into office. Of this later.

Sinclair Sold on New Deal

Perhaps one can get a clearer picture of Sinclair's Epic by examining the New Deal. "All we are doing is to bring the Democratic party," says Mr. Sinclair, "into line with the forward looking principles of the New Deal." And just exactly what are these forward looking principles? asks the worker in Toledo and Detroit, the longshoreman on the west coast—particularly in California—the truck driver in Minneapolis and the unemployed suffering from dysentery in New Jersey, New York and elsewhere. What has the New Deal given us? they demand to know. And the answer is: New brands of tear gas, vomit gas, sawed-off shot-guns, the militia, vigilantes inspired by Johnson, fake arbitration boards and the National Run Around (NRA). Now E.P.I.C. becomes clear. It is the California catechism of the New Deal and Sinclair is its apostle.

A Socialist?

Is Sinclair still a socialist? Let those for whom he speaks answer. "What do I think about it? I think it's great stuff," said Mr. Hopkins, Federal Emergency Relief Administrator. "Sure, I'm for him. He's on our side. A socialist? Of course not. He's a Democrat, a good Democrat." He's on our side, say the bosses and their agents. Just as he was during the war.

Anything might happen in California. Witness the growth of the freak movement known as the Utopian society—which backed Sinclair's nomination. But we warn the workers in California not to rely on a freak sentiment to get Mooney out of jail. Promises or no promises, Mooney can and will get out of the bosses' dungeon in San Quentin only by mass agitation and pressure. We cannot repeat that too much or too often. This is not the first time that demagogues have offered to reopen the Mooney case—if elected. Whether Sinclair will or will not free Mooney depends entirely upon the mass sentiment for it. To rely purely on the whim

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JAIL INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISTS IN MEXICO

Mexico City, Aug. 25.—The organization of Communists Internationalists in Mexico received a serious blow when the police arrested four of its members, one a member of its provisional national committee, and one sympathizer, along with five members of the official Communist Party and two chauffeurs.

The comrades were kept in complete incommunicado for a few days, while the frantic families and friends searched for them. Without word they were deported to the disease-laden penal islands in the Pacific, where news has finally come from them.

The situation of these comrades and their families is desperate. One comrade was taken from bed where he was ill with intestinal fever. The wife of the same comrade, two days before his arrest gave birth to a child. She was forced to leave bed to go to work to feed the family of four little children, four days after birth, with of course serious consequences to her health.

Another comrade is tubercular, while a third has a chronic bronchial condition. The families are destitute.

Word coming from the comrades attest to the fact that while in agony, their morale is of the highest. They ask for medicines.

In spite of this handicap, the League in the capital has formed a new branch. This is an answer to the bourgeois government of Mexico, and all its attempts at suppression of the movement.

—Correspondent.

Richberg Report Omits Wage Drop

Donald R. Richberg, one of the NRA headmen, in a report to President Roosevelt this week, made known the "tremendous gains" made by the country since the inauguration of the National Recovery Act. The summary by Mr. Richberg, who correlated information submitted by various government departments, is supposed to be the administration's reply to all criticism of the results of the New Deal. The report indicates a fairly substantial upturn as regards the profit end of industry. As for the working man, and his gains from the NRA, the figures, gathered from those submitted by the Secretary of Labor Francis Perkins, show very little improvement indeed.

The conclusions arrived at indicate that while the large corporations were making huge profit gains, the individual worker was turning out far more for his boss in a given length of time, but receiving no increase in pay for his increased output. The report shows increased profits, and increased production, whereas the returns to the individual worker remained at the low level of the spring of 1933.

Corporation profits, Mr. Richberg showed, rose a total of over 200 percent for the first half of this year as compared to the same period of last year. The rise in profit for industrial concerns for the same period, he pointed out, was over 600 percent.

Real Wages Drop

The average weekly wage in manufacturing (where the bosses' profits rose over 600 percent) increased from June 1933 to June 1934 a total of 8.5 percent. Against this slight increase there was a rise in the cost of living for the same period of 9.6 percent. This would indicate that while the bosses were making these huge profit gains the real wages of the worker took a slight drop.

These figures of course bring the story only through June (and very conveniently so for Mr. Richberg). Since June the cost of living has taken a sudden jump, and spurred on by the drought, is steadily mounting. Furthermore, the latest Labor Department report of a drop between the months of June and July of 3 percent in employment and 6.8 percent in wages, show a still further shrinkage of the weekly pay envelope.

As regards total employment, the author of the report credits the "New Deal" with an increase for private industry of 4,120,000 over the low of March 1933, and an increase of 2,320,000 for June 1934

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Steel Salaries Slashed; Wage Reductions Next

As first fruits of Mike Tighe's betrayal of the steel strike in July, a drastic cut in the salaries of white collar employees has been announced by virtually all members of the American Iron and Steel Institute, the "union" of the steel bosses.

Even more drastic cuts of wages will follow as sure as death and taxes. So it was when the salaries were cut the last time, and the time before. The salary cuts were heavy; the wage cuts were heavier. The present reduction in the salaries amounts to ten per cent. Salaried employees will be put on a five day week, with a corresponding downward revision of pay, and then some.

This is reported to be the first reduction in payrolls by a major industry since the NRA went into effect. Do not believe that it will be the last.

Cuts Announced in Big Companies

The announcement of the salary cuts was issued simultaneously by a number of the major steel companies, including the giant United States Steel Corporation. Others included Jones and Laughlin, Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, and the Republic Steel Corporation, third largest company in the industry. The National Steel Corporation is expected to take similar action shortly after Labor Day, when Ernest T. Weir, the chairman, returns from vacation.

A united front against labor!

The excuse given for the reduction is the drop in business. The steel industry reaped enormous profits through the rush of stock purchases fostered by the NRA. These profits were hailed as an index of the return of prosperity under the New Deal. "As steel goes so goes the nation."

More Profits—Less Wages

A natural lag followed the brief period of boom, during which profited the steel corporations made out.

God and Bosses Scare Hopkins out of Feeding Strike

With unprecedented—and hence suspicious—liberality, Harry L. Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator, announced recently that the government would grant relief to workers on strike—the textile strike being particularly referred to.

This statement was greeted with howls of anguish by the manufacturers and their press. Hopkins was not only violating the rules of a strike-breaking government, but the laws of God.

God Against the Workers

"Even God Almighty never promised anybody that he should not suffer from hunger," yelled John E. Edgerton, permanent president of the National Association of Manufacturers. The threatened textile strike, he continued, would not last a week if "the Government would revoke its unfortunate comment that no one shall go hungry in this country."

The God-fearing Edgerton, who opposes child-labor amendments of any sort on similar religious grounds, is needlessly alarmed. Hopkins has explained everything. He has no intention of disobeying the rules of capitalist society. Certainly he will not violate the intentions of God-Almighty.

The same policy, he says, that has been pursued by his organization in the past, will be observed in the future. This policy, he explained carefully, was "not a promise in advance that the strikers will be fed."

Hopkins reassures his Masters. "During the California strike," Hopkins points out reassuringly, "no additional funds were given by the Federal Relief Administration to California for relief needs, nor was the cost of relief appreciably increased."

What then, does the promise of Mr. Hopkins mean? It means exactly nothing.

Relief is administered through the local authorities, in every case composed of respectable and God-fearing elements, friends of law and order, tools of the bosses, and the bosses themselves—strike-breakers natural born.

They will pass upon each case individually, and upon them and them alone will rest the decision as to "need and worthiness."

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The number of wage earners employed by the steel industry in June, according to the figures of the Steel Institute, was 415,547. In July this number dropped to 383,673, and the decline still continues.

The total payroll for the industry for July was \$34,913,521, a drop of 31 percent from the June total of \$49,468,864.

On top of this 31 percent cut in the payroll, comes now the announcement of a ten per cent cut in salaries, with a greater wage cut impending, and further reduction in employment and hours of employment freely predicted by members of the industry and the capitalist press.

A New Stagger System

Eugene G. Grace, president of the Bethlehem Steel Co., has already announced plans for staggering employment on lines similar to the steps taken by the steel industry when the depression was previously at its worst.

Here then, in cold figures, is the price paid by the workmen in the steel industry for the leadership of Mike Tighe and Bill Green. For their trust in the NRA, they will pay more dearly yet.

Prices, as the NRA intended, will leap rocket high this winter—are already mounting with frightful velocity. Prices will go up, and wages will come down. Unemployment is increasing, and will increase.

That is the prospect facing the worker this winter, under the smiling regime of President Roosevelt, and his coterie of social workers and alphabet manipulators.

Despite the assurance of President Roosevelt and his administration that "everything" is being done to prevent profiteering as a result of the drought, prices of all basic commodities have taken a sharp upward swing and in many cases are 100% higher than in June.

Hogs, for example, are now selling for almost \$7 per hundredweight, as compared with \$3.60 less than three months ago. The same holds true for other livestock.

Cotton has also doubled in price and the Cotton Exchange has recorded gains from 12 to 14 points. Speculators are taking advantage of the situation and are making heavy purchases of cotton goods. "Professional" buying which has been a rarity since the stock market crash is again in evidence as huge profits are in sight with the depletion of the cotton "surplus".

Reports from drought areas indicate severe deterioration since the crop figures were issued at the end of July, as virtually no rain has fallen in many weeks in most of the counties West of the Mississippi River.

Feed materials, the least valuable of all grain by-products, is now selling for between \$12 and \$18 per ton, while a year ago it was being given away and dumped. \$2 per ton was usually considered a high price for this kind of product.

The raising of farm produce prices which motivated the whole Roosevelt administration agricultural program and was to be a solution of the agrarian crisis, is now proving to be bitter medicine for the bankrupt farmers and workers whose real wages have been considerably lowered as a result. It has tragically demonstrated that an increase in prices could only be achieved by bankrupting thousands of small farmers and at the expense of the living standards of the workers.

The millions of dollars which are being spent on relief will inevitably lead to new taxation schemes for which the workers will have to bear the brunt.

The \$25 million dollars appropriated for relief will hardly compensate the farmers for their losses, which are estimated in excess of 5 billion dollars. This may precipitate a serious political crisis

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Utility and Truck Strikes Loom in N.Y.

Unless Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick, vice-chairman of the Regional Labor Board, succeeds in delaying the issue (when has she ever settled one?) 10,000 truck drivers in Greater New York will go out on strike today.

The issue is simple and clear. In January 1933 the trucking bosses succeeded in persuading the leaders of the truck drivers union that a voluntary reduction of \$5.00 a week would be for the good of the industry. The period of the reduction has expired, and presumably the bosses were to restore the wages to the 1933 level, but this they refuse to do.

There is no need to offer here the pretext on the part of the bosses for not sticking to their promise. The workers were tricked by pleas for cooperation with the bosses. Now they are undecieved, and willing to fight for their most elementary rights. Prices have gone up 27 per cent, and are still mounting. Even a restoration to the 1933 wage level would still mean a substantial reduction in the real wages of the drivers.

There is only one method by which they can fight the bosses, and that is the method of the militant truck drivers of Minneapolis. If they monkey around with the Regional Labor Board, without showing their strength, they will most surely be gypped. If they put their faith in negotiations, they are licked before they start.

Efficient strike organization, systematic and militant picketing, unrelenting war on scabs, despite police thugs and the devil, these tactics, and these alone, will win for the strikers. They will win what they have the strength to win in open strike warfare, and no more.

A strike of tremendous significance threatens today to close the power plant of the Brooklyn Edison Co., the largest generating plant in the world, supplying light and power for all Brooklyn.

As in the impending truckers strike the Utility workers have been led a merry chase by Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick. While she fiddled with the issue the Edison trust fired members and officers of the Brotherhood of Utility Workers. The present crisis was precipitated by the discharge of the president of the Brooklyn Edison Local of the Brotherhood.

The union declares that it will not stand by and watch its national organization be destroyed but will take matters into our own hands and fight the case with every means at our disposal.

An ultimatum has been issued to the National Labor Board and if reinstatement of the official in question does not take place a strike will take place in the plant. Other utility workers in New York will be called upon to support the Brooklyn men.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

The readers of The Militant know that we are not in the habit of shouting "help" at any and all times. We realize that we are dealing not with wealthy magnates but with workers for whom a few penny pennies mean a great deal.

But the facts force us to send out this S.O.S. and to be as candid as possible.

WE ARE IN A CRISIS.

Through a sheer miracle the present issue of The Militant will reach your home.

What held us up was the matter of a few measly dollars, enough to pay for the paper on which The Militant is printed.

It was precisely these few dollars that it was so difficult to get. Under these circumstances The Militant cannot appear next week.

We admit it quite frankly. Our activities in Minneapolis have drained our resources to the very bottom.

The members and sympathizers of the League have dug down and responded nobly to our Organization-Press Campaign.

But so great are our accumulated back debts and so much greater the tasks before us that this revenue has been insufficient.

No sooner did we release the pressure of debts that were dragging us down than we were faced with new bills, new burdens, and new tasks.

Here are the facts: It is only a matter of days when the marshal will appear at our shop and move our printing equipment into the street. A dispossession notice has already been served.

And even if the landlord should be merciful for a few days, then we probably will be forced to stop operating anyway. An electric bill is long overdue; the lights and power will be turned off.

The gas company, the paper company and a host of other bills collectors are on our necks demanding payments.

This issue of The Militant is made possible by the prompt response and the heavy sacrifice of a few comrades.

But that does not insure the next issue.

There will be no next issue of The Militant unless there is an immediate response!

CUBAN COMRADES NEED SUPPORT

From the Militant columns our readers have become acquainted with developments in Cuba and with the activities and conditions of the Cuban section of the International Communist League. We have described the difficulties under which this section is building up a serious revolutionary force. It is still suffering the persecution of the Wall Street puppet regime which has not at all abated under Mendicta. These comrades call upon us for assistance and such assistance should be given.

The problem of Cuba is to build the proletarian revolutionary force, to build up its press, to have available organizers, but insofar as our comrades are concerned, although their influence within the Cuban labor movement grows constantly, the means to carry on these activities of building are still entirely too insufficient. For a while they were compelled to suspend their weekly organ due to lack of funds. Publication will be resumed now if a little assistance can be given.

In general the developments in Cuba are again taking on a more intense character. Dissatisfaction with the Wall Street puppet government is growing and new struggles are impending. New and great possibilities are opening up for our Cuban section; but it must receive the support it asks for. Our members, sympathizers and friends should head this request and forward immediately to the Militant office their contributions to the Cuban Section.

—ARNE SWABECK
National Secretary, Communist League of America

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Workers in Wool Trade Join Cotton

Not a loom in the nation will move today.

750,000 cotton mill workers will quit the factories in a strike that will stretch out from Maine to Alabama.

When the workers leave their benches and become "hands" no longer but upstanding, fighting men and women, they will write the history of the first national strike in this industry. For the first time a major battle of the class warfare will strike the south and cause the black reactionaries to turn white with fear.

Despite the statements of the timid, treacherous Gorman, chairman of the strike committee, that the textile strike is not against the government, the fact remains that it hits directly at the NRA.

The first of the slave codes to be adopted in the country was the textile code. Incidentally this code was agreed to and hailed by the present officials of the U.T.W. The code did not abolish the stretch-out, nor did it raise wages, nor did it grant union recognition. It was even powerless in enforcing its own innocuous provisions.

Not only did the code and the code authorities grant the workers nothing, but through a plan of 25% production curtailment thousands were forced out of jobs and into the unemployed army.

The bosses had no kick against this code. The NRA—they take it to their bosoms. But a union—never. So great is their fear for union organization that they refuse to sit at the same table with the most cowardly of labor leaders. So strong is their hate for the slaves on whom they thrive that God himself is called upon to refuse relief to them when they strike.

The Yellow Press Howls Again

"The public will suffer." "The business men will be ruined" holler the brass-check journalists. This familiar cry to estrange sympathy from the textile workers and demoralize the strike is once again polluting the atmosphere.

For the textile workers who have suffered and starved and wanted for years, whose bodies have been stunted in the mills, whose children have been victims of pellagra, this cry will invoke nothing but a curse of contempt. "The bosses and the mill owners—that 'public' be damned!

This sentiment has poured into strike headquarters in Washington in the form of hundreds of telegrams from every textile center on the Atlantic seaboard pledging to go down the line with the union to the bitter end.

The 500,000 cotton cloth workers will not be alone when they strike. Some 200,000 men and women in the woolen and worsted industries will down tools simultaneously. Reports from Chicago state that 60,000 cotton garment workers under the International Ladies Garment Workers are preparing to strike. A walkout of 100,000 in the silk industry has been agreed upon, only the date remains to be set.

As one of the capitalist papers says, this strike is a major test for the NRA and all of labor is expectantly watching it.

Since the institution of the National Recovery Act there has been no strike of nation-wide proportions. The auto strike was sidetracked, the steel workers strike was scuttled. Textiles are the first opening wedge.

If the strike depends on militancy and a will to fight alone, then there can be no doubt of the outcome of the strike. The greatest danger to the textile strike, however, comes from within. Terror, intimidation, deputy thugs and all the other trimmings of democratic America will not stop the textile workers once they are aroused. If the strike is crushed or sold out we can say in advance it will be due to the Gormans, the McMahoons and the rest of that treacherous crew.

Sinister omens can be attached to any strike that starts with professions of loyalty to the government and violent denunciations of Communists by leading union officials.

Reports from Alabama where workers already are on strike, indicate that the battle will be fierce and the militancy surpassing anything seen in this industry before. The McMahoons and the Gormans will be forced to reckon with this stormy spirit and think twice before they pass off any rotten agreement on the textile workers.

Appeal to your shopmates and friends, inform them of the urgency of the situation and solicit donations from them. We are certain that if you impress them with the seriousness of the crisis their contributions will be immediate.

ACT NOW!
The life of The Militant is at stake!
Don't delay! Send your contributions at once to 144 Second Ave., New York City.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Birthday Greetings

W. Z. Foster's birthday greetings to Bob Minor convince one that Foster must be very sick indeed. Almost as sick as the party that stages those disgusting birthday celebrations one after another.

Prosperity

Sloan of General Motors reports a golden age of prosperity right around the corner. Air conditioning of all buildings, fabricated houses and aerodynamic railroad equipment constitute the trinity that is to save capitalism from collapse and lead all of us to a luxurious life the like of which we have never dreamed. As the cockney said: "Gawd! Wot 'opes."

Drought and Snow

The faith of even the most holy must be sorely tried in our drought stricken area. First months of scorching heat burning up every growing plant and driving starving and thirsty cattle mad. Then after months of prayer by the faithful, snow and frost arrived. Many a preacher must feel like saying with the Negro parson: "Oh God! Don't make yourself ridiculous."

Another "Splinter"

From Detroit comes the report: Five members of the Lovestone group have resigned and made application to the Communist League. Just another "splinter", as Lovestone would say.

Duranty and Stalin, "Times" Correspondents

One of the favorite Stalinist yowls when argument falls them as it always does is "Trotsky writes for the capitalist press." However, I have never heard of Trotsky helping a capitalist press writer get out his copy. Duranty writes to the N. Y. Times from Moscow. "Stalin... once struck out from a dispatch of mine the phrase that he was the 'inheritor of Lenin's mantle' and replaced it with the words, 'Lenin's disciple and the carrier-on of his work.'" If we could conceive of Lenin correcting and collaborating in the dispatches of a bourgeois correspondent he would have changed it to read "a disloyal, arrogant, abuser of power, who is unfit for leadership who suppressed my last message to the party." The modest Stalin writes in his own picture of himself to be sent out to the capitalist world as the view of the "impartial" Times correspondent Duranty. And a Stalinist disciple in America says: "Even the capitalist press is forced to admit that Stalin is carrying on Lenin's work."

Blah! Blah!

An honest and truthful picture of the situation facing the German proletariat and a truthful picture of the great difficulties confronting the workers of the Soviet Union would serve the interests of the American working class and the workers of the world. Instead of that a vast stream of blah, blah is preached by Stalinist liars about the Soviet Union. In regard to Germany the same course is followed. Those who preached that the Hitler danger was past and the proletarian revolution on the order of the day every day since 1929 are now again out with the same old record. What kind of Communists are those who require 'shots in the arm' to keep up their courage? Lies to the capitalists are sometimes necessary, to the workers the truth and nothing but the truth serves revolutionary aims.

Baseball, Wages and the Rising Cost of Living

Detroit Auto Workers are expected to be so excited with the success of Mickey Cochrane's Tigers and the pitching of "Schoolboy" Rowe that the bosses will be able to go through their pockets while they are cheering the victory of the team.

Living Costs and Profits Rise

Richberg reports—"Corporate profits rose from a deficit figure of \$4.9 in the first quarter of 1933 to a profit figure of 13.2 in the second quarter of 1934" and "living costs have gone up slightly faster than the individual workers pay." To insure that "happy" picture some other consumption figures could be given, something like this: "Labor faker schemes for selling out strikes have increased from 8.6 to 98.4 during the past year" and "the use of tear gas and vomit gas has shown an increase of several thousand percent. The number of killed and wounded strikers have also shown a huge increase." All the demagoguery of the most demagogic president in years, all the threats and persuasive power of a corps of politicians and misleaders of labor, all the powers of the press plus tear gas, vomit gas, machine guns, rifles and bayonets to say nothing of police clubs and the blackjacks of hired thugs were needed to send corporate profits soaring and keep wages behind the cost of living. The workers are learning, the power of demagoguery is subsiding, the decks are being cleared for great class battles. The NRA has shown its hand.

-BILL.

Pledge Fund IN THE TRADE UNIONS

TO ALL PLEDGERS:

Now that the Organization-Press Campaign is coming to a close, the main support of the Militant has to be transferred to our pledgers. No revolutionary paper can ever be self-sustaining. The income from subscriptions and bundle orders cannot possibly cover the full cost of production. We therefore have to depend on a subsidy of one kind or another.

Up to March of this year the income was all directed through the national office of the League. All deficits of the Militant were therefore covered by the special donations which were sent to the organization.

This method was found to be a handicap to the organization, as it kept the national office in a constant financial crisis and therefore hampered greatly the organization work. No funds left for field organizers; no funds for bulletins, etc. etc.

In March the National Committee decided to separate the income in an effort to put each department on a self-sustaining basis, and have the income used for the special purposes specified by donors.

The Pledge Fund was started as a help to the Militant. We got a good response at first. But the response did not keep coming so as to enlarge this fund sufficiently to take care of the unavoidable weekly deficit of the paper.

We appeal now to all our pledgers to keep their payments up regularly.

If you are behind in your payments on the Pledge Fund, send in as much as you possibly can at once. The Militant finds itself in a precarious condition at this moment. We must not wait until we are faced with a crisis and have to skip an issue. The income from the organization-press campaign only helped to pay off back debts.

If you cannot pledge a definite sum weekly, send a contribution for the Militant whenever you can.

The following are still on our Pledge Fund list. We need more.

Table listing names and pledge amounts for various branches: New York Local, Newark Branch, Harlem Branch, Bronx Branch, Boro Park Branch, Boston Branch, and Others.

CORRECTION

We have been asked from England to make a correction. In our issue of July 21, under the Question Box heading we listed the publications of the International Communist League and amongst them the Red Flag published in Great Britain. While the Red Flag is issued by a group of comrades who support the principles of the International Communists, it is not an official organ. There is not, at the present moment, an official national section in England of the International Communist League, but there do exist two groups of revolutionists functioning in that country, both of which adhere as sympathizing organizations to the International Secretariat of the I.C.L. One of them issues the Red Flag.

THE MILITANT

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Union Workers Appeal Against Terror

(Ed. Note.—The following letter by the Agricultural Workers Union of Ohio, now leading the several month's old union strike in that district, speaks for itself. It is a living protest against the conditions of peonage which prevail in that section of the country. For the first time in years these underpaid agricultural slaves have risen in their might and by their militancy shown that the lash of hunger produces the best rebels. Since the beginning of the strike, July 20th, more than 50 strikers have been railroaded to jail on the usual trumped up charge of "inciting to riot." Pitched battles have taken place between strikers and thugs. The union leader has been kidnapped and slugged by vigilantes. But the spirit of the workers is unbroken. Newspaper reports tell of the armed defense of Odell, president of the union, by women. The spirit of rebellion that lies latent in the most downtrodden wage slaves in this country has found a magnificent demonstration in the battle of the union workers of McGuffey, Ohio. More power and all support to them.)

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE CITIZENS OF HARDIN COUNTY

Dear Neighbor: On June 20th, in McGuffey, a group of men, women and children, living under the most servile and inhuman conditions existing anywhere in the U. S., banded together to increase their living standards. On this date, they were forced to withhold their labor in order to achieve their purpose. They struck their jobs, the right of all free men, and began a courageous fight to eliminate the disgraceful blot of slave conditions on the good name of Hardin County.

What is the fundamental cause of the barbaric conditions that exist here? In the onion fields the average worker receives approximately \$36 for a season's labor (based upon the average pay of 10c per hour, a 10 hour day, 36 day season). Granted that several members in the family worked, the total income could never supply even the minimum human needs because no worker received more than an average wage of \$3 per week during the 3 months working season. A minimum decency level of existence is an obvious impossibility for these workers, hence, the lack of life's essentials have caused a permanent condition of starvation, malnourishment, undernourishment, improper housing, lack of sanitation, insufficient education, disease, mental derangements, etc.—all the sordid social evils bred by pauperism. Hardin County has one of the highest rates of tuberculosis in the state, unsanitary conditions are now indicating a possible typhoid epidemic—these are mere straws in the wind of our fertile bed for disease. Disease is no respecter of individuals, it attacks rich and poor alike.

What has been the answer of the onion growers, the big land companies, who are directly responsible for these inhuman conditions? Blindly ignoring the social effects of their greed they are doing just as the feudal masters of old, using oppressive and brutal force to keep their slaves in serfdom and dark destitution. They are illegally attempting to use our county machinery—JPs, deputies, sheriff, courts and other county officials in their interests; actually having the brazen audacity of making the citizens of Hardin Co. bear the expense of forcing the workers back to their jobs—and living death. Not satisfied with taking hundreds of thousands of dollars profit yearly, these masters are now seeking to use our county funds and officials to protect these profits. Over \$6,000 to date has been spent by Hardin County for special deputies (this does not include the thousands expended on court trials, etc.), more than enough to pay the small wage increase demanded by the strikers for many seasons. Think of the irony of paying deputies \$3 a day and expenses to physically force the strikers to work for \$3 a week! Think of the disgusting trickery of compelling starving, demoralized unemployed workers to run the risk of scabbing, so that these land companies can continue to pay starvation wages. The only answer of the land owning companies to this vital problem which affects every resident of Hardin Co. has been illegal methods and brutal force. Neither of these answers will solve the problem but both will inevitably bring on more trouble, dissension and greater hardships for everyone.

How long will this shameful condition last? Just so long as it takes the people of Hardin Co. (if necessary, the state and nation) to bring sufficient pressure from all sides and compel the land owning companies and large onion growers to pay wages which will insure decent living conditions to their workers. These companies do not benefit our local community except to the extent of their payroll—the purchasing power of the resident employees. All excess profits realized by these companies and growers are deposited

in the large city banks where they have their central offices. Increased wages will bring increased purchasing power in our county—thus benefiting all types of local businesses, increasing living standards, producing healthier living conditions, the only method of raising the social level of our county.

Only through your help and immediate action can the floodlights of a national scandal be averted. Insist that all work in the fields cease and the companies negotiate with the strikers at once. Insist that the sheriff and courts are not to be used as agents of the employers. Demand that the special deputies be removed. Insist that the jailed strikers be released. Give the strikers your support and financial assistance. A victory for the strikers will be a victory for all Hardin County residents. Our community welfare is at stake. Do your part.

—Sub Committee For Adequate Living Standards, Agricultural Workers Union, McGuffey, O.

Court Outlaws Closed Shop in N. J.

A lower New Jersey court launched another offensive in the state-wide crusade against trade unionism. Vice chancellor Berry's decision outlawing closed shop contracts is the most reactionary in a chain of vicious anti-labor decrees designed to strip the workers of their elementary rights and stem the strike tide in the bud. Berry's action was preceded by a recent court ruling declaring illegal picketing during a New Jersey furniture workers' strike.

In a suit by union leaders against the Essex Reed and Fibre Co. of Newark for violation of a union agreement, the court ruled closed shop contracts "against public policy." After a prolonged fight last year, the bosses submitted to an agreement which included among others, a minimum wage scale and a closed shop clause. The NRA code had not yet gone into effect. Later, the code for this industry allowed lower wages than those specified in the contract. Accordingly, the bosses cut wages down to the NRA level but kept a closed shop. The workers demanded the minimum wage stipulated in the contract.

In court, neither union leaders nor the bosses raised the question of union control. Union leaders are preparing to appeal the case to a higher court. Should the court of Appeals and Errors uphold Berry's ruling, the closed shop in this state will be outlawed.

The workers' most elementary rights are at stake. Only concerted mass action will repulse this government assault. The trade unions must wage a united struggle to smash these decrees.

Painters Strike Ends; Zausner Collects

Although the New York painters' strike is now over, and the settlement is hailed as a great victory for the painters, it is obvious, that the only ones who benefited by this strike—who came out of the struggle with any material gains are the boss-painters, Zausner and his lieutenants.

It was evident long before the strike was formally declared that the corrupt union leaders and the bosses had the whole thing in the bag; it had all the spontaneity of prearrangement. To the District Council, under Zausner's misleadership, the yearly pre-seasonal strike has become a habit and a necessity. The 50 cents a day work-tax has proved to be a substantial income for the Zausner machine. The politician, the gangster and the lackey, who had terrorized, intimidated and slugged the protesting painters, expects to collect, now that the prearranged strike and the settlement is over and the tax money starts to roll into the union treasury in earnest. Last year more than \$100,000 was collected and spent inside of four months in this way.

Boss-Painters Also Wanted Strike

The boss-painters in their part also were crying for a strike for months, and they also came out of it with material gains. They knew from past experience with Zausner, that they do not have to live up to any paper agreement with the District Council. The Master Painters Association admitted many times during the strike that they had always paid the workers below the scale and worked them longer hours; violations that were winked at by the union officials. But while the price of painting material showed a slight increase in the past summer, the contractors, in order to be justified in giving higher estimates for work, had to prevent the rich landlords and their real-estate concerns with a performance—with a painters strike. That is why the picket lines were concentrated on millionaire's row—on Park and Fifth Avenue; to impress the parasites there with bossing impunctuality and the painters' insistent demands for more pay. The settlement, which is hailed

as a great victory by both, Ben Golden, executive secretary of the Regional Labor Board, and Philip Zausner, will send the men back to work under the same conditions as before the strike: the seven-hour day and the nine dollars wage scale, neither of which conditions were enforced before, and will not be enforced now by the corrupt union officialdom. It will be up to the painters themselves to enforce these conditions.

Here the left wing, the class conscious element of the rank and file must take the initiative, in not only enforcing job conditions, but also in leading the fight inside the union against the illegal work-tax for the unemployed, which Zausner expects to continue throughout the year. But here we come to this lamentable situation where the left wing, thanks to the Stalinist splitters, is isolated and expelled from the union, and the whole thing must be built up from the bottom once more.

Stalinists Wreck Left Wing

When the strike was called five weeks ago, the Stalinists impudently declared, that they did not recognize the District Council; that all dealings and communications must immediately end and a new strike center created which was to be Local 499—the one local out of thirteen in Stalinist control. But it is an everlasting pity that such heroic gestures result in nothingness. This policy was already theoretically a split. But let us see who gained and who lost by such action, the strikers or their misleaders?

Not only did the separation of the militants from the masses make it difficult for the membership as a whole to force desired action and demands upon the officials and the bosses, but the balance of union power lay so entirely with the officers that sentiment and protest, plus weak and small organization had little chance of winning these ends. All cards were heavily stacked against the Stalinists. A week later the charter of Local 499 was revoked, and their open supporters in other locals driven out. The few individuals who dared to protest were silenced by Zausner. The old leaders were not only corrupt but had caused corruption also in the membership. Striker meetings were gradually driven compactly together and anyone who refused to follow the united strike action under the leadership of the District Council, was trampled under determined, angry feet.

Is Zausner's Charge True?

The Stalinists were charged by Zausner of forming a separate, a new union—an accusation on which nobody is quite clear. But it is most sincerely to be hoped that Louis Weinstein, the courageous leader who has fallen into the Stalinist swamp, would not do such an assinine thing as lead his followers into a dual union.

The place to fight the bosses effectively is in a mass organization. But we must fight intelligently. Courage without consciousness leads to defeats. There is nothing but glibulous flattery—the flattery that surpasses understanding—in splitting knowingly with a mass trade-union.

The left wing must be reorganized in the painters' union. We must again become the pioneers in blazing the pathway of class struggle in the mass unions, and establish our organization! structure upon the foundation rock of Leninism, against which the waves of false policies, passion and reaction may dash and the winds of demagoguery may blow, but the house founded on this rock, will not fall again.

—MEMBER OF BROTHERHOOD

100 Brush Workers Strike in N. Y.

Last Wednesday (Aug. 22) about 100 brushmakers in the Hertzberg and Son brush factory went out on strike for union recognition and higher wages. The wage scale as established by the NRA was \$13. The strike was provoked by the firing of one of the active trade union members. The workers then decided to hurl back the challenge of the boss and struck solidly.

For a week now the picket lines have been militant and the fighting spirit of the young people involved is a true tribute to the abilities of the working class. Every day now there has been mass picketing around the shop which is located at University Place and 11th Street. The strikers realize that what is at stake is the recognition of their union which alone can defend any of their economic gains. This sentiment is clearly expressed at their strike meetings, on the picket line and wherever they gather to discuss their strike.

Pug-Uglies to Break Strike

The employers are using the usual means to attempt to break the spirit of the workers and to get them back to work. They have hired scabs to fill the places of the union boys and girls as well as the customary line-up of tough-looking and ill meaning gangsters who hire themselves out as professional strike breakers. The scabs are giv-

ing all the protection by private detectives who drive them out, and from the shop in private cars. So far the police have not actively intervened, except in arresting one of the strikers, Sam Fox, when he clashed with some of the scabs. The striker has been released on a \$200 bond and faces trial on the charge of assault.

Every attempt on the part of the bosses to get the workers back to work by bribes has been met with the general response: "Call up the union. Deal with us through our union." The Brushmakers Union, Local 1803 of the A. F. of L., decided at its last membership meeting to support the strike fully by physical and financial aid.

The workers can go back to their jobs victorious only if they stick together and gain the recognition of their union. This they realize fully and their militant spirit is testimony that they understand the meaning of the old axiom: in union there is strength.

—BRUSH WORKER.

Shovel Workers Rebel in West Virginia

Parkersburg, W. Va.—On July 20, Federal Labor Union 18,958 struck the Ames-Baldwin Wyoming shovel plant here. The main purpose of the strike was to force the company to deal with union representatives as prescribed by section 7a of the NRA, as well as to guarantee seniority rights to its employees.

"Law and Order" Terror

Until the state police arrived, the pickets were keeping the plant closed without any disorder. Nevertheless, Governor Kump, through his subordinates, called out the state police to restore "law and order," and to "protect the public's welfare". Such pretenses are common to all our public officials (from the President on down). The shooting and beating of workers, and the terrorizing of the inhabitants of the South Side, did not serve very well to maintain peace, but these tactics were good for strike-breaking, anyway. Such atrocities soon proved to the workers for what purpose the West Virginia State Police had been organized—namely, for strike-breaking and no other. These legal assassins would, without provocation from anyone, hurl tear gas bombs into the picket line, and into nearby restaurants where workers were congregated. Making sorties into the picket line, the police would ferociously swing their riot sticks, and knock down bystanders as well as pickets. These armed thugs shot a bystander, Mr. M. W. McMullen, and deliberately, without any cause, clubbed and beat to the ground, A. K. Summers, the union's president. Such brutal and heinous methods were adopted for the sole purpose of breaking the fighting spirit and smothering the militancy of the pickets.

Bosses Investigate Themselves

Kump's representative from the Department of Public Safety, sent to investigate the shooting of McMullen, forgot to interview the wounded man, or any of the witnesses to the shooting, or the man who conveyed Mr. McMullen to the hospital. The state investigator claimed that the state police were innocent on the basis that the wound was too small to be done by a calibre of gun used by the state police. However, this investigator for the bosses had never seen the wound, nor had he consulted the doctor as to the extent or dimension of the injury. In every way, in fact, the Governor and the state representatives clearly revealed that they were on the bosses' side, and that they were out to break the strike even if they had to kill the union's president and a couple of pickets to do it.

Like the Government, the local newspapers pitched their tents in the bosses' camp. As a result, the Parkersburg locals are editing a paper all their own, called the Wood County Labor News.

A Ruse Is Spiked

President Harte of Ames-Baldwin Wyoming Co. tried to use the National Labor Relations Board to trick the workers into calling off the strike. Harte wrote a letter to the N.L.R.B., stating his position on the strike. He hoped that the workers would think this letter was an offer to the union for a settlement. The union members, however, wisely voted against terminating the strike on the basis of Harte's letter, stating "it is only a letter," and "not a specific contract". The letter, by the way, did not even mention the union, nor did it offer union recognition or seniority rights.

Federal Labor Union No. 18,958 presented mountains of evidence to the Federal Labor Relations Board (enforcement section of the NRA), proving that the Ames-Baldwin Wyoming agents had coerced the employees to vote for a company union. However, the union can expect little help from these people, unless the union, first, by the force of the strike weapon, brings the bosses to their knees. In that case, the NRA is superfluous. The Federal government reared the NRA to turn labor discontent into peaceful channels, and either to prevent strikes or to keep strikes within limits harmless to the bosses. The workers, by relying on the committees and investigators of the NRA, can never attain better working conditions. Roosevelt organized the NRA to

MARCH OF EVENTS

The United Front and the Defense of Trotsky

The burning question in those countries of Europe not yet under the iron heel of fascism, is the united front of the proletariat against fascism and imperialist war. The establishment of that united front of all working class parties and organizations willing to fight in this struggle, without discrimination, although not sufficient, is nevertheless a preliminary and absolutely essential condition for the defeat of reaction. The fate of France in this connection, the ability of the French workers to strike unitedly and decisively at the fascist forces, will decide immediately the fate of Belgium, Holland, Spain and England. Fascism triumphant in France would mean that European civilization will be thrown back into the Dark Ages with all its barbarism. It is the realization of this that causes the masses to exert an irresistible pressure on the bureaucracies of the parties of the Second and Third Internationals for unity in the struggle. The workers are compelling action.

The first task posed for such a united front is the defense of all the victims of fascism and the reactionary bourgeoisie, the defense of the working class fighters against fascism. Necessarily then the question of defending Trotsky poses itself for inclusion in such a program. The Stalinists cannot evade this issue, they are being pushed to the wall and forced to declare whether Trotsky is the victim of the attack of the French reactionary bourgeoisie or not.

The United Front in Belgium

In every country the best fighters come from the youth movement. Thus in Belgium the youth comrades show themselves the most advanced, the most serious and willing to learn. Recently the Socialist Young Guard (the Y.P.S.L.) of Brussels invited the Stalinist youth and the Bolshevik-Leninist youth to send representatives to debate the question of a united front for the defense of Trotsky. Naturally we presented the position that in case of the acceptance of a united front for the defense of the victims of fascist repression, the Socialist Young Guard should by no means concede anything to the special interests of Stalinism, but should demand the inclusion of Trotsky in the list of those to be defended. We added however, that naturally in case of a struggle against fascism which poses other questions too, such as the fight against decree laws and arbitrary government power, we do not lay down any ultimatum that we refuse to join the united front unless the defense of Trotsky is included. The Stalinist speaker evaded the entire issue by presenting the Stalinist program and attacking Trotsky. The reaction of the Young Guard showed that the Stalinists had failed utterly to carry conviction. This was demonstrated later in the acceptance in principle by the N. C. of the socialist youth of the offer for the united front by the Stalinist youth. The socialists, after accepting the task of defending Thaelmann, wrote: "We believe also that the defense of a militant like Trotsky is equally necessary and that we should place ourselves in the camp opposed to that of the French bourgeoisie. We think we should defend all the militant victims of international reaction, without distinction as to tendency." The Stalinists tried to minimize the entire issue of Trotsky but the socialist youth have thus far stuck to their guns and not permitted themselves to be put off.

The Movement Begins Here

All too slowly a campaign is getting under way for the defense of Trotsky here. Without comment we print the following letter sent to us by John Brooks Wheelwright. He writes: "A man far greater than Julius Caesar is in danger of being murdered. A man whose accomplishments are equivalent to those of Calvin, Cromwell and Clarendon, or of a Rousseau, who directed the course of Revolution wrote its history and worked to undo the work of Bonaparte and the Dynasts,—Leon Trotsky is in danger! Altho I doubt the wisdom of forming a 4th International, I beg you to bring the influence of your paper to bear upon the necessity of forming a United Front to defend the life and liberty of Leon Trotsky, whose security involves the future well-being of millions, and who worthily occupies the post of champion of civilization against barbarism. An age so rich in event and poor in character as ours could ill afford his loss." Comrade Wheelwright is right. The defense of comrade Trotsky is the task of every revolutionary worker and intellectual.

—JACK WEBER.

induce the workers to resort to the governmental boards for help, so that these same workers would less efficiently use the power of their own unions, and less willingly use their strike weapon against the bosses. And only by the might of their own labor organizations will the workers bring their employers to terms.

—G. N.

International Youth Day

All the glorious traditions of the revolutionary youth in their struggle against capitalism, militarism and war are embodied in International Youth Day.

As the day of demonstration against these curses of present day society, the first Sunday of every September, was set aside by the revolutionary Socialist youth who met at the first international anti-war conference held during the World War.

Neither the mass chauvinistic spirit of the time fostered by the capitalist class and the official Social Democratic parties, nor the powerful coercive powers of the war governments could deter their struggle.

These advanced youth had been taught by the Left wing in the old Second International. Above all Liebknecht and Luxemburg had fought for the organization of the youth.

Origin of Socialist Youth Movement

In the period from the late '80's to 1907, Socialist youth organizations arose in all the important countries of Europe and America. In some, primarily as anti-militarist organizations (Belgium, Italy, Holland, South Germany, Spain, Switzerland and Norway), in others, as defenders of the apprentices and young workers (Austria, North Germany), in still others, for the Socialist education of the youth (England, the United States).

All reflected the growing importance of youth under imperialism, as wage slaves and cannon-fodder. The growing militarization of Europe at the turn of the last century focused the attention particularly of the revolutionary Socialists on the problem of winning the youth for socialism.

The process culminated at Stuttgart on August 24, 1907, where, under the leadership of Karl Liebknecht the Socialist youth leagues organized the first revolutionary youth international. The fate of the militant youth movement was inextricably bound up with that of the revolutionary Socialist wing of the Second International.

On the wave of the enthusiasm engendered by the heroic struggles of the Russian workers in 1905, the internationalists gained strength in Western Europe and America. On the crest of this wave the Socialist Youth International was founded. However, reaction soon set in. Shortly after the Stuttgart Congress the influence of the Left wing receded, not to be revived until the Russian working class revolution of November 1917.

Nevertheless small groups of youth were trained in revolutionary Marxism. Those who had founded the Socialist Youth International joined, in the main, the Left wing in their respective country. While there was neither unanimity nor clarity among the revolutionary Marxists and though they were not well organized, the crucial test of a social crisis, the World War, found them united in defense of internationalism.

Anti-War Position at Berne

The Berne Youth Conference arose on this background. It denounced the Social Democratic war mongers who despite their repeated anti-war pledges, given at International Congresses and meetings, became bloodthirsty proponents of the imperialist slaughter. Uncertainty was displayed on the question of the centrists. But what was to be expected on such an occasion? Surely not a clear-cut, complete Marxist program!

Not until the Russian revolution of November 1917 and the creation of the Communist International did the youth movement again arise. The Young Communist International was thus organized in Berlin on November 20, 1919, nine months after the founding of the Comintern.

His genuine heir of the revolutionary Socialist youth traditions, endorsed the decision of the Berne Conference on International Youth Day. However, the struggle against centrism on the matter of the political subordination of the Young Communist League to the Communist parties was not solved until the Second Congress of the Y.C.I. in 1921.

The thriving militant youth movement was temporarily doomed with the victory of Stalinism in the Communist International, the defeat, once again, of the revolutionary Marxists. The revisionist and treacherous program and practices of the Stalinists could have no other effect than the collapse of the Young Communist International. The bureaucratic regime in the Communist parties, which took on even greater stultifying force among the youth, could not but be repugnant to the young workers and their need for self-education and development.

Steps Towards New Youth International

Arising from this situation the movement for a new world party of revolutionary Marxism, the Fourth International, is finding its reflection among the youth. The Luxemburg Youth Conference held last February, in organizing the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations, marked an important step forward in this process. Unanimity does not exist. Many of the participating youth organizations do not understand the need for a decisive struggle against centrism. Are they less advanced than were the youth who assembled at Berne in 1915? Only the most patient discussion and constructive joint activities can win these youth to a full revolutionary program.

These are the considerations which we must recall on the nineteenth International Youth Day. Today when reaction is growing throughout the world, we must assemble the forces of revolution. The victory of Fascism in Germany, the Fascist danger in France, the spread of incipient Fascism in democratic United States, as well as the threatening war clouds which hover over the world, the growth of the militarization of the youth and the hopeless plight of the young workers and students under capitalism, challenge us to build a powerful youth movement—for the youth are the first victims of imperialist wars and Fascist demagogues.

Just as the revolutionary vanguard requires the youth, so the militant youth movement depends upon political guidance from the vanguard. Such should be the inseparable connection between the Communist League and the Spartacus Youth League. Together we call upon the militant youth to demonstrate on September 2nd against wage slavery, militarism and imperialist war.

—JOS. CARTER.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Due to an unfortunate combination of circumstances the regular "Question Box" does not appear in this column. However, we hope once again to be able to present our readers with this feature in the coming issues.

Trying to Turn the Clock Of History Back Muenzenberg in a Web Of Contradictions

Called by the national committee of the Socialist Party of Argentina, a congress of "Iberia-American democracy" is scheduled to take place in Buenos Aires in September. Invited to participate in this congress are "the democratic parties and central organizations of a democratic type" of Latin America.

The task of this congress, according to its callers, will be to unite the above described organizations on a common plan of action in favor of the following program:

- 1. Free interchange, commercial and culturally. (Free trade.)
2. Pacific solution of international conflicts.
3. Defense of the republican and democratic forms of government.
4. Labor legislation.
5. Control of foreign capital (imperialist capital).
6. Compulsory, free, lay education.
7. Separation of church and state.

As yet it is unknown what response this call has had among the liberal, democratic and reformist groups of Latin America. This platform will, however, undoubtedly be attractive to such organizations as the Apra of Peru, Groves party in Chile the Socialist Parties of Uruguay and Brazil, Grau San Martin in Cuba, the Left wing of the National Revolutionary Party in Mexico and the Sandinist group in Nicaragua.

Even by an immense stretch of imagination we cannot picture the above program as issuing from a workers' party. It would be conservative even for a petty bourgeois liberal group. It is a twentieth century echo of English 19th century liberalism.

Caught in the scissors of big foreign financial capital, mainly invested in extractive industries (mining, rubber, cotton, coffee, meat, nitrate, fruit) and in railroad and power and the super-exploited proletariat slaving in these industries, the native industrial capitalists, tiny and impotent, in many cases little removed from artisanry, adopts a position in international politics analogous to their position in economics: in between, is the best description. By their very nature incapable of a revolutionary struggle against imperialism, they find solace in miserable impotent reactionary wallings.

The financial capitalists demand the uncontrolled exploitation of the semi-colonial countries and the workers and peasants in them. The proletariat demands freedom from all imperialism. The petty bourgeoisie wants to "control" foreign capital. (The fly on the cow's rump wants to control the cow!)

Dependent upon foreign capital for the machines and tools they use; upon railroads owned by foreign imperialists to transport their products; upon banks to finance their undertakings; upon laborers working for the foreign imperialists for their chief market—they are controlled by foreign capital and will become ever more dependent upon it instead of attaining the control over it they dream about.

South America is the arena for a free-for-all fight between various European and North American groups, with the late entrance of Japan into the fray. The chief batters are Great Britain and the United States. The conflicts in South America are in reality conflicts between countries sympathetic to British influence versus those sympathetic to North America. Governments are formed and overthrown, nations fight each other, international pacts are signed according to the dictates of the course of events in the struggles between these two countries.

At present we have the war in the Chaco. As the two little countries involved directly become exhausted both from the point of view of man power and economic strength, the powers behind these two governments of Paraguay and Bolivia, the United States and Great Britain, are obliged to call in other forces to decide the issue. The war in the Chaco is in acute danger of becoming continental, international. The prize of this enlarged war will not be a small piece of land in the Chaco, but entire South and Central America and world hegemony.

All the efforts at "pacifistic solution" are not only the phantasies of a class which lives on illusions. Not only will they not stop an imperialist war, but are also a great obstacle in the path of the revolutionary solution of an imperialist war by revolutionary methods. Between the imperialist war of the big financiers, and the revolutionary war of the proletariat we find the petty bourgeois dreaming of "pacifist solutions" of all wars. In this matter also the middle class in-between nature of this all becomes clear.

Free trade? One rubs his eyes to find out if by some chance he has not reversed the position of the hero of Bellamy's "Looking Backward" and instead of waking up in the 21st century, has awakened in the year 1850. To call for free trade—like the industrial capitalists of the latter years in England—in the year 1934, when the world is engaged in a war (at present concealed, but soon to be open) between the imperialists who are continually raising tariff wars against each other, and the proletariat, one of whose historic tasks is the freeing of world economy from its national barriers, shows definitely that this conference is representative of the hopeless petty bourgeoisie.

As in international politics (war) and in economics, so in national politics the middle class character of this call is clear. Between fascism and the proletarian dictatorship this call defends the form of government ideal for capitalism at the time it was small, progressive and democratic. There is no word of independent working class action of even a reformist type.

All of these things clearly prove that what we will have in Buenos Aires in September will be an international conference of representatives of a class left behind by the march of history: the Latin American industrial bourgeoisie. The ideas of this class are on par with its economic development: 1850.

The bourgeois United States of Europe was and is a utopia owing to the fact that European capitalism cannot overcome its inner differences that lead them to the building of ever higher tariff walls and the exciting of ever more frenzied nationalism. For the same reason—that European and North American imperialism cannot overcome their differences—the bourgeois United States of South and Central America is doomed to be still-born. Such is the nature of politics in the epoch of imperialism.

The proletariat lives in 1934. It needs an internationalism suitable to its epoch, a revolutionary internationalism that will carry society forward instead of backward.

For the Latin American countries the next step forward is the formation of the United Socialist States of Latin America. The main task of this union will be the defense and extension of the proletarian dictatorships of the various countries against the attacks of imperialism, chiefly Wall Street. —C. C. August 24, 1934

In the July 31st issue of the New Masses, Willi Muenzenberg undertakes to explain the German events to the American workers.

It seems that there is very little agreement on this question even in the minds of the Stalinist historians, since each new pamphlet and article on the subject contradicts the laborious apologetics of its predecessors.

However that may be, we are presented by Muenzenberg with a brand new interpretation, which is to give the American workers the key to the German situation.

Unfortunately, space limitations do not permit us to deal adequately with each point raised. What we intend to do therefore, is to concentrate exclusively on the material presented by Muenzenberg, and show that even on the assumption that the premises laid down are true (which they are not)—the conclusions drawn are entirely at variance with the facts presented.

In an introduction where he attempts to give a picture of the conditions in Germany prior to Hitler's appointment as Chancellor, Muenzenberg reveals in the most unmistakable manner the crass, unhistorical and un-Marxian approach of the Stalinist historians.

After recording the effects of the economic crisis in Germany from 1928, he goes on to attribute the success of the Fascists in winning a mass base (1) to the propaganda of Goebbels and (2) "by promising every group in the population what that group desired."

And what, pray, was the "revolutionary party" doing during that interval? "The Socialist Party," Muenzenberg continues, was "declining steadily" during 1930-1931 and: "The Communist Party in the ensuing winter of 1932-1933 began to win the masses at a rapid rate. It began to attain considerable success in its tactic of the united front (from below!)"

Under these conditions, granting for the moment that they are true, and that "when the Prussian Government was overthrown in the coup d'etat of July 20, 1932 . . . (the) Social Democracy's last iota of prestige disappeared", it should have been a comparatively easy task for the C. P. to rally the workers under its banner.

Make This Out—if You Can!

But, no! Despite the fact that the Social Democracy was completely discredited and that: "Its trade unions were losing members at a catastrophic pace" and; that the C. P. was attaining "considerable success in its policy of the united front"; and, that it was winning "the masses at a rapid rate"—despite all these favorable factors, says Muenzenberg, the reason "Hitler did not seize power in an open struggle against the working class", was because this same Social Democracy (which had already lost its influence), prevented the workers "from making a solid united front; (and) had been compelled to make a retreat."

How is one then to interpret all his statements about the success of the party's united front policy, its winning the masses at a rapid rate and the disintegration of the S.D.? Perhaps the editors of the New Masses will undertake to enlighten the American workers on this score!

And then to cap it all, he concludes this part of his article with this statement: "We will continue the tactics of the united front, as we have successfully up to now (!), together with the German workers, for a real revolution and not for another bourgeois-social democratic regime." Is this perhaps the same kind of united front that Browder is now so anxious to have the S. P. accept?

By this casuistry, the Stalinists hope to extricate themselves from their responsibility for the German defeat. But it is a difficult task. It was not so long ago that Muenzenberg spoke in a different vein. In February 1932, he had this to say about the united front: "A bloc or even an alliance, or even temporary joint operation in individual actions between the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party in Germany against National Socialism, would forever discredit the Communist Party among the broad masses of the workers. . . ." Then, it was the united front below that would crush fascism, for as the great Stalin himself hath said, and all the little Muenzenbergs after him: "The Social Democracy and Fascism are not antipodes but twins". It was first necessary to defeat the S. P. before fascism could be destroyed. In a statement of the Central Committee of the German Communist party in July, 1932, it was even proclaimed that fascism already existed!

"Before all, we must make it clear to the social democratic workers that what we have today is the Fascist dictatorship. . . . The same holds for the illusion that the S.D.P.G. or the General German Trade Union Alliance are also organizations of the anti-fascist struggle. Whoever would aim to build on the idea that by 'appeals' to the S.D.P.G. or other reformist organizations, a struggle would come about, would disarm the proletariat." —Rote Fahne, July 26, 1932.

Muenzenberg, also cannot refrain from taking a poke at the Trotskyites. In a brilliant example of history written to order, he says: "The Trotskyites say we made a mistake in January, 1933 when we didn't declare a general strike ourselves (!), with or without the Socialists (!), when we didn't summon the workers to follow us into the streets for an armed uprising. We are ready to bear responsibility for what we did before the Communists of New York today, and before the coming World Congress of the Comintern in Moscow. The events of the last one and a half years have shown that the line of Thaelmann and the German Party was correct."

The correct line which put Hitler into power and Thaelmann in jail, is now counter-posed to an invented one for the Trotskyites. The German L. O. which for years prior to Hitler's advent to power consistently advocated the united front between the S. D. and C. P., for which they were peremptorily castigated as "counter-revolutionists", are now accused of calling for an armed uprising without the S.D.! Needless to say, Muenzenberg does not quote chapter and verse to substantiate this fantastic proposition. His very ordinary mind, while it can invent unconscionable fabrications, cannot produce what does not exist.

While the World Congress of the Comintern—if it ever is held—can be depended on to whitewash the criminal betrayal of the German workers, the workers of N. Y. and the world over will soon give their answer to the Stalinist—organizer of defeats.

CONDEMNATION AT ANY PRICE In this column last week we wrote of the heavy toll taken by Kuo Min Tang terror of the Internationalists in China. In the course of the note we told of the plight of comrade Chen Du Hsiu, founder of the Communist party of China and leader of the Communist League there. We said that due to the intervention of bourgeois admirers he was not subjected to the same treatment as other political prisoners. The statement was immediately seized upon by a certain scribbler for the Daily Worker, one Harry Gannes, who says that . . . "The main bourgeois admirer of Chen Du Hsiu is Wang Chin Wei, one of the chief henchmen of Chiang Kai Shek." On what authority he makes this assertion he does not bother to say. Facts are least important in the Stalinist press. This different treatment (whatever it is, it means intense suffering for the Chinese revolutionist, who has now rounded out his seventieth year) is accorded Chen, according to Gannes, because of "his service to the executioners of the Chinese workers and peasants." Then why is he in jail altogether? Surely even the Chinese bourgeoisie has more use for such a "staunch friend" than to keep him cooped up in a foul dungeon. Or perhaps, as the argument went in regards to the "red" scare in Minneapolis, it is to make him more popular with the Chinese workers in order to be able to sell them out later?

But the stalwart loyalty of Chen to the revolutionary workers of China stands in glaring contrast to the craven capitulation and outright treachery of Stalinist leaders in China. Gannes says they are executed immediately upon apprehension. That might be true if they stuck to their guns. But the facts speak another story with most of them. Here is only a partial list of Gannes' heroes who have reneged on the proletariat, capitulated to the bourgeoisie and even betrayed their own comrades: Tsang King-teh—secretary of the Chinese section of the International Red Aid. Chen Yung-chao—head of the Chinese Communist party. Chang Chi-yung—director of the Organizational Department of the Kiangsu Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist party. Liu Wen Hsiang—a party member and secretary and executive member of the party-controlled Shanghai Labor Union. Fang Yuen-ming—editor of the party's trade union organ. These facts only partially exhaust the names of the real renegades from Communism, to say nothing of the scores of spies, the most ardent "Trotsky-baiters", that wormed their way into the leading councils of the party only later to betray the most militant and courageous workers to the police.

NEW INTERNATIONAL OFF THE PRESS The August issue of the New Internationalist is now available to all readers. It is an anti-war number and the major part of its contents deal with the questions of imperialism and militarism in the last war and the war to come. Besides, there is highly interesting material on the united front in France, containing documents hitherto unavailable in the English language.

Stalin's Camp Followers on Latin America

This article is devoted to a discussion of the position of those apologists for the Stalinists, the Lovestonettes on Latin America. These people in their pitiable impotence to influence the course of events and because of the shameful ambition of their leaders to recapture important positions in the apparatus of the Stalinist party, defend or cover up the betrayals of the Stalinists.

In August 1933 the class struggle in Cuba reached the point at which the tension of the classes broke out into revolutionary struggle against the Machado dictatorship and American imperialism. The Lovestonettes maintained a profound and, for them, wise silence. When "revolutionists" do not understand that the revolution has arrived it is always wiser to keep quiet. A month later the masses struck again and raised the petty bourgeoisie to the seat of power, Martin supplanted DeCéspedes as provisional president. The Lovestonettes still stepped themselves in silence. Wisdom had not been vouchsafed them. Four months later the revolution suffered a defeat with the reinstallation in power of the docile servants of American imperialism; this time it was Mendieta, who replaced Martin as president. The Lovestonettes reported a general strike. They were too busy reforming the Communist

parties of Germany and the United States to explain to the workers the significance of the Cuban revolution, what the Cuban workers were doing, what mistakes they were making, what was the role of the Communist party of Cuba in these events, what was still to be done in Cuba, what was to be done in the United States to help the Cuban workers. The same silence covered the infamous bargain Litvinov made with Roosevelt in its relation to the Cuban revolution, especially in the question of the fight against American imperialism. And on the war in the Gran Chaco the Lovestonettes observed the same policy of silence-is-golden.

But those in the Lovestonette camp who had faith were rewarded. In the July 15 issue of the Workers Age the Lovestonettes who, in their time "discovered" Latvia and Estonia, discovered the existence of the Cuban revolution. Those who seek light on the struggles which convulse the "Queen of the Caribbean" should read Ellen Ward's "Cuba in Turmoil". But remember as you read that this is the first pronouncement by these right wing Communists on the Cuban question. If you look for their position on the Cuban revolution you will look in vain. You will find, however, that Cuba's geographic position, population principal crops and size are set forth with

the precision and language of a tourist guide book.

One other aspect of Ward's curious approach deserves mention. Ward tells us that "In addition to our economic interest we have a very vital political interest in Cuba." (The interest of the international proletarian revolution? No.) "Its dominant position in the Caribbean and its closeness to the Panama Canal make the island a strategic point in the continental defense of the United States." (Of emphasis). Ward writes like a patriot!

Ward attempts a chronological survey of the events covered by the period of the Lovestonettes' silence, that is to say, the first year of the present epoch of the Cuban revolution. It is a strange record which she compiles. According to Ward the "starving and wretched masses" overthrew Machado. But American imperialism was able to ease in DeCéspedes who, Ward recognizes, "smelled so much of his former chief". How was this possible? Ward is discreetly silent. "The army and the students supported by another surge of the masses, took control of the government and put in Grau San Martin." Why weren't the masses able to take power? Ward does not tell us. The U. S. didn't recognize Grau. Wall Street was afraid of the big bad wolf. Grau who was carrying out repres-

sions against the workers and who dared to use troops to shoot down strikers and demonstrators, "appeared to take the demands of the masses too much in earnest". And so it goes with Hevia and Mendieta. The Cuban revolution is explained as a succession of presidential personalities in relation to American imperialism such as the school texts explain history as a succession of kings. The class struggle in this type of history, lurks somewhere in the background and makes its presence felt like the occasional rumble of a volcano.

On the role of the Communist party of Cuba Ward is as silent as the tomb. Grave charges have been laid at the door of this party. They have been substantiated with documents. A clear case of treachery has been made against the C. P. of Cuba. But Ward, like her confederates, finds it politic to pass this question by in silence. Eloquent testimony of the character of this movement!

Is this silence accidental. Not at all. Ward summarizes the statement of the Communist party of Cuba on the abrogation of the Platt Amendment. Did the Lovestonettes "discover" the literature of the Cuban Stalinists only yesterday? Strange and convenient ignorance of the statement of the Communist party of Cuba of the abrogation of (Continued on Page 4)

WORLD OF LABOR

YOUTH UNITE IN BELGIUM

Belgian youth are showing the way of genuine united front action to the young workers and students of the world. An agreement for action against war and fascism has been arrived at between the three major youth organizations: The National Federation of Young Socialist Guards, the Young Communist League and the Young Leninists (the Belgian counterpart of the Young Spartacus). The three organizations will fight for the liberation of all class war prisoners irrespective of political affiliation and organize joint action of the workers against the dictatorial powers of the reactionary Belgian government. Further, the united organizations will combat the recent government decrees calling for the dissolution of the Young Socialist Guards and the Young Leninists. Independence of organization is to be maintained in the united struggle against the common foe.

Two features are of interest here. One is that the Stalinist youth organization have designed to enter a united front with the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists". And the other is the splendid attitude of the Young Socialists in the course of the negotiations with the Stalinists. The Belgian Y.C.L. addressed a proposal to the Young Socialists calling for united struggle in behalf of Thaelmann. To this the Y.S.G. replied in part:

"We believe that the defense of a militant like Trotsky is equally as important and that we should be in the camp opposing the French bourgeoisie. We think that every militant without regard to tendency hounded by international reaction should be defended by us."

NOTES ON THE UNITED FRONT Czechoslovakia

A blanket refusal was the answer of the Czech Socialist party to the Stalinist request for a united front. They charge the Communist party with splitting the trade union movement and working for the destruction of the social democratic organizations. In years gone by, this argument would not have carried an ounce of water. But since the advent of Stalinism, with its theories of "social-fascism" and "red trade unions" not a few workers are affected by it and believe the reformists sincere in refusing the united front.

Britain

Here too the "Loyal Opposition of His Majesty King George", the chauvinists of the Labor Party have rejected unity of action with the C. P. In Britain the Communist Party is an insignificant sect. It has little or no support in the unions which could reinforce its demand. Then the whole policy of the last five years serves as a condemnation. Two outstanding reasons motivate the Labor Party refusal of the united front: It "would stimulate confusion in our own ranks and weaken our hold over public opinion." In other words, the united front would discredit the fakery in the eyes of the workers and compromise them in the opinion of the bourgeoisie. They forget, however, that this is the party of Stalin and not of Lenin.

Holland

The S. P. of Holland says "Nothing Doing." Go appeal to our International. That's how they answer the Stalinist appeal for the united front. They could never get away with such brazen cynicism if they were made by a real revolutionary party. They would have to answer to the workers for whom the danger of fascism is more important than the prestige of the bureaucrats, reformist or Stalinist.

Sweden

In Sweden the Social Democrats constitute the bourgeois government. Consequently they will have no truck with any proposition for united front. Because . . . it might lead to sad results for bourgeois society. And that, they wouldn't like at all. So they say to the C. P. "There is a gulf between the revolutionary line of Bolshevism and the peaceful road of Social Democracy." The united front slogan is simply a slogan to increase the influence of Bolshevism at the expense of the Social Democrats and the trade unions.

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United Fruit Company Vs. United Banana Workers

A few weeks ago seven thousand Costa Rica banana workers went on strike. It was the biggest strike in Costa Rican history and was distinguished by several unique features that together made enough of an impact on the hide of the United Fruit Company to make the strike New York Times news.

In the first place, the workers went out on an all-inclusive, industrial union basis. Cutters, loaders, railroad and dock men stopped work, paralyzing the banana industry from the jungle to the water's edge.

The government gun-men, called in at once by the many United Fruit boys holding public office, were unable to make a dent in the strike—unable even to get near the armed, fighting workers, led by Communist Party members and backed by C. P. representatives in the Costa Rican legislature—men who, let us state with honest surprise, are making a consistent, intelligent fight against the United Fruit stranglehold.

International Solidarity in Strike
A second remarkable feature about this strike was its close contact with Nicaraguan workers, and its solid support by Jamaican Negro workers in the Atlantic zone, in spite of the race-hatred campaign carried on by the United Fruit and the smaller subsidiary planters. The Costa Rican government began deporting Nicaraguans shortly after the strike, accusing them of being "foreign trouble-makers", but at the root of this action was the fear of strike in Nicaragua too—also, like Costa Rica, a vast estate of the United Fruit. The workers might discover—they are learning rapidly—that the precious national boundaries are economically fictitious—that the Nicaraguans are not only suffering imperialist exploitation like themselves, but largely in the same industries and under the yoke of the same companies!

An international strike would be new in Latin-America—and immensely dangerous to the United Fruit Company, whose huge empire includes most of Central America and the Caribbean zone, and spreads into South America, especially in Colombia and Venezuela. A huge industrial union embracing the fruit, sugar and coffee industry could paralyze not only the industry itself, but most of the railroad and water traffic in the Caribbean zone. Hence the alarm of the United Fruit at the fraternizing of Nicaraguan and Costa Rican workers.

Furthermore, international industrial unionism, cutting through national borders, would wipe away the big talking point of petty-bourgeois demagogic agitators and governments—at present a strong and typical Latin American product—for these kuomintangists base their appeal on "anti-imperialist" super-nationalist "peasant and worker" demagoguery. The workers cutting bananas might find out their true class status—side by side with the railroad men and ship-workers, against native nationalist bourgeoisie and the United Fruit.

Strike Triumphs
So a third remarkable feature of the strike emerges: it was won. The workers got a raise, and virtual union recognition, since the strike was settled by a committee upon which were represented the union, the Communist Party, and the government—acting for United Fruit. This denouement contrasts sharply with the big United Fruit strike in Colombia several years ago, when the government sent in troops to crack down on the more or less marooned banana cutters, and broke the strike by means of brutality and terror. Many lives were lost, and the struggle finally degenerated into skirmish and sabotage, United Fruit losing, at its own estimate, a million dollars in fruit and property.

The Costa Rican C. P., one of the few Third International groups left in the world which actually pursues an intelligent trade-union policy, and maintains a realistic political fight, has emerged from the struggle greatly strengthened and healthily growing. The workers have learned several lessons from this strike, which if followed up should make of it an enormously significant step forward in the history of American labor.

Lessons of Strike
First, the strength of the industrial union principle as applied to agricultural workers tied up in the same great colonial combine as marine workers, railroad men, etc. This should lead to a new and clearer concept of Latin-American

land-workers, for the most part no longer "peasants" but true proletariats.
Second, the strength of international industrial unionism, particularly clear in the Caribbean zone, where the great majority of workers are reduced to an identical class and industrial position in the employ of a few great companies, who have long since wiped out, economically, all trace of national borders.

Third, the strength of a strike led and supported by an active, intelligent, militant workers' party.

The fourth necessary step, dictated by economic reality, should be the linking, by means of industrial unionism and politically, of Latin-American workers to North Americans, for at that point a general strike in the banana industry, or coffee or sugar, would become a movement of enormous power and significance; and would reveal the true international nature of imperialism, and the necessity of international action, on a mass basis, against it. —JEAN MENDEZ.

Hopkins and Relief

(Continued from Page 1)

They, and they alone, are to decide how much of the dwindling relief funds will be given to strikers. Have they been sufficiently starved, is their need sufficiently desperate, are they properly grateful and amenable to reason?

There are insufficient funds on hand to take care of one-tenth of this country's starving. Who believes, then, that the local authorities can accept, if they would, the additional burden of the striking thousands?

John E. Edgerton need fear nothing. The government troops will be at his disposal to crush the strikers. Funds, unlimited government funds, are his to break the strike. Relief for the strikers remains a promissory note, unsigned and undated.

Meanwhile, will the government continue to pour its loans into the coffers of manufacturers engaged in breaking strikes and locking out workers? It will.

The Weirton Company, arch-foe of organized labor, defiant of even the government's order to re-hire union men it had fired, is one of the chief beneficiaries of Roosevelt's generous administration, through loans and subsidies, through sums of money sufficient to feed every single striker in the textile industry.

Richberg Forgets

(Continued from Page 1)

over June 1933. Between June and July of this year however, (again an oversight on the part of Richberg) there was a decrease in employment of 360,000 workers in the manufacturing industries, and a like decrease of 342,000 in the non-manufacturing industries. This would bring the total increase of employment for private industry from last June to July of this year to the grand total of about 1,600,000 workers. In addition to the above about 1,000,000 men are being employed on the various relief jobs running anywhere from the one dollar a day of the C. C. C. to the 50 dollars a month of the P. W. A. workers.

The total applications for jobs at the federal and state employment agencies ran well over 15 million. Thus does this merry dance of figures continue. Between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 workers taken back to industry at the magnificent wage of about 15 dollars per week. Real wages go down. Profits rise anywhere from 200 to 600 percent.

Sinclair Plan

(Continued from Page 1)

of a demagogue—even an "honest" demagogue is to disarm oneself in advance. The very fact that Sinclair got so overwhelming a vote simply indicates that the issue of freeing Mooney in California is not the bugaboo that cowards in the labor movement have made it out to be.

We shall return to the election campaign in California, particularly as it revolves about Sinclair, in coming issues of the Militant. But in conclusion we want to repeat the words to Sinclair Junior to his father: "Daddy, read your own books."

LABOR DAY-1934

Labor Day, the first Monday in September, is not the holiday of labor.

Set aside as a national holiday by Congress on June 28, 1894 in direct opposition to the revolutionary celebration of May 1, it found its most direct support in the reactionaries of the American Federation of Labor.

The difference between May 1 and "Labor Day" is not as some of our reformist friends would have us believe: a foreign celebration versus an American holiday. Quite the contrary. Baptised with the blood of the Haymarket martyrs, May 1 was founded by the A. F. of L. itself, only later to be adopted by the European labor and Socialist movement.

The burning creed of the class struggle and the illusory shibboleth of class peace—there lies the significant opposition between May 1 and Labor Day.

An Offering of Capitalism
With the full blessings of the President of the United States, with the benediction of the bosses who drive their "help" with the whip of slave conditions, with the mock eulogies of the labor-hating capitalist press on "the dignity of labor", the working class is given a day off—without pay—to enjoy the full "harvest" of a year of toil.

Contrast this picture of super-hypocrisy with May 1, when the capitalist class trembles in fear of the "revolution", when the state and city authorities mass their armed minions to prevent "seizure of property", when the hired press screams with rumors of "bomb plots", "assassinations" and breathes

a sigh of relief when the demonstrations are over and they still remain in power.
We judge ourselves by what our enemies think and say of us.

For the American working class Labor Day of 1934 is no day of rejoicing, rest or recreation. Whether Bill Green, President Roosevelt or J. P. Morgan like it or not, it will be a day of struggle, of class war.

Cotton Mills Close on Labor Day
Labor Day 1934 will resound with the echo of the marching feet of nearly a million underpaid and over-exploited textile workers leaving their places of drudgery in a nation-wide general strike.

Labor Day 1934 will find the working class ranking with resentment at the broken promises of the self-appointed "savior" in Washington. They have learned much in this year—that the New Deal of the NRA has been a Raw Deal of Company Unions, starvation wages and charity pittance for the unemployed.

Labor Day 1934 finds the American proletariat scarred from many battles. Auto workers in Toledo, truck drivers in Minneapolis, longshoremen in San Francisco, coal miners in Alabama, furniture workers in the "model" village of Kohler have shed their blood in the cause of unionism.

They have faced and fought the clubs and bullets of the police, the tear gas and bayonets of the National Guard. Every strike has had its martyrs.

Labor Day 1934 is greeted with the announcement of the steel trust's reduction in wages, the her-ald of the second big gun in the

capitalist onslaught on the working class. First the fire was trained on the unions and now a slashing attack on wages is being prepared.

Stronger and More Confident

But on the other hand, the working class is stronger and more militant on Labor Day 1934 than it was a year ago. Membership in unions has grown by leaps and bounds. In more than one industry the left-wing workers are for the first time challenging the corrupt bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. Labor, slowly but surely, is beginning to feel its power. Let the bosses and their servants awe the day when the workers rise to their full stature.

For when that day comes not a few shams will be punctured. And outstanding among them, is the sham of capitalism itself. The rising profits concurrent with the lower standard of living for the working class, the destruction of essentials of life alongside with appalling hunger, the waste, the anarchy, the insanity of this system—all of this we can say is more firmly impressed in the minds of thousands today who were oblivious to the meaning of the present set-up of things on Labor Day 1933.

That is the significance of Labor Day 1934. It is not a day of celebration—no holiday ever granted by the bosses can be that—but a day for the workers to reflect over the momentous happenings of the past year. And when the reflections are transformed into action, then there will be real holidays—workers holidays.

Stalin Followers on Latin America

(Continued from Page 3)

the fight against American imperialism!

What are the perspectives of the Cuban revolution? Can the Communist party of Cuba be "restored to a Leninist basis (we assume that the Lovestonites will not dare to maintain that the Cuban Stalinists have been pursuing a Leninist policy although they have yet to analyze their "mistakes")? For the answers to these questions you look in vain in Ward's Baedeker of the Cuban revolution.

But perhaps we demand too much of Ward. After all, judging by the Workers Age she is only a tyro in the subtle art of covering up the traces of the Stalinists. We must look to the maestros of the Lovestonite fold for more expert performances. Those who read Ward will turn with a sigh of anticipation to the radio speech of Wolfe on Latin America which is reported in the same issue of the Workers Age. Wolfe's subject was "Voice of the Americas" and no one will doubt that his two precipitate visits to Mexico together with many other attributes highly qualifies him to deal with this subject.

Wolfe spoke from a capitalist radio station and could not, in all probability, have used the forthright language of the revolutionary movement. This circumstance imposed on him a severe restriction in the use of his language, but only in his language. No other restriction is permissible for a revolutionist. Better to give up the opportunity to speak than accommodate the content of your speech to the demands of the capitalist radio censors. Let us note at once that Wolfe seized the occasion to cover himself with the mantle of a modest patriot. "As an American speaking to Americans," said Wolfe, "I do not feel it appropriate here to make suggestions to those south of the Rio Grande." The language of Ward is likewise the language of her master. Nay more! It is apparently the language of the Lovestonite movement Tomorrow it will take on the flesh and blood of national chauvinism.

Why was it not appropriate to "make suggestions" to an audience of thousands? Where is it more appropriate? In the Workers Age which reaches far fewer workers? What do revolutionists want the radio for if not to make suggestions on the solution of their problems to the toiling masses of the entire world, north and south of the Rio Grande and everywhere else?

Wolfe wanted "rather to say a few words about what we Americans should do as a people if we wish to promote better relations with our neighbors to the South". (Our emphasis.) And Wolfe proceeded to make a speech which any bourgeois demagogue looking for petty bourgeois and working class votes could have made in its entirety daily.

Moreover Roosevelt appears to be achieving the very solution Wolfe advocated. He granted "independence" to the Philippines; he abrogated the Platt amendment; he withdrew marines from Haiti. A revolutionist speaking over the radio on the Latin American question has a clear duty to expose the hypocritical, demagogic, anti-working class nature of these maneuvers by the leading imperialist power of the world to deceive the Latin American workers into thinking that U. S. capitalism is friendly to them with resulting trade advan-

Onion Workers Battle Terror

(Continued from Page 3)

McGuffey, O.—Two months ago some 500 men, women and children working in the largest onion fields in the country went out on strike. On numerous occasions prior to the walkout they had requested better working conditions and an increase in wages. The employers refused to grant any concessions and began to systematically fire the most active.

A committee representing the workers demanded that those fired be put back to work. The employers refused and threatened to fire all of them. This incident on top of the miserable wages they were receiving precipitated the strike.

Demand 35 Cents an Hour

The strikers immediately organized and applied for a charter from the A. F. of L. They demanded recognition of the union, an eight hour day and 35 cents an hour. They had been working 12 and 15 hours a day for 10 cents per hour and children for 5 cents an hour.

Up until a few days ago the strike had succeeded in crippling production. The entire population gave the strikers sympathy and support.

The strikers were evicted from their homes and relief refused. All kinds of provocations were attempted and as many as 30 strikers were in jail at one time in connection with activities attending the strike.

To no avail. The strikers held their ranks. The employers became frantic and resorted to every means to smash the strike.
Then an epidemic of fires and bombings started. Strange to say, only old, dilapidated barns were burned and no lives lost or serious property damage resulted. It was obvious that this was the work of the bosses in an attempt to smash the strike and arouse public opinion against the workers.

Mayor's Home Bombed

These provocations culminated in the bombing of Mayor Ott's home a few days ago. Immediately, O'Dell, president of the union, was brought to the county sheriff's barracks for questioning. Present at the inquiry was Sheriff Mitchell and six special deputies.

Suddenly, a crowd of some three hundred "Citizen Vigilantes" crashed through the barracks' door and, taking the forces of "law and order" by "surprise", captured O'Dell. They dragged him outside, beat him up and threw him in a truck which was rapidly driven away.

Late that night O'Dell appeared at his home suffering from numerous wounds. He had been taken across the county line, terribly beaten and told to get out of the county on pain of death. He was warned that his child would be killed and his home destroyed if he dared return.

The strikers immediately organized a defense group and prepared for the threatened return of the Vigilantes.

O'Dell, in behalf of the union said, concerning a return of the Vigilantes, "Let them come. We'd give \$500 a head for anyone who gets away alive."

The workers are determined to defend their rights with their lives. The entire labor movement in this territory is up in arms and ready to support the onion strikers until the strike is won.

—HARRY MILTON.

ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILITANTS—ONE CENT PER COPY.

Tom Mooney Appeals to Labor for Assistance

MY DEAR FRIENDS, COMRADES AND FELLOW UNIONISTS:

As I write this letter San Francisco Bay District is tied up tighter than a knot from one of the greatest demonstrations of working class solidarity ever manifested in the whole history of this entire country.

For the past two months the International Longshoremen's Association, along with nine other Marine Workers Unions, have been conducting one of the finest and bravest militant labor strikes ever fought in this country. These same corrupt and all-powerful forces that FRAMED and RAILROADED me to this living hell for LIFE are the ones now trying to break this strike. They ordered their murderous police to shoot these strikers down in cold blood without the least provocation—it was wanton, wilful murder. Then they had the State militia called in to help break this wonderful labor solidarity.

These acts of violence and the unjustified appearance of the militia into the strike zone was like touching a match to a powder magazine. Like one man the entire labor movement in a marvelous spontaneous working class gesture called a general strike; and this in spite of the powerful opposition from all labor leaders who were swept aside. Immediately upon the consummation of this foul treacherous betrayal of the striking longshoremen and maritime workers unions, the henchmen of these misleaders of labor, together with thugs from the American Legion, formed wrecking crews and destroyed all literature, furniture, records and other equipment in a dozen radical workers' headquarters. The police were conveniently absent until the wrecking was finished, then they appeared on the scene and arrested every one as Communists and threw them into prison. Over 600 arrests were made. Mayor Rossi said, "I will drive every radical and Communist out of San Francisco." A campaign of terror is now in full swing; first the Communist then the unions will be crushed under its heel—that is real unions, willing to fight for its members; these militant workers were the spark-plug in the longshoremen's and general strike.

Nothing that I might try to say could begin to do justice to the history-making events that are taking place in this region. Suffice to say, that this is the beginning of the end of the old order of things. It may take months—maybe a few years—but the end is inevitable.

These militant workers, who have found themselves and are not afraid to fight for their rights will soon realize that I too fought their fight 18 years ago, and lost. They will soon be making the fight for my freedom. I want you to help me bring this struggle forcefully and dramatically before all workers and their unions.

The entire country should be plastered with the enclosed Poster. No labor or working class event should be allowed to pass without putting the Mooney Case on its map. The only reason that I am in prison is because of my militant, loyal devotion to the cause of the workers, and the further fear, that if released I would again become active in the labor movement.

In this present industrial upheaval I see real hopes or my freedom, and very little hopes for same from the capitalist courts and politicians in public office. But I am availing myself of every opportunity to ask for my freedom just to prove to the workers what they can expect from the courts and other public officials doing the dirty work for capitalism.

On July 27, my 18th anniversary, I begin my nineteenth year in prison. August Second marks my 32nd anniversary of membership into the International Molders' Union. These dates should be exploited to signal attention to this monstrous frame-up. Labor Day, in every city in the country should afford a wonderful opportunity for a brave and daring exploitation of this case. I hope every one of my real friends, comrades and fellow unionists will not forget me on that day.

The prices of these posters, 24x 38 inches, are reasonable. 15c for a single copy; 10 for \$1.00; 25 copies for \$2.00; 50 copies for \$3.50; 100 copies for \$6.00; 500 copies for \$27.50; 1,000 copies for \$50.00, payable in advance to Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, P. O. Box 1475x San Francisco, California.

The posters can be used in connection with advertising Mooney Mass Protest meetings. They can be carried in parades on wooden frames, hung in union offices and halls and workers' headquarters, placed in friendly store windows and pasted up in places where great crowds pass. These banners should be carried in all Labor Day parades, and also May Day parades. In fact there are a thousand different very valuable uses to which they can be put.

We are desperately hard up for funds to carry on our fight on three fronts—in the capitalist courts, before the capitalist governors, and to the workers—where our real hopes are. We are enclosing a coin card with the hope that you will at least enclose a small coin to meet the expense of printing and mailing this to you; and if fortune smiles more kindly upon you now than it does on many millions of starving workers we will not be angry with you for disregarding the coin card and substituting a check, postal or express money order to enable us to prosecute this case all the more vigorously.

We shall be very happy to have an order from you for a large bundle of these posters to be used in your city, now or at a later date. We are sending out 25,000 of these circular letters and posters, and that in itself is an item which, we hope you will consider when passing upon this urgent plea.

U. S. District Judge St. Sure not only refused to grant my writ of habeas corpus, but also refused to issue a certificate of probable cause, which would entitle us to appeal from his decision. He said we should seek relief in the State Supreme Court, where we have three times sought and been denied said relief. We have asked the U. S. Circuit Court to grant a certificate of probable cause and to hear our original application for a writ-habeas corpus. This court promised us a decision on the certificate of probable cause by the middle of July, which has already passed.

Your continued loyal and faithful assistance in this desperate uneven uphill 18-year old struggle against the most powerful odds, will be everlastingly cherished. May we hope for your early reply?

Again I give thanks from the depths of a grateful heart, and send you warmest personal regards with firm proletarian greetings.

Fraternally and sincerely yours,

(Signed) TOM MOONEY

1921

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1921

Food Prices Up

(Continued from Page 1)

this winter when the effects of the drought will be felt with full force. The thousands of small farmers and agricultural workers forced off the land will be compelled to seek employment in the industrial centers which are now glutted with millions of unemployed.

The demand for social insurance will be raised by tens of thousands of new voices. The organization of the unemployed will take on new meaning and will necessitate a new orientation by the unions and unemployed organizations as the unity of employed and unemployed will become an even greater necessity in the face of the developing strike struggles.

These perspectives place great tasks before the revolutionary workers. The burning need of a new Communist Party to lead the oncoming struggles is being revealed by each new event. It brooks no delay!

LECTURE

THE U. S. S. R. AND JAPAN

(Is the Conflict over the Chinese Eastern Railroad the Signal for a New World War?)

by

MAX SHACHTMAN

Friday, Sept. 7th at 8 P.M.

at 1776 Pitkin Avenue

ADMISSION 15c

Auspices: Brownsville Branch Communist League of America

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 5-5024.

OPEN FORUM

"Literature and Revolution"

Speaker: **GEORGE MARLEN** (Author: "The Road")

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QUESTIONS :: DISCUSSION

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