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Fargo Drivers Win in Militant Milk Strike

Dunne Jailed for Activity, Released By Mass Pressure

BULLETIN
Fargo, N. D.—Miles Dunne, militant leader of the Minneapolis truck strike, who was arrested in Fargo, North Dakota, where he had been helping to organize the truck drivers, has been released "on his own cognizance." The strike of milk drivers, which he helped to organize, has ended in victory for the workers.

Mass pressure—the threat of the workers to call a general strike—forced his release. The indictment against him of "inciting to riot" has not been dismissed, but with the workers thoroughly aroused, it is questionable that the authorities will dare to press the case.

Dunne has been in Fargo for the past three months, at the request of the local union leaders, who were impressed by the tactics that had won the Minneapolis strike and wanted them introduced in the Fargo situation.

A strike of the milk-wagon drivers followed a successful organization campaign. The strike was conducted along lines similar to the aggressive Minneapolis battles, and brought the bosses to terms within 24 hours. Our correspondent's account of the strike and of Dunne's arrest follows.

By Our Mid-West Correspondent
A pebble is cast into a pool rhythmically, irresistibly, concentric circles form, well outward.

Fargo is a town 250 miles from Minneapolis, just across the North Dakota line. Its population is 30,000, Fargo being much the largest town in the sparsely-populated state. It is the center of a rich agricultural community. Wheat, oats, corn, cattle, dairy products, poultry—these are the commodities which the state sells. There is no water-power available in the state, there is almost no manufacturing carried on. Trucking is a most important industry.

The Fargo workers were greatly interested in the Minneapolis truck strikes. They sent delegations to Local 574, and offered to assist the Minneapolis workers in their struggle. After the settlement of the July-August strike, the teamsters union in Fargo asked Local 574 to send out an organizer. Miles Dunne was loaned to the Fargo union and for the past several months he has been in Fargo, organizing the drivers, stimulating work in the North Dakota labor movement, winning adherents to the cause of the workers from other local unions and the public generally, especially the unemployed.

The Fargo Drivers Union Local 173 rapidly build up a membership of 400. This union had the same broad organizational policy pursued by Local 574. Milk wagon drivers, bakers, inside workers were organized in the union.

The conditions of the Fargo workers are bad. The town is dominated by chains—the banks are branches of the huge Twin City financial institutions. When one goes to a movie in Fargo, one attends a Publix house. The largest store is a Sears Roebuck branch. The largest dairy plant is but a branch of a company having its home office elsewhere.

The milk wagon drivers worked under particularly hard conditions—the 7-day week, 70 to 90 hours a week, a wage not exceeding \$15—this in comparison with the \$34 milk driver wage in Minneapolis, with the 6-day week prevailing in the larger city.

With relatively high living costs, it is apparent that the milk drivers had genuine grievances. A list of demands was drawn up and presented to the bosses. The demands were ignored. A strike of milk wagon drivers was called for Sunday morning, Nov. 4, at 4 A.M.

Early Sunday morning pickets began to assemble at the union headquarters, a large 2nd-floor hall in the middle of the town.

The logic of events and circumstances of a strike always crystallizes a definite opposition group among the employers, a definite scene of action. In Fargo, the Fairmont Creamery, the largest creamery in town, furnished both the backbone of the opposition and the scene of action.

Picketing was carried on along the precise lines laid down by the Minneapolis strikers, allowing for

Cannon Forum Postponed Membership Meets Sun.

A general membership meeting of the Communist League will be held Sunday, Nov. 11. Comrade Cannon will report on the International Plenum which he attended as the delegate of the League. The meeting will begin at 11 A.M. and will be followed by an all day discussion. The lecture of comrade Cannon scheduled for Sunday evening at Irving Plaza has been postponed for one week.

Gorman Plans A Love Feast With Bosses

Textile Workers Get It in The Neck While Faker Talks "Cooperation"

Francis J. Gorman, first vice president of the United Textile Workers of America, whose shameful betrayal of the textile strike stunned even conservative sections of the labor movement, has now come forward with another ingratiating offer to the mill owners—a joint employer-union campaign to expand markets, and promote industrial peace.

This time he offers his services directly to George A. Sloan, chairman of the Cotton Textile Institute, which subsidized the thugs who broke the strike. It will be remembered that an industrial "truce" was declared, which was signed by Gorman, but never by Sloan. Accordingly thousands of workers found themselves locked out when Gorman called the strike off.

Gorman's letter to Sloan, however, breathes not a word of complaint, and not a single demand. He offers his cooperation to the textile industry without qualifications, fawning before Sloan as a flunky fawns before his master.

It Seems . . .
"It seems to me," he writes sweetly, "that when wage readjustments have been made, as the result of inquiries (inquiries, mind you!) now being made by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Federal Trade Commission shall have concluded adjustments of the discrimination cases before it, and when the three work assignments boards shall have been set up, the time will have arrived when employers' organization representatives and union representatives can begin conferences looking toward the improvement of the textile industry and its outlook."

The ink has scarcely signed on the "truce" that broke the strike and betrayed the workers, and here is Gorman proposing pleasant round-table conferences with the same bosses who a few months ago were shooting down textile workers. For the general benefit of the industry—to promote foreign markets, for the expansion of domestic markets.

But does the offer of cooperation end there? You do not know Gorman if you think so.

Cooperation with Mr. Legree
"Joint cooperation should extend beyond the matter of extending the use of textiles and our offer of cooperation covers the entire field of industrial relations, of course."

And, of course, "the union cannot contribute its efforts except in cooperation with the organized employees. . . . The United Textile Workers of America do not yield even to the owners of the mills, in the desire to promote the welfare of the industry to a point where it may be fairly, soundly, and genuinely prosperous." (Prosperous for whom?)

Throughout there is never any reference to the recent strike except to express satisfaction with the result, and to hush the "complete restoration to a peace basis."

Not a word about the discrimination against union workers in the Southern mills; not even the suggestion that if the bosses want the aid of the union in their market-grabbing schemes, in the imperialist schemes to wrest markets from Japan and England (and War, too, is a method of expanding markets and making industry profitable for the owners), the bosses might offer concessions or sop to the starving mill hands, North and South.

National Jobless Day Supported by Unions

Pittsburgh, Pa.—Final plans for National Unemployed Day were completed at a meeting of the National Action Committee just concluded here. Reports compiled from all over the country indicate that there will be an enormous turnout in the nation-wide demonstrations to be held November 24.

The more than 1,000 local units of the cooperating organizations have been instructed to begin their demonstrations at 10 A.M. on Nov. 24. They will march to relief stations throughout the country to present their demands locally. The climax will be the visit of a national delegation to the President. The National Action Committee, of which David Lasser, chairman of the Workers Unemployed Union of Greater New York, is secretary, has written President Roosevelt for an appointment for a delegation of 15 to present the demands of the unemployed on Nov. 26 or 27.

In addition to the 750,000 organized unemployed represented directly at the meeting here, the demonstration will have the backing of numerous local unemployed groups.

In Minneapolis many A. F. of L. unions affiliated with the Minneapolis Central Council of Workers, unemployed organization, will support the Nov. 24 parade. In New York the Dressmakers Joint Board and the United Hebrew Trades will mobilize members and other unions are expected to follow suit. In Toledo where the National Unemployed League is a powerful force, many trade unionists will join the unemployed in demonstrating.

The call to action is signed by the National Unemployed League, Illinois Workers Alliance, Eastern Federation of Unemployed and Emergency Workers, Minnesota Central Council of Workers, American Workers Union (Missouri, Kansas and Nebraska), Florida Federation of Unemployed Leagues, Wisconsin Federation of Workers Committees, Texas Central Council of Workers, Fort Wayne Unemployed League.

The American Civil Liberties Union has informed the N.A.C. that it will aid the demonstrators in case of police interference. In a statement to the press Arnold Johnson, secretary of the National Unemployed League, expressed unbelief that the police would accede to the A.C.L.U.'s request that they remain away from relief centers during the presentation of demands.

"Police officials will provoke trouble in places, no doubt," said Johnson. "Some can be expected to act as if the jobless are criminals or bands of looters. But this is our only way of driving home our demands and we are going right ahead to fight to the last ditch for what's coming to us even if we have to take it in the end."

All members and sympathizers of the C.L.A. are asked to mobilize for the great demonstration on Nov. 24. This should be an historic event, the greatest display of organized power ever made by the unemployed of the whole nation.

Dyers Strike Holds Lines In 2nd Week

Paterson, Nov. 8.—Paterson is shut tight as a drum. The dye workers' strike has been extended to the bleacheries. In East Rutherford yesterday a giant mass picket line, the biggest ever seen in Rutherford, closed down the bleachery there. The police, of course, were mobilized beforehand with their tin hats, gas bombs and all the other police machinery for strike-breaking. However, the pickets were not at all intimidated. A minor scuffle ensued; and after a few windows were broken and a car overturned the management announced that the plant would be closed down until the strike was settled.

A bleachery in Lodi was likewise shut down.

In the face of the determined militancy and solidarity of the dye workers the bosses are for the moment banking upon the arbitration board to effectively "settle" the strike for them. By now the workers have been pretty well immunized against arbitration; and they know what to expect. Nevertheless, despite the statements issued by the leadership there is no doubt that tremendous pressure is being exerted to put an end to the strike, with of course the minimum concessions on the part of the bosses.

The negotiations which have been broken off several times are now once again in progress, under the supervision of the NRA figure-head, Squires. Last night a "secret session" was held. The bosses are "secretly" threatening that if the negotiations fall through this time they will negotiate no more but fight it out to the finish. At the same time the yellow press in Paterson drums up the optimistic prospect that a settlement will materialize shortly. And rumors are being assiduously circulated among the workers "on good authority" that the strike will be settled by the end of this week.

The Militant in its previous dispatches pointed out that the situation is very favorable to the workers. Thus far the strike has been extremely effective, and it obviously has reached its turning point.

Today, more than ever, the dye workers must maintain vigilance against any arbitration deal the bosses may try to put over. The union demands are: the union shop, the 30-hour week, the 30-dollar wage. This is the basis on which the strike should be settled. And as a matter of fact, the bosses will not be able to hold out much longer against the solidarity that has marked this strike from its outset.

'Truce' Government Falls in France; Class Lines Drawn

Convention of C.L.A. Call November 26

Pursuant to the official call issued by the National Committee, the delegates to the Third Convention of the Communist League of America will assemble in New York City November 26. Outstanding among the problems to be considered is the organization of the new party in the United States.

The decisions to be made by this convention will thus be of far reaching significance not only for the League itself but for the American working class movement. It occurs at a time when the destiny of humanity virtually hangs in the balance. Events of a world shaking character have taken place during the most recent period.

It will now be presented in concrete form to the League convention. The delegates who will carry the mandate of the membership and represent every branch of the League will therefore face the responsibility of final decision. Their task has been facilitated by the work that preceded the convention. Our branches have been informed about the various developments in the negotiations between the League and the American Workers Party, having as its objective to prepare a basis for fusion of the two organizations in the new party. In the pre-convention discussion which has taken place in the branches our membership has had the opportunity to formulate its point of view on this important question. What remains is the convention action.

The National Committee will present to the convention such additional material pertaining to this question as still remains to be submitted. It will present the proposition to the assembled delegates to proceed, on the basis of agreements obtained with the Provisional Organizing Committee of the A.W.P. to the unification of the two organizations and to the formal launching of the new party. If this proposition is accepted by the League delegates and similar action is taken by the A.W.P. convention, meeting simultaneously, the unity convention will follow immediately thereafter on the scheduled date of November 30.

The full agenda of the convention, covering all the problems facing our organization has already been submitted to the membership and will be followed when the delegates assemble.

National Committee,
Communist League of America.
ARNE SWABECK,
Secretary.

French Bolshevik Paper Calls For Decisive Steps

Rumblings of civil war are already audible in France. The collapse of the Doumergue "truce" government has brought the issue of Fascism or proletarian revolution closer on the political horizon. The government of Etienne Flandin, not quite so reactionary in appearance, but no less anti-working class in character will prove to be no better than a temporary stop-gap.

It cannot cut the Gordian knot that binds French economy. Unemployment is growing apace. The middle classes are being ruined by shrinking markets. Wages are sinking. The crisis in the ranks of the Radical Socialist party that caused the demise of the "truce" government is but a reflection of the vacillation of the petty bourgeoisie under the pressure of its economic difficulties.

On the political field the Fascist organizations arm everywhere for the destruction of the organs of working class democracy, the political parties and the trade unions. On the other hand the revolutionary fever of the French working class is rising. Between this hammer and anvil the new middle-of-the-road must come to grief.

What is the French working class to do if it is not to meet the fate of the German working class in its worst variant or of the Austrian or the Spanish at the best? The following article translated from *la Verite* organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist group of the S.F.I.O. (Socialist Party of France) throws the light of Marxism on the French political situation and points the road for the triumph of the proletariat.

How is the offensive of reaction to be defeated? The coordination committee of the S.P. and the C.P. is conducting a campaign of meetings. *L'Humanite* (organ of the C.P.) has raised the question of a "popular front" through the extension of unity of action to sections of the petty bourgeoisie. But in the one case as in the other they are not concerned with concrete methods, precise aims and adequate organization to block the road to the maneuvers of reaction in revising the constitution.

Frossard (right wing leader of the S.P.), declaring that there is no possibility to beat back the reactionary hands by the forces of the working class alone, concludes, in union with Marquet, with a plea for entering the Government. Marceau Pivert ("left" S.P. leader) is much clearer, but he conditions real action on an offensive of the reaction, as though their attacks on us have not continued for months.

"Common", "popular", "republican" front, all these words breathe nothing but confidence in parliamentary and legalist methods. The Austrian Socialists declared: "We will not leave the terrain of bourgeois legality unless the bourgeoisie does; but if it dares then we shall see."

How well they saw! And the example of Spain should serve as a guide for us if we want another fate than heroic death. All these illusions must be discarded. The bourgeoisie is not embarrassed by its own legality. But extra-parliamentary action will frighten the middle class without whom a victorious struggle is impossible? No, what will alienate them is the absence of perspectives, aims and a broad and hardened workers' organization.

The bloc of the socialist and communist workers must say to the toiling masses of this country: the bourgeois maneuvers are aimed only at super-exploitation. Bold methods are needed. (40 hour week, nationalization, monopoly of foreign trade, moratorium on mortgages, etc.) Only a workers and peasants government can make them them a reality. Struggle with us forth is power by the methods that the situation requires. Only through this means will the middle class turn to the proletariat and the physical struggle against the enemies of the workers, the unremitting struggle for which it is necessary to prepare, will be victorious.

Let us trace the broad lines of a plan of struggle:

THE AIMS:
Immediate measures in the interests of the workers;
A constituent assembly of the people, assuring the broadest democracy;
A workers and peasants government capable of taking these steps;
For this it is necessary to get rid of:

The capitulationist Chamber of Deputies,
The Doumergue government, the product of the reactionary

What are Thomas and the "Militants" doing? Fighting for Old Guard reformists? Hardly! Ever since the Detroit Convention they have tried to pacify the Old Guard. Interpret the Detroit Declaration so as to make it acceptable to everybody, refused to press the charges of violation of party discipline and the most elementary socialist principles against Louis Waldman and Jasper McLevy.

Unity with "Sewer Socialists" Instead they have united with the notorious reformist and opportunist Mayor Houn of Milwaukee in a struggle for "revolutionary socialism" (!), and unity of all. They have even made a bid for ex-communists (who have hearkened to their call).

Thomas' conception of a revolutionary party is well explained in his notes in the current *New Leader* (Nov. 10, 1934). All who claim

NOT AN APPEAL-AN ALARM!

By the skin of our teeth we managed to publish the last issue of the Militant. This time we have to take the skin off our teeth to do the job.

These are no exaggerations, comrades. The plain truth is that we are operating on our nerve and not on money. Under socialism it may be different, but under capitalism in America, U.S. currency is the only means for carrying on a business. Even the business of overthrowing capitalism.

It is time now to speak plainly and bluntly. Some comrades may think we write appeals merely for literary exercise. Others, less cynical, but no less unrealistic, seem to think that when it comes to financial matters we are given to exaggeration.

We may be wrong but the indifferent response to previous appeals can lead us to no other conclusion. Perhaps an explanation is necessary.

That you receive this issue of the paper after our appeal last week doesn't mean we raised the money, nor does it mean that we were bluffing.

The cruel truth is that we publish the paper by taking it out of the hide of all the functionaries in the editorial offices and in the print shop. Nobody gets paid. But bills pile up for paper, ink, gas and electricity, to say nothing of rent.

We lost a whole day this week because of a measly \$8 which we couldn't rustle up to pay the gas bill. That's why you get the Militant one day late. The linotype had to hang around doing nothing for a whole day.

Add to that the eviction threat the landlord has made. He has given us a dispossession notice. If the comrades don't believe this, write and tell us and we'll publish a genuine facsimile—that is if we can raise the money for the cut.

Financially we are at the end of the rope. Need we say that this is an intolerable situation? At the very time we are at the verge of merging the A.W.P. and the C.L.A. we face the danger of having to suspend the Militant. At the moment

when the new party is becoming a reality we have to consider skipping issues of its most effective mouthpiece, the Militant.

Does this mean interest is lagging or comrades are greeting the new party only with apathy? We hardly think so.

Judging from the letters we have been receiving from all over the country, hailing the formation of the new party, from the enthusiasm engendered here in New York we are certain that such is not the case. Then what's the matter?

Unemployment and low wages causes this situation, but only partially.

New headquarters, new branches, new activities entailing new expenditures causes this situation, but only partially. The real cause is the unwarranted optimism of the comrades and the readers of the Militant. You undoubtedly think that since no issues of the paper have been skipped in so many months in spite of the constant appeals for assistance that every thing is hunky-dory. Nothing could be further from the truth! Nothing could be more fatal! Assistance is needed—badly, immediately and plenty of it.

We planned to make the next issue of the Militant a special anniversary number. We planned to add an extra two pages to it. Six years of the Militant is no mere birthday celebration—it is an event of historic importance in the labor movement of the entire world! As matters stand now, if no response is forthcoming, we will be forced to skip the next issue of the paper.

Can we make the point any more emphatic? IF THERE IS NO CHANGE IN OUR FINANCIAL SITUATION THERE WILL BE NO NEXT ISSUE OF THE MILITANT!

Comrades! Friends! Sympathizers! This is not an appeal; IT IS AN ALARM! An alarm that calls upon you to raise every dollar and dime you can lay hands on and mail it immediately to the Militant 144 Second Avenue, New York City.

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The Chauvinist "Anti-Japanese Campaign" of American Stalinists

(Continued from last week)

IV.
Can the proletariat utilize contradictions existing between imperialist powers? It not only can but must. It is the direct duty of the workers (of which Lenin spoke hundreds of times), in the struggle for power as well as after the seizure of power, to utilize every "crack" (as Lenin put it) that weakens the class enemy and correspondingly strengthens the forces of the revolution.

Utilizing antagonisms between the non-proletarian classes in general or between different groups of the bourgeoisie, PRIOR TO AND DURING THE SEIZURE OF POWER, the proletariat however cannot consider these antagonisms as its MAIN reserve, as a principal factor determining its tactics. This factor plays a secondary subordinate role compared with the mobilization of the direct reserves of the proletariat. The line of utilization of these antagonisms, PRIMARILY taken as the main line of the Party, upon which the latter builds all its tactics, means to abandon mobilization of the proletarian masses for the struggle against its own bourgeoisie and to minimize the role of the proletariat as the principal factor in the struggle.

Comrade Browder is trying to find a basis for the main line of the Communist Party in America in its struggle against war, the line of utilization of the inter-imperialist contradictions in long quotations from Lenin, namely Lenin's speeches at the Moscow Party-Conference, Nov. 20, 1920, at a meeting of secretaries of Moscow Party nuclei of Nov. 26, 1920 and at the meeting of the Communist fraction of the 8th Congress of Soviets on Dec. 21, 1920. Their attempts to find support in Lenin have no basis, and only reveal a superficial and mechanical approach to the fundamentals of Lenin's theory.

In Comrade Browder's presentation of the question, two things are confused, namely, the policy of the Soviet state in relation to capitalist countries and the line of Communist parties in the capitalist countries in the struggle against the war. Lenin raised the question of permissibility in principle and tactical necessity of utilizing inter-imperialist contradictions for the Soviet STATE. Lenin's speeches quoted by Browder dealt precisely with the PROLETARIAN STATE. Thus the leadership of the American Party has mechanically identified the tactics of the proletariat after taking power with the tactics of the proletariat while still fighting for power, and drawn a complete parallel between the foreign policy of the Soviet State and the line of the Communist Party in a capitalist country.

The one-sided line developed by the leadership of the CPUSA in the struggle against war led in practice to very serious distortions. The Communist Party in practice

carried on its struggle against the threat of war primarily AS A STRUGGLE AGAINST JAPANESE IMPERIALISM. While carrying out a widespread campaign of utilizing the robber acts of Japanese imperialism, the CPUSA put in the secondary place ITS TASK OF UNMASKING AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND mobilizing the masses to struggle against it. It is very indicative that for the last 2 1/2 months (April, May and the first half of June) only one leading article appeared in the Daily Worker exposing the sending of war supplies from America to Japan (Daily Worker April 20); in another leading article, on May 18, one example of sending war supplies from America to Japan was mentioned in passing, and on June 1 there was a news item about the purchase of arms by Japan in the United States. To be sure, the Daily Worker printed exposures about the recruiting of White Guards carried on by Japan and Czecho-Slovakia (Daily Worker, April 25) and the purchase of arms by Japan in other countries of the world (facts were brought out showing the purchase of war supplies by Japan in Birmingham, Glasgow and Austria) (Daily Worker, May 18), but in neither case was any mention made of the purchase of arms by Japan in the United States. The Party was not able to organize a campaign to stop the sending of arms from America to Japan. To be sure, the Daily Worker called upon the workers to do this, but this was done either to an absolutely inadequate extent or else in an extremely abstract form. Instead of taking a concrete example to show where, when and by whom arms were being sent to Japan, of carrying on a campaign centered around this concrete basis, the central organ of the Party came to the workers with general appeals such as this: "Refuse to work upon to make or transport anything whatever for use to Japanese imperialism in making war on the Chinese people and the USSR." (Daily Worker, May 21).

A number of documents received here show that the line of the leadership of the Communist Party in the struggle against the war danger was understood by the local organizations of the Party to mean an exclusive struggle against Japanese imperialism, in which the struggle against the American bourgeoisie takes second place. It is characteristic that in the minutes of the meetings of the District Committee the anti-war committee of the Party has come to be called simply the "Anti-Japanese campaign" and that with regard to the proposal of the Politburo for the organization of an anti-war campaign, the District Committees issued instructions such as this: "Organize a demonstration against the Japanese Consulate if there is any in the city." And if there is none? The instructions of the District Committee say nothing about what should be done, probably considering that its anti-war campaign ends there.

The C.I.'s Guilt for the Policy of the C.P.U.S.A.

We publish herewith the second half of the communication sent by the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A. in 1932 in connection with the chauvinistic "anti-Japanese" campaign conducted by the latter. The American Stalinists had launched such slogans as "Oust the Japanese ambassador and commercial representatives from the United States!" and the demand for the U.S. to break off diplomatic relationships with Japan in connection with the attack of the latter upon China and Manchuria, and the threat against the Soviet Union. By the whole manner in which the campaign was conducted, the American Stalinists, under the cover of "defending the Soviet Union" were ranging themselves on the side of American imperialism, covering it up, and playing into the hands of William Randolph Hearst and others of his kind. The whole campaign was a stench in the nostrils of every revolutionary worker. When the Militant submitted it to a vigorous criticism, we were denounced publicly by Browder as "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" and "enemies of the Soviet Union".

The document of the Moscow Stalinists is not merely a belated "condemnation" of Browder and Company, who are treated like ignorant incompetents who do not know the A.B.C. of Leninism, but it is at the same time a revelation of the utter hypocrisy of the leaders of the Third International themselves. In not the slightest degree is their censure a fundamental, or a revolutionary criticism of the chauvinism practiced by the Stalinists in this country. It is solely aimed at putting through the same policy in a less brazen manner. The Stalinists here are simply instructed not to take the open initiative in the wretched campaign, but to set in motion the wheels of a few party fractions so that the initiative may appear to emanate from a "mass organization" under the control of the Stalinists.

The fact that the Moscow Stalinists are fundamentally in accord with their American representatives in the whole matter, is further demonstrated by the fact that the notorious interview granted American correspondents by Karl Radek, which constituted the point of departure and the basis for the "anti-Japanese" campaign of Browder and Co., is

thorough discussion and criticism of the anti-war line of the Party in the Politburo constitutes a serious shortcoming of the entire leadership of the CPUSA. This lack of self-criticism cannot in any way be replaced by such "criticism" of the errors of other parties as the unfounded, unjust and tactless attack on the leaders of the British Communist Party which was made by Comrade Browder at the Politburo meeting May 11-13.

VI
From further material which we received here it is clear that the question of the line of the American Party in the struggle against war came to the surface at the meetings of the Politburo May 11-13, and that some comrades brought up the question of the correctness of this line, and particularly the correctness of the line of comrade Browder's article. At these meetings of the Politburo it was stated that the tactics of the CPUSA were "based to an extreme degree on the question of Japanese-American contradictions". However, none of the comrades pointed out clearly what errors had been made or worked out a clear and correct line. The 3 day discussion of the question ended in UNANIMOUS adoption by the Politburo of a resolution declaring that "the general line of the Politburo on the war situation is correct" and also the speech of Comrade Browder which represented the line of the Politburo; "nevertheless, serious deviations occurred in the conduct of the anti-war campaign, both of commission and omission"; the Secretariat was instructed to "thoroughly examine all phases of the Party's work and to work out a clear plan for strengthening our struggle for the next PB meeting". On the question what the results of this investigation were and whether or not any kind of proposal was put forward by the Secretariat we have received no material, and the representatives of the Politburo who have arrived for this ECCO plenum were able to joint out the discussion on this question.

American working class for struggle against the war danger and intervention.

The immediate tasks of the leadership of the CPUSA are the following:

1. To organize in the leading organs of the Party a detailed discussion of the line and practice of the Party in the struggle against the war danger on the basis of this letter.
2. To propose to Comrades Weinstone and Browder to correct the errors of their former statements in articles to be published in "The Communist".
3. To publish in the Daily Worker a series of articles explaining the incorrectness of the previous statements of the Daily Worker and explaining the line of the Party to the workers.
4. To continue an energetic campaign of exposure of the robber policy of Japanese imperialism. No slackening of this campaign must be permitted as has recently been the case in the Daily Worker (the first half of June); on the contrary this campaign must be intensified.
5. To intensify the systematic unmasking of the role of American imperialism in its preparation for war and intervention against the Soviet Union.
6. To take up concrete examples of the sending of war supplies from the USA to Japan, concentrating our agitation on these examples and organizing action of the workers on every concrete occasion.
7. To carry on relentless anti-war propaganda among the agricultural workers, poor farmers and the Negroes.
8. To draw the foreign workers into the anti-war campaign of the Party, especially the Japanese workers, organizing joint groups of American and Japanese workers in anti-war demonstrations, with Japanese placards, etc., thus emphasizing to the masses our proletarian solidarity with the workers of Japan.
9. To systematically discuss in the Politburo reports on the progress of the anti-war campaign of the Party, particularly as carried on by the Daily Worker.

Erratum
Our proofreader allowed an error of the linotype to appear in the previous installment of this document. In the introduction it is stated that this is a "letter sent to the leaders of the Communist Party in this country by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, dated Sept. 27, 1934." A note at the top reads: "Received 'N. Y. Nov. 14, 1932.—E.B.'" The first date is obviously wrong. Instead of Sept. 27, 1934 it should read Sept. 27, 1932. It will be noted that point VI follows point IV. This is due to an error in the Comintern document which we have meticulously followed, making neither grammatical nor typographical corrections.—Ed.

The line of the leadership of the Party with regard to the utilization of the contradictions between American and Japanese imperialism was expressed in the Daily Worker in a still more flagrantly incorrect form, sometimes leading to outright opportunist conclusions. This line was "explained" at times by the Daily Worker in this form: "We know the importance that Lenin attributed to the existence of the antagonisms among the imperialist powers from the point of view of strengthening the forces of the revolution which he expressed in the repeating of the old popular proverb: 'When thieves fall out honest people get their due.'" (Daily Worker, April 16). The error of the Daily Worker expressed in the publication in the issue of April 12 of a telegram from a bourgeois correspondent dealing with Radek's article in Izvestia, (an error which was condemned by all comrades in their speeches at the Politburo but not condemned in any resolutions of the Politburo) was not a chance error but the result of the incorrect position of the Party in the anti-war campaign. The Daily Worker not only published this telegram in an emphatically sensational form, without any attempt to verify the information that Radek put the question in such a way as to mean that the United States was a "natural ally" of the Soviet Union; the Daily Worker also printed an editorial declaring that this alleged declaration of Radek

represented a "new step" in the policy of the Soviet Union and that this step creates NEW POSSIBILITIES for the mobilization of the masses in the United States directly in support of this policy, i.e., in support of the line based on the assumption that the United States is a "natural ally" of the Soviet Union. Such flagrantly opportunist conclusions were possible only because of the incorrect position of the Party which substituted the mobilization of the masses for struggle against American imperialism with speculation on the zig-zags of foreign policies of the world powers. In the Daily Worker, April 14, we find a statement which leads directly to opportunist conclusions.

"In order to not be directly (!) responsible for the configuration of world war this spring, AMERICAN IMPERIALISM MUST first of all STOP encouraging Japanese imperialism, CHANGE ITS own hostile policy towards the Soviet Union, and put an IMMEDIATE STOP to the shipping of munitions and material for ammunition directly or indirectly to Japan." (Daily Worker, April 14).

This "appeal" to American imperialism, inviting it to change its imperialist class nature, leads directly to the social democratic attitude of reformist admonitions instead of revolutionary struggle, to reformist illusions instead of exposure of American imperialism, and to appeals and admonitions to imperialism, instead of calling upon

the masses to struggle against it. The Party proclaimed on one day one conception of the role of inter-imperialist contradictions and on another day another, diametrically opposed to it, without any attempts to explain to the workers and without any serious attempts to criticize previous errors, to explain them and correct them. Thus, for example, the Politburo unanimously approved, on May 13, the line of Comrade Browder's article, which he formulated as follows: "This line is the fullest possible utilization of the inner-imperialist contradictions for the purpose of PREVENTING or HINDERING the establishment of the imperialist united front against the Soviet Union," and four days later we find, in a leading article of the Daily Worker, May 18, the following statement: "Let no one imagine for a moment that the events of the past few days in Japan indicate that intervention against the Soviet Union may thereby be postponed by the 'inner-conflict' between the imperialists. No greater or more dangerous illusion could arise." And in the Daily Worker of June 4 it says: "The conflict between Japan and the United States for domination of the Pacific does not prevent the war against the Chinese people and war preparations against the Soviet Union being carried through."

The lack of any serious explanation by the Party of these vacillations on the basic questions of the anti-war campaign and the lack of

REVIEWING THE NEWS

What's Wrong With this Picture
Harold Riegelman, representing the Republican party said: "The police provisions against disorder were arranged with the highest degree of efficiency and intelligence. Police activity was non-partisan in every sense."

Similar sentiments were expressed by Ben Howe for the city Fusion party and George Gordon Battle for the Democratic party.

David Freedman, representing the Communist party, joined with the representatives of the above mentioned parties in congratulating the Police Department. "It is the first time that the Communist Party has had direct contact with the Police Department, and directly at headquarters," he said. "It is an indication that an honest election is possible with the cooperation of the city authorities."

Among the complaints, the dispatch goes on to say, from which these items are abstracted, was one from Frank R. Crosswathie, Socialist candidate for United States Representative for the 21st district, Manhattan, who complained that in eight or ten election districts the lever above his name on the machines was locked, so that votes for him could not be cast. They were similarly locked the last time he ran, he declared.

The Majesty of the Law or What's Sauce for the Goose is Poison for the Gander

Because Albert Jackson, 23 years old, was caught with the "loot" consisting of 3 dimes, a battered nickel and three pennies, one of the latter of such old coinage that it readily was identified on the witness stand by the complainant," a sentence of thirty years in the penitentiary was imposed on him by his Imperial Majesty Judge Allen in General Sessions. William Eason, 22, and Winslow Cameron, 24, confederates of Jackson, received terms of from ten to thirty years

each. In their pursuit of the eternal verities of American democracy—Life, Liberty and Happiness these boys never dreamed that they would be tripped up by a couple of tin dimes, a battered nickel and a few old pennies.

Fish, Flesh or the Best Disciple of Lenin?

Ill-fated Ira Strahan, able bodied seaman, blushed recently when he asked for a copy of his birth certificate and was told that he was a girl. He scurried about and found the doctor who had brought him into this complicated world. The medico thereupon proceeded to a notary public, plunked down two bits and swore that Strahan was a boy. And so the matter now stands. All of which suggests tremendous possibilities. If a notary's public seal can determine so complicated a matter as one's sex then why not determine other controversial subjects by this very convenient method. For instance the discipleship of Lenin. Walter Duranty and Joseph Djughashvili are both equally emphatic as to Stalin being the best disciple of Lenin. Now the question can finally be cleared up, thanks to the hitherto fore doubtful Strahan. What is lacking is the seal. Any seal will do. A good Soviet seal will be acceptable to us. Stalin, hie thee to a notary!

Between Ourselves

If all the readers of this column were as loyal to it as M. Morris of Manhattan, a better column indeed could be turned out. What we ask you to do is to tear out any clipping that you find striking and that might serve as material for the column. Mail it in addressed to Reviewing the News, c/o the Militant, 144 2nd Ave., N. Y. C. Comrades in the hinterland please take notice.

Warning
Don't work the items up yourself. Leave that to your columnist. The reason for that being, not that we think we can do it better but that all items commented on in this column are authentic whether quotes are used around quotations or not.

Support the Militant; Continue Your Pledge

As we have repeatedly stated, no revolutionary paper can be self-sustaining. It must necessarily depend upon a subsidy in one form or another.

The Branch Executive Committee today selected two captains who are to be actively in charge of the division of the Branch into competitive teams and take active charge of the new Militant Sub Drive. This will come before the Branch at the next meeting. You'll be hearing from Minneapolis.

Comradely yours,
OSCAR COOVER.
Minneapolis has the habit of saying little and doing much. We know that we can expect big results. We hope other branches will follow this example.

THIS DRIVE ENDS DECEMBER 31st. GET BUSY!
What the MILITANT means to our readers is indicated by the following excerpt from a letter. It is only one of many.

"Dear Comrades:
I have enjoyed reading the Militant and wish that I could continue to take it. However, present conditions make this impossible. . . . Your efforts toward unity with other fractions are to be commended. I remain with best wishes,
Yours for the Revolution,
A member of R.P.C. of S.P."

If those of our readers who are more fortunately situated will come to the assistance of the MILITANT, we will be able to send the paper to this reader and many other until such time as they are able to pay for their subscriptions.

TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE SPECIAL OFFER.
SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.
JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Special Offer

The following letter was received in reply to our circular letter to all branches asking them to take up the new subscription drive for the Militant.

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Add Your Name to New Party Honor Roll

Manhattan:	
Schwalbe	1.00
Wasserman	2.00
Bord	1.00
Nash	1.00
Wright	5.00
Feiner	1.00
Schiff	1.00
Robert	1.00
Tamos	2.00
Ross	.25
Morris	.25
Brant	.50
Kujawsky	1.00
Marlen	2.00
Orland	1.00
Shoou	1.00
Spiro	1.00
Rolone	1.00
Lewis	1.00
Morris D.	1.00
Stevens	1.00
Borkeson	1.00
Lewitt	1.00
Schlossberg	1.00
Weber	2.00
Konikow	2.00
Sterling	1.00
Nelson	1.00
Winter	.50
Hubbard	1.00
Victor	1.00
Bernstein	1.00
Sam Gordon	2.00
Karsner	1.00
Cutler	1.00
Mann	1.00
Tanis	1.00

Bronx:	
Stamm	1.00
Streeter	1.00
Eldensohn	1.00
Swkabeck	1.00
Lankin	.50
Glade	1.00
Charles	1.00
Brandmark	1.00

Boro Park Branch:	
Berg	1.00
Kamlat	1.00
Engel	2.00
Bauman	1.00
Leeser	1.00
Levine	1.00
Avrin	2.00
Tovin	1.00

Harlem Branch	
T. R.	2.00
Black	1.00

MARCH OF EVENTS

The Danger in France

The maturing political crisis centering about the "reform" of the French Constitution, in actuality an attempt to seat more firmly the dictatorial Bonapartist government of Doumergue-Tardieu, is filled with the utmost danger to the French proletariat. The Parisian workers are at the forefront of the united struggle against the government that represents the preliminary stage leading to fascism. Well aware that the decisions made by Paris today will be those made by the provinces tomorrow, the bourgeoisie is determined to strike a crushing blow at the Paris workers as soon as possible. Tardieu would like to imitate the deeds of Gil Robles in Spain. He wishes to provoke an armed struggle at the time chosen by the bourgeoisie, when the stage has been set down in blood any armed resistance by the masses. The troops already encircle Paris, the fascist forces have been ordered to stand by and not to take to the streets prematurely.

In this situation the middle classes are being cleft asunder, the upper layers moving to the right and gathering under the banner of the big bourgeoisie, the wider lower strata of the exploited petty bourgeoisie moving leftwards towards the united front of the so-

S. M.	6.00
Turshman	1.00
Beecher	1.00
Cochran	.10
Vincenti	.25
Brownsville Branch	
Lorenz	1.00
George	.15
Schaap	1.00
Total	
	\$76.50

The names listed above are entirely from our N. Y. membership. Other branches, sympathizers, friends are urged to follow their example. The new party needs your support NOW!

cialists and communists. Herriot is working might and main to prevent this split of forces in the middle class Radical Socialist party; in reality he is attempting to force the entire middle class under the yoke of Bonapartism and fascism. But in so deep-going a crisis Herriot is powerless to suppress the profound antagonisms that exist in the middle class and that drive a sharp wedge between the oppressed layers and the oppressing top sections. And with the splitting asunder of this class the revolutionary crisis will have matured.

The Commune Once Again

Under the frightful threat of armed reaction, the workers of Paris and of all France will have every reason to turn their thoughts to the Commune once again. The pressure of the events makes mandatory on the advanced workers that they utilize the united front to establish everywhere Communes or Soviets. Only with this powerful weapon of defense and struggle can the utmost forces of the proletariat and the supporting toilers be properly organized and given leadership so as to defend workers' democratic rights, so as to guide the general strike for the overthrow of the Doumergue government of reaction, so as to establish a workers' government with a single legislative-executive chamber, the Commune itself. The armed working class, the workers' militia, must be formed without delay to defend working class rights, to protect the Commune and to place itself at the disposal of this repository of workers' democracy. The Commune is the ultimate aim, the highest goal, of the united front against fascism under present circumstances in France. The lessons of Austria, now again of Spain, are plain and clear, that militant struggle must be organized in advance and directed towards a clearly defined goal. That goal is the establishing and maintaining of Soviets or Communes. The fate of the French and of the world proletariat rests on the ability of the French workers to grasp clearly the costly lessons of recent history. It is given to the modern French proletariat to add anew to their glorious revolutionary traditions.

—JACK WEBER.

"3 SONGS ABOUT LENIN"
CAMEO Thea. 42 St.
East of Broadway
25c to 1 P.M.
... a striking and rhapsodic tribute...
—New York Times.

QUESTION BOX

BROWNSVILLE WORKER (Continued)—
Question: How can we conciliate the successes of the five year plan with the numerous reports of starvation in the S.U.?
Answer: The successes of Soviet economy are due to the political and social structure of the workers' state, which makes a planned economy possible.

R. Z., LOS ANGELES—

Question: What is the declared public policy of the Soviet Union towards proletarian revolutions and fascist counter-revolutions in other countries? Is it true that official statements have appeared in the Soviet or other C.P. press declaring that the U.S.S.R. is opposed to any disturbances that will upset the present status quo?

Answer: The official foreign policy of the Stalinists was expressed by Litvinov at the disarmament conference, and repeated by Stalin at the meetings of the C.P.S.U.: THE SOLE purpose of the Soviet Union is the building of Socialism on the territory of the U.S.S.R. If objection is raised that this was intended only to fool the capitalists then let such objectors answer why Litvinov's speech was published as a ONE-CENT pamphlet, i.e., it was intended for the widest distribution among the workers.

Since the main HISTORICAL task which the Stalinists set for themselves is the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union, EVERYTHING WHICH INTERFERES WITH THIS MUST BE SACRIFICED TO IT. A revolutionary upheaval disturbs world and therefore Soviet economy, which must export and import, so that the logic of their position forces the Stalinists to do everything in their power to maintain the international status quo.

The capitalist reporter, Walter Duranty, gives us a picture of how the Soviet Bureaucracy reacted to the recent revolt of the Austrian workers: "... Here perhaps lies the explanation of the Soviet confusion at what is happening in Austria. Whether the Bolshevik like it or not the situation here is as follows: "The only Communist party congress held in three and a half years has devoted itself to two questions which in a sense are one—the second Five Year Plan and the organization of the party and governmental system to handle the same most efficiently. Foreign problems have been considered primarily in the light of the plan—that is, their possible effect upon it. It is true that the speakers, from M. Stalin down, have talked of world revolution and have even given the Communist International an occasional pat on the head. But that has been only a side issue.

"It was clear throughout to any impartial observer that 70 percent of Soviet interest was concentrated on the Five Year Plan and its organization, 29 percent on foreign affairs in so far as they might hinder or help the plan, and, maybe, 1 percent on foreign affairs in regard to world revolution. . . . "So the Austrian workers' revolt, although intrinsically gratifying to the Bolsheviks, has elements of surprise, the consequences of which may be unpleasant." (N. Y. Times, Feb. 18, 1934.)

A capitalist reporter? Yes! But the Stalinists have never denied the report and it is impossible to deny that it fits their theories perfectly.

The clearest official document which expresses the Stalinist position towards revolution is the promise made by Litvinov to Roosevelt: "... it will be the fixed policy of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

"Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which has as an aim the overthrow or the preparation for the overthrow of, or bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions." (Daily Worker, Nov. 18, 1933.)

What other documents are necessary?
Question: Has the C. P. of the U.S.S.R. called any anti-Nazi demonstrations before and since Hitler's coming to power?

Answer: If they have it certainly has been kept a dark secret even by the Daily Worker which surely would not be backward about reporting such demonstrations. In 1923 huge demonstrations and meetings were held in the Soviet Union to support the German proletarian revolution, on the order of the day at that time. Compare the present attitude as further evidence of the Stalinist foreign policy and its objective results.

Question: The following is taken from the C. P. platform in the 1934 California elections: "All Nazi ships should be prohibited from landing or trading in U.S. ports." What should be the Communist position towards this question as regards Soviet ports?

Answer: The above slogan is obviously ridiculous. It is tantamount to asking those workers permanently engaged in unloading goods from Germany to give up their jobs. Then why not from Italy? Carry it to its logical conclusion, why not permanently refuse to load or unload ships of all the capitalist countries, including the U.S.S.R. since they are all controlled by finance capital? Even the U.S.S.R. cannot correctly take such a position, but on this the Stalinists are silent.

The chief difficulty with the Stalinist slogan lies in its failure to set limits to the perspectives of this type of struggle in support of the German workers. Our position on this was stated editorially in the Militant (Oct. 21, 1933) as follows: "An international strike against the handling or transport of German goods and communication, as an anti-fascist demonstration for a definitely limited short time, should be the aim. . . ." This applies equally as well to the U.S.S.R. but the Stalinists exclude this country from their slogan so as not to embarrass the foreign policy of Litvinov.

Draft Thesis for C. I. A. Convention Fundamental Aspects of Youth Work

The Need for a National Spartacus Youth League

This thesis is submitted by the National Committee of the Spartacus Youth League and approved by the N.C. of the C.I.A. for discussion by the League membership to be ratified at the C.I.A. convention. The thesis contains a statement of the general relations between the youth and adult organization. They hold with equal force in reference to the new revolutionary youth league and the new party. Other youth resolutions for the Spartacus Youth Convention to be held on December 2nd in New York City have been published in a supplement to the October number of Young Spartacus. Copies are available at 144 Second Ave., N. Y. C. Comrades are urged to study these documents and submit their comments and criticism to the discussion.—Ed.

I a. The future of our movement depends upon our ability to win the young workers to our banner. This is true both in regards to our immediate task of constructing a Marxist international party, and our ultimate aim of using this instrument to accomplish the workers' revolution.

The building of a new party means the assembling of the best elements in the present labor movement on the basis of revolutionary Marxism and our active participation in the economic struggles of the workers, in the struggle against imperialist war and fascism. As the experiences of the last World War, the building of the Communist International, the victory of fascism in Germany, have shown, the youth are more sensitive to social and political crises. They are less fettered by traditional conservative ties fostered by capitalist training and old (workers') party allegiances than the mature adult workers.

This is demonstrated once again by the reaction of the radical, especially the socialist, youth in the United States, as well as in Europe, to the recent events in Germany and Austria: the unmistakable leftward trend of these young workers.

b. The youth are not only the most immediate reserves of capitalist military organizations, but also a great potential source of the future active forces of fascism. Imperialist war and fascism are not distant, but immediate dangers to the working class. To think of conducting effective anti-war activity among the civilians or among the armed forces, without seriously organizing the youth is a hopeless dream. All talk of the struggle against fascism which is not predicated on winning the young workers and students for the proletarian revolution is fruitless prattle.

II a. The most effective medium through which the mass of young workers and the radical youth can be won for the new revolutionary movement is an autonomous political organization which accepts the political program of the Communist League (and later the new party). Since the young workers are part of the general working class and thereby affected by the same problems, the youth league works on the basis of the program of the vanguard of the entire class. For us, to form a political youth organization on any other program is utopian and dangerous. It is an endeavor which flies in the face of reality and runs counter to our needs.

b. Political subordination means that the strategy and tactics of the Communist League are the strategy and tactics of the youth league. The latter is a broad mass organization which includes strata of young workers and students who want to learn communism. Such training requires the most intimate connection between the theoretical and the practical, the study group and the field of class struggle. Political subordination is maintained by a capable Communist League (or party) cadre working inside the youth league which directs and leads it; by an exchange of representatives of respective committees—national bodies to local executive committees; and by a sound Marxist policy in the class struggle which the youth will readily follow.

c. Since the political youth league should have in its ranks primarily militant youth who are to be trained for the Communist League (later the party); that is, to become revolutionists, it is necessary that it have organizational autonomy. This includes the right of its members to govern their organizational life, elect their own committees and officers, and determine youth policies, all within the general framework of the political program of the Communist League (and the new party).

This is needed so that the youth can develop their own methods of work and policies suitable to the special needs and desires that arise from the physical and intellectual immaturity of the young workers; the special effects of capitalist militarism and bourgeois youth organization upon them; and the necessity of winning the youth from the reformist and centrist (including the

Stalinist) youth organizations; and for the self-discipline and self-education of the militant youth.

d. To provide the youth leaguers with an understanding of the decisions and policies of the Communist League, particularly affecting the youth, they are encouraged to attend discussion meetings of the branches of the Communist League, and discuss these policies during their own pre-convention period. Further, the two organizations conduct joint activities in united fronts, industrial, unemployment, anti-militarist and anti-fascist work.

e. "It is wholly inadequate that the youth should repeat our formulas. It is necessary that the youth should take the revolutionary formulas fighting, transform them into flesh and blood, work out for themselves their own opinion, their own personality, and be able to fight their own opinion with that courage which comes from sincere conviction and independence of character." (Trotsky). In this spirit we should train our youth for the new party.

III a. Our two and a half years of youth work has resulted in a national organization, the Spartacus Youth League, which, though handicapped by small numbers and material poverty, has already made its impression on the more radical

(Continued on Page 4)

The fundamental concepts of this work have been laid down many years ago. The special youth character of this question lies in the particularly brutal manner in which it affects the youth. The problem as a whole, it must be understood, is again a problem concerning the working class as such, especially of decisive importance for the revolutionary party. There has been a definite tendency in the revolutionary movement to consider this work as having a purely youth character, and leaving the youth to grapple alone with this tremendous and decisive question. Actually, anti-militarism and the struggle against war is a major party activity in which the youth play a most important role. The fact that periods existed when the youth alone carried the banner of anti-militarist struggle is no justification for this division of labor. "Militarism is of such great importance that it must be fought by the entire labor movement. This task cannot be carried through ONLY by the young communist leaguers". This is fundamental. The last imperialist war witnessed the collapse of the only workers international with the result that the proletariat remained defenseless against the crushing blows of the ruling class. Left without a leadership, observing that its parties surrendered to chauvinism, the

workers were on their own, so to speak, in the conflict against the war. The only bright star to cross the horizon was the International of Socialist Youth (it later became the Y.C.I.) which seized the deserted banner of proletarian anti-war and anti-militarist work and together with the Bolsheviks and the International Left, proceeded to struggle against the war and the cruel system of militarism. With the increasing danger of a new imperialist war, it is necessary to prepare now. The existing international, by their propaganda and activity, demonstrate that a repetition of the past by them is likely.

It is highly important that this work shall not be left entirely or primarily in the hands of the youth organization. The youth must carry on an education of its own section, rally broad masses of the youth in the struggle against war, fight the pernicious influences of pacifism, penetrate the armed forces, etc. But "the youth performs all of this work under the political leadership of the communist party". We need now to stress the acute danger of war, the need of intensified efforts in the struggle against its outbreak, and should it come in spite of this struggle, to organize the forces of the proletariat to put an end to it, through the "transformation of the imperialist war into the civil war". The fundamental aspects of the anti-militarist struggle laid down at Stuttgart (the proposals of Lenin and Luxemburg, Berne (1915), and the Y.C.I. (1921), still holds good and needs only to be applied properly. Such a program means to propagate against war among the masses, to engage in such propaganda within and without the armed forces, to seek to organize them against capitalism itself. But this work must be of a continuous and persistent sort, engaged in by the Party organization, actively assisted by the youth organization, which brings home to the young workers the meaning of militarism and war, and enlists them in the general proletarian struggle against this evil.

SOCIALIST EDUCATION OF THE YOUTH

This is the third fundamental field of work for the revolutionary youth organization. It is essentially a struggle against capitalist education. It must be done by counteracting this training of the youth with a proletarian class training. We are not interested in a mere school room education. The slogan of "theory and practice" has to be made a reality. Education through the class struggle must be our method, and the education of the youth should not be limited to politics alone. It must be divided into "three headings, political, general education and physical training". While we reject the social democratic conception that the youth organization must and can only be an educational and cultural organization, we must put this work on a plane it deserves. Socialist education is now the weakest part of youth work and it must be made the strongest. When it is realized that the other fields of work are not separate and distinctly youth, but are the problems of the class in which the youth participates most actively, the importance of socialist education will be realized. For the most part, the youth will have to acquire the absolutely essential theoretical background through systematic study while they are in the communist youth organization. The opportunities for such study will be greatly limited when they become a part of the adult organization. One can say with justification that in the present organizations of the youth (Stalinist and Social Democratic) a systematic educational program does not exist.

The youth organization must build its educational work along political, scientific and cultural lines. The question of physical or sport activity should really be a separate field of work, flowing out of the above. The danger that the youth movement might become a pure educational movement is overbalanced by the fact that it is a class struggle organization which participates actively in the efforts to emancipate the proletariat. We must strive, first, to establish such a balance and then to maintain it once it is reached.

In a brief and concise manner, the more important fundamental questions relating to youth organization and activity were discussed. On the basis of an understanding of these basic questions it will be possible to concretize them in the actual process of building the youth organization. Upon the foundation outlined above, it will be possible to create a broad revolutionary youth organization which would heed the needs of the masses of young workers. The youth organization must, at all events, prevent itself from becoming sectarian, ultra-political, or a "second party". The youth organization is its field cut out for it and must apply itself intelligently and diligently to these tasks. —ALBERT GLOTZER. P.S. All emphases mine—A.G.

WORLD OF LABOR

NORWEGIAN LABOR PARTY ELECTION VICTORY

The Municipal elections in Norway brought the expected results, in the colossal victory of the Labor Party. As against the Storting (Parliament) elections of 1933 the party gained, even though in the municipal elections the eligible electorate was smaller than in the Storting elections. (Two years residence in a city is required for participation in the municipal elections).

The Labor Party received in the present elections 44.49% of all votes cast; if we add to this the Communist vote the total would be 45.58%. In the capital, Oslo, the party received an absolute majority, where it enjoys 43 representatives as against 41 of the bourgeois parties. In at least 45 additional cities and communities the party enjoys an absolute majority. In a number of other cities the party has an equal number of representatives to the combined strength of the bourgeois parties, and again in others such as Trondheim, Bergen, etc., they fell short of an absolute majority by only a few votes. There is hardly a community where the Labor Party is not the strongest party.

The National Socialists received altogether 2.88% of all votes cast. In Oslo they were united on the same ticket with two bourgeois parties. This ticket received less votes than did the Fascists by themselves in the Storting elections of last year. Here too the effect of the events of June 30th in Germany were unfavorable to the Norwegian Fascists.

From our point of view one can establish that the stronger the Labor Party becomes the more reformist it is. The whole propaganda in the present election campaign was pointed in this direction. They emulated the policies of the Swedish and Danish Government Socialists while the "radical" united front policies of the French section of the Second International were condemned by the Norwegian "Independent" Labor Party.

It might be expected that after these favorable results the party will at least issue the slogan "dissolution of the Storting and new elections". Under the pressure of the election results and the general feeling in the country it becomes probable that the Labor Party should receive more than 50 percent of all the votes in a new election. This would be the first time that a reformist party would in actuality receive the hoped-for 51 percent of the votes and one can await with anxiety the policies that will result.

But it is not to be "feared" that the Labor Party would raise such a "radical" slogan. The "dissolution of the Storting" has never taken place in Norway and the Labor Party follows traditions very closely. It will merely limit itself to the demand for power when the Storting meets in January. The King and the Prime Minister, Mowinckel, will declare that this demand has no foundation since the bourgeois parties in the Storting have a majority of six. And then quiet will prevail until the Storting elections of 1937.

EXECUTIONS IN SPAIN

The Lerroux-Gil Robles government has carried out the first executions of participants in the recent uprising on the persons of two terrorists. Jose Naredo and Jose Guerra were shot in Asturias Thursday morning after all attempts at intercession and pressure on the government for pardon or commutation had been exhausted. Many other rebels however, including a number of Catalonian leaders who had also been sentenced to die, have had their sentences commuted to long prison terms, such as 30 years, life imprisonment, etc. Hundreds of other cases are still pending, awaiting court action.

In spite of the unanimous vote of confidence that it obtained from the rightist controlled parliament a few days ago, the present government is quite evidently under strong pressure from both sides. Lerroux is still obliged to heed the voice of the masses. It is significant that the revolutionists are being prosecuted for individual acts of terrorism rather than on strictly political charges. The two executions were only carried out "with deep regrets" on the part of Lerroux who feared to show further signs of weakness. However, while attempting to make a few examples, Lerroux does not dare to institute a reign of terror against the working class.

The Fascists and Monarchists have demanded that the most severe penalties be meted out to all those implicated in the revolt and that the Socialist and other labor organizations be declared illegal. But in spite of the setback suffered last month, the Spanish workers have still been able to maintain their organizations. They returned to work defeated and sullen, but by no means demoralized and hopeless. They are now, despite continuance of martial law, still in a position to exert considerable pressure on the reactionary rightist regime. The workers movement is now entering a period of readjustment in which a serious realignment of forces is taking place. Drawing the lessons of the defeat, the revolutionary currents of both major camps—socialist and Syndicalist—show signs of breaking through their inept and traitorous leadership. It is the task of the Communist Internationalists to support these progressive currents, fixing with them the responsibilities for the October debacle, drawing them to a Marxist position, and together with them constructing the new revolutionary party without which victory in the pending decisive struggle will be impossible.

MENDIETA IN STRAITS

Wall Street's Cuban puppet Mendieta has appealed to the opposing capitalist parties and political groups for assistance in surmounting the present critical period. Having lost most of his own popular support, he now finds himself on the brink of the abyss. Only the army under Batista, stand between him and oblivion. With a rise of the revolutionary wave the lackey of the sugar interests now finds it indispensable to broaden the base on which his rule rests.

The masses meanwhile are reassembling their forces in an attempt to carry still further the revolution begun in August 1933, and which suffered a serious check with the fall of Grau San Martin last January and his replacement by Mendieta. While the petty bourgeois groups are still in the lead in the general political fight against the present government, the workers, upon whom the real outcome must depend, are rapidly and persistently elbowing their way to the fore. Strikes follow each other in rapid succession, each wave rising higher than the preceding one.

Within the proletarian ranks a deep ferment is taking place. The Bolshevik Leninist party advances rapidly, increasing its mass contacts and influence; the Stalinists are losing ground no less rapidly. "Young Cuba", the split-off left petty bourgeois wing of the Grauist "Autenticos", now seek a united front with the Bolshevik Leninists. Decisive struggles approach.

Discussion Article

The Fight for Full Social, Economic and Political Equality

By SIMON WILLIAMSON

One of the most serious problems that confronts the American section of the Fourth International is the breaking down of the walls of white chauvinism and so-called race prejudice held by the white proletariat of the country (who are influenced by the white bourgeoisie) and the winning of full economic, social and political equality for the Negro masses. Such a victory will give the franchise to over nine million black peons of the hourglass south. Such a victory must be won if the white workers ever expect to win and enjoy true working class democracy.

The American bourgeoisie has always felt the acute need of maintaining division of black and white in the working class and thus render it impotent in the struggle against the ruthless exploitation of the opulent. Race hatred has been one of the chief means of keeping the workers divided. Karl Marx truthfully stated years ago that "Labor in a white skin cannot emancipate itself so long as labor in a black skin is branded." The black American, despite the persecution meted out to him, is kept by the white capitalist as a reserve of cheap labor for the purpose of breaking the morale of white workers who revolt against a lower standard of living. The Negro should not be held responsible for this. However, this has led the less developed white workers to believe the Negro a professional strike breaker.

Most Negro proletarians, who have been used for this end by the capitalists are ignorant of the role that they oftentimes play. However, the black proletariat is gradually losing his race consciousness and acquiring a class consciousness, and is destined to play an egregious role in the labor movement in the near future. Let us take Bostoxton for example. Some years ago Negro labor was brought to Bostoxton to break a strike and lower the morale of the whites. The job was accomplished, but twenty years

later the Negro workers were playing a leading role in the labor unions. Graphic examples could also be cited of the coal mining areas of Illinois. Despite this the American labor movement in the past has ignored the importance of the Negro worker joining its ranks. It shunned the helpless Negro proletariat by aiding the bourgeoisie to Jim Crow him. The American Federation of Labor has always barred him from or Jim Crowed him in the craft unions.

At present, the Stalinists are holding up, as a means of attraction, the wooden horse of Self-Determination or a Jim Crow republic in the southern section of the United States. We, the International Communists, sometimes called Trotskyites, are opposed to this theory because we see that it will eventually, like most Stalinist theories, serve as a boomerang to the emancipation of the proletariat.

A Jim-Crow republic for the American Negro will simply lend to the strength and influence of the Negro bourgeoisie who is as much an enemy of the working class as the white bourgeoisie. If the labor movement aids such a movement it will help prolong the life of capitalism and retard the triumph of world socialism or communism.

It is therefore, the duty of the Communist League of America, the Bolshevik-Leninists, to divert the attention of all fellow Negro workers from the idea of Self-Determination for the Black Belt, which in reality means more discrimination, and focus his attention on the fight for full economic, social and political equality, which carries within it the embodiment of true working class democracy.

In the fight to gain this objective the Negro proletariat must be given every assistance to defeat the Negro bourgeoisie. The Negro worker must be taught to see that capitalism is destructive and is as dangerous in the hands of a black man as in the hands of a white man, and that humanity cannot be free until capitalism is overthrown.

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S.P. Groups Fight Youth Thesis

(Continued from Page 1)

to be for a cooperative commonwealth, reject control by the Third International, will be loyal to the principles of democracy within the party and the labor movement and will abstain from participating "in factional groups within the party" (when all the active socialists are already in factions!) and are willing "to use the ballot and party and labor organizations as our present method in the struggle for our goal", are qualified to be members of the Socialist Party.

Reformists, centrists of all shades including ex-C.P. members and revolutionists can belong to the party, according to Norman Thomas. "At this time we can afford to differ quite considerably on what may be necessary in some conceivable crisis, provided we work now with proper regard for all that is valuable in the American tradition of civil liberty and democracy" adds this liberal-turned-radical.

Thomas Panicky

In reality Thomas and the "Millitants" are panicky over the prospects of a split. The important institutions and at least half the party membership would go with the Old Guard. Hundreds and perhaps thousands of the newcomers may be expected to drop out of the party. The talk of a labor party, formed by the reconstituted Old Guard and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, may captivate the wavering members.

More than that. With the Old Guard reformists cut off, the internal struggle will not end but rather take on sharper form. The "Millitants" will be forced into a fight with the Hoan reformists, with Norman Thomas acting as conciliator. Hoan who is against the "Forward crowd," who wants an "American" party with as little socialism and as few international ties as possible, will once again openly display his real colors much to the discomfort of the "Millitants". He and his followers will move towards reconciliation with the Old Guard within some new organization or find new reformist channels.

A split under present conditions may well mean the strangulation of the Socialist Party.

What Shall the Left Wing Do?

But what of the genuinely militant and revolutionary workers in the Socialist party and Young Peoples Socialist League? They will undoubtedly put up a fight against those leaders of the "Millitants" who stand in the way of an irreconcilable struggle against reformism in all its forms. It is hardly to be expected that the "Millitants" will remain intact.

With these prospects before them the Socialist workers should not fear a split with the Old Guard. On the contrary they have everything to gain from it: if they organize on a revolutionary Marxist program against all reformist and centrist groupings. They can play a progressive role, they can save the large sections of genuine militants in the Socialist movement, only by struggling on this basis towards fusion with the new revolutionary workers' party soon to be launched, towards the Fourth International. —JOSEPH CARTER

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Youth Thesis

(Continued from Page 3)

youth of the United States, especially the Young Socialists. The S.Y.L. aims to win the newly awakened and radical youth for communism. In its latter period it has been politically subordinate to the C.L.A. on the basis of the fundamental organizational principles already outlined.

b. Through its organ, **Young Spartacus**, the S.Y.L. has put forward the International Communist program on the burning problems of the day: the militarization of the youth, preparation for imperialist war, fascist movements in Europe and America and the needs of the young workers and students. Through this means the S.Y.L. attracted new youth to its ranks, educated and equipped its members with an elementary understanding of revolutionary Marxism.

c. Large masses of young workers and students, and in the first instance, socialist and Stalinist youth, were reached with our program through the participation of the S.Y.L. in united fronts against imperialist war, against fascism, and for the unionization of the young workers.

d. The S.Y.L. through its international delegate, aided in the formation of the International Bureau of revolutionary youth organizations (last Feb.) as a step towards a new youth international, as an integral part of the Fourth International. The S.Y.L., the Leninist Youth League of France, the Bolshevik-Leninist Youth League of Belgium and the Bolshevik-Leninist youth League of Spain, which are all politically subordinate to the respective national sections of the International Communist League, are connected on a world scale through an International Youth Commission of the latter. The Spartacus Youth League has and will be called upon to play an important role in furthering the movement for a new revolutionary youth international.

e. The reasons for the shortcomings in the work of the S.Y.L. in addition to the general limitation which affected the International Communist League as a whole, were: the failure of the C.L.A. to understand the needs and character of the S.Y.L.; consequently the failure to apply in practice the fundamental principles which govern the relations between a revolutionary political party and its youth section; and the absence of sufficient leading cadres.

f. To improve and extend our youth work the entire membership of the Communist League, and in the first instance, its leading bodies, must acquire an understanding of the basic tasks of the S.Y.L. and follow closely the development of the youth movement. The Communist League should from time to time re-examine its relations with the S.Y.L. to determine how to improve co-operation between the two organizations, strengthen its own centre in the youth league, promote joint activities and gain new members from the youth group. Only thus, can the Communist League give real aid to the youth movement. Only in this way can we win the youth for revolutionary Marxism.

MILITANT CIRCULATION TO ALL BRANCHES

In the last issue of the *Militant* we asked all branches of the League to arrange for special Sixth Anniversary affairs for the purpose of raising funds and at the same time celebrating the founding of the *Militant*.

The Downtown Branch of Local New York is the only one that has informed us of definite action. This branch has arranged for a Sixth Anniversary Dance for November 17, and promises all participants an enjoyable evening.

We urge all other branches to take immediate action and inform us about it.

MILITANT GREETINGS

Greet the *Militant* on its Sixth Anniversary. Send 25c and be sure to state whether we may print our name in full.

HISTORY IN THE MAKING

The *Minneapolis Organizer* is truly a chronicle of "history in the making". This paper was issued daily during the historic truck drivers strike and records every aspect of the battle as it took place. We have a few incomplete files of the *Organizer* on hand, which we have gathered with much trouble. We are selling them at \$1 and \$1.50 depending upon the number of copies missing. We also have some single copies. They sell at 5c a copy. Get a few samples and we feel sure you will want a file.

HEALTH LECTURES

Dr. S. Joyce began his series of lectures on Workers' Health with an informal talk on colds. He spoke both informatively and interestingly. His second lecture will be on boils, carbuncles, fungus infections. No doubt many workers have quite a few misconceptions on, say, athlete's foot. This lecture will clear those up since it is a scientific explanation of both origin and cure of just such ailments. The lecture will be held on Monday, November 12 at the **Stuyvesant Casino** at 8 P.M. sharp. Admission 15c. Auspices: Spartacus Youth League.

The Truth Is Alien to Them

Stalinist Hokum on Minneapolis

Minnesota and its neighbors have long been centers of advanced political development. Its workers have often pointed the road to the heavy-industry proletariat of other regions. Characteristically, it is from this section that hail the two Governors and two U. S. Senators who are not members of the Republican or Democratic Party. And, just as general agrarian and proletarian discontent have knocked out of the picture the traditional parties of American capitalism, so the fully class-conscious elements of the proletariat have thrown up here an unusually significant group of thoroughly developed revolutionaries.

When the Communist party, headed by Jay Lovestone and acting under orders from the Stalin-Bucharin bloc, expelled the Left Opposition in 1928, it lost its foothold in Minnesota. It was no accident that all that there was of Communism in such a city as Minneapolis was Trotskyist, that is to say bred-in-the-bone Marxist and not pretty prey to revisionist bureaucratism.

Since the Communist movement of Minneapolis became Trotskyist, the Stalinists have never had a look-in on the labor movement. They lost every last trade unionist by expelling the Trotskyists, and have today not a single member of a Minneapolis union. Due to a series of fiascos, they have lost even the small section of unemployed whom they bamboozled for a short time.

Consequently, when the drivers struck in Minneapolis last spring and summer, the local C.P.—a couple of dozen woebegone petty bourgeois—could but gnash its teeth in rage. But at the top of the strikes were to be found none other than the despised and spurned Trotskyists, and although they busied themselves spreading vicious slanders, the Stalinists could not win the ear of one solitary striker!

Under the leadership of the "enemies of the working class", General Drivers Union 574 was built up between January and May of this year from 150 to 5,000 members. In May it clashed with the bosses in a sensational and militant strike and won a partial victory. By July the bosses had taken steps to retract the concessions forced from them in May, and Local 574 launched a second strike, a veritable struggle for existence.

Country Electrified

That strike electrified the country for five weeks. Bloody Friday and its toll of two dead and 48 wounded; the efforts of the militia under the command of Farmer-Labor Governor Floyd B. Olson to smash the strike; the launching of the first daily strike bulletin in American labor history; the launching by the bosses and the bold smashing by the union leaders of one of the most vicious of recent red scares; the rallying of the unemployed to the union's banner; the daring forced marches of pickets in defiance of police and militia; the brilliant organizational work and political strategy of the union leaders—all these made of the Minneapolis strikes milestones in labor's struggle.

The strike ended with a settlement which gave the workers their jobs back without discrimination, minimum wage rates with arbitration for upward (and only upward) revisions, and improved working conditions. The union won the right to recognize the important group of market inside workers on whose behalf the second strike had been called. The elections provided for later won the union full recognition in almost all the large trucking firms and many of the small ones. The union is solidly grounded and growing steadily.

Not a worker in the city—indeed, in the whole region—who does not feel inspired by the deeds of 574. Every section of the labor movement hailed the outcome—and this includes many a labor skater who attacks the strike leaders for radicalism but is forced to admit that a victory was won. Only the bosses, whose press is preaching the lesson "Do not strike", and the Stalinists are dissatisfied with the outcome.

Two recent developments confirm this estimate. As a result of arbitration, in which the workers were represented by the strike leaders, the wage levels have already been raised 24 cents an hour above the minimum stipulated in the strike settlement. Equally significant, the militant milk truck drivers of Fargo-Moorehead, N.D., when it began the organization drive which culminated in the present strike, borrowed from 574 one of its leaders, Mick Dunne, to head their forces.

The Splen of the Stalinists

To the Stalinists, however, the story of the Minneapolis strikes is a bitter pill. They did not have a look-in—and a historic task was performed by the hated Trotskyists. Under the title "Permanent Counter-Revolution", they have now issued a dime pamphlet "analyzing" the struggles of last spring and summer. The pamphlet includes

an article from the *Communist*, by M. Childs, and several *Daily Worker* pieces by William Frances Dunne, the hero of Outer Mongolia. It is one of the most malignant excretions in all Stalinist history.

To list all the lies and slanders in this pamphlet would require an entire issue of the *Militant*. It is not proposed to give so much space to the matter. The story of the Minneapolis strike is written in the capitalist press of the North-west, which cursed every move of the union leaders, and in the columns of the *Organizer*, strike bulletin of Local 574. Those who wish to check every factual question must refer to these documents above all others. It is furthermore the intention of the C.L.A. to publish soon a pamphlet giving the story of the Minneapolis strike.

In the meantime on two things might be pointed out about the Stalinist pamphlet.

The greatest enemy the strikers had to face was the militia, called out and commanded by Governor Olson. Bosses, scabs, police were beaten. Not until 2,500 troops began their strike-breaking work were the strikers in a tight hole. The policy of the union leaders toward the troops was, consequently, of crucial importance to the outcome of the strike. It is a touchstone of the whole strike policy. This the Stalinist pamphlet recognizes, and consequently devotes a major portion of its attention to lying about this very question.

"It was not until martial law was declared that the Trotskyite leaders began to criticize Olson," declares this pamphlet. Over and over it charges that the Trotskyites offered no opposition.

The Workers' Illusion

The strike began on July 16. As soon as the Minneapolis police made serious efforts to interfere with picketing, there could be heard from most strikers repeated expressions of hope that the militia would be called in. This is a strange and unfortunate but indisputable fact. The workers of Minneapolis had elected Olson, and most of them believed he was "their" Governor. They hoped that "his" troops would tie the hands of the boss-controlled city police, enabling the pickets to handle all scabs and win the strike in one-two-three order.

The troops were not called out until July 26, ten days after the strike began. During this period the sentiment of the strikers in favor of martial law under Olson's administration increased constantly. After Bloody Friday this became a question of active agitation by Farmer-Labor leaders, to whom many workers gave a ready ear.

In this period, to criticize Olson, to fight against the calling of martial law, was to risk widespread unpopularity among the workers. Only with the bolshevik, endowed with Marx that recognizes the boss state—and its Governors and its troops—as the implacable and inevitable enemy of the workers, and with a firm courage to tell the truth in labor's interest would risk such unpopularity.

What did the leaders of Local 574 do?

The Leaders' Policy

Did they "assure the workers that they had nothing to fear from the National Guard, that Gov. Olson had mobilized the troops 'for the protection of the workers'?" (The Stalinists use quotes on that phrase; we defy them to produce evidence that a single 574 leader, Trotskyist or non-Trotskyist, used such a phrase.)

Here is the truth:

The *Organizer*, strike bulletin, of July 18 (third day of the strike, one week before martial law was declared, four days before troops were seen outside barracks), contains a leading editorial comment on the question of troops and Olson's attitude. This occupies the central columns of the front page and is printed in heavy type. It is entitled "Troops in Minneapolis—What For?" Here are some quotations:

"One battalion . . . has already been mobilized. . . Governor Olson in his statement to the press said: 'The important question is the preservation of law and order.'"

"We don't believe that this is the right way to put the problem. The most important question now is: Has the underdog, the worker, the exploited and persecuted, the right to organize into unions and to demand a decent living? . . ."

"The only threat to public peace comes from those who try to provoke the strikers by the use of thugs and scabs and depized hoodlums. . ."

"Governor Olson, in his statement, said he will not take sides in the strike. But his action in mobilizing a battalion of the National Guard on the first day of the strike—is that not taking sides? Many workers will be keenly disappointed both with the statement and the action of Governor Olson. They voted for him in the firm conviction that he would side with them against the bosses. Union men and women have a right to doubt that anyone can be really neutral in the

great struggle between capital and labor. But in any case they expected something more than neutrality from the Farmer-Labor Governor. They expected support of their struggle, not the threat of military force against them.

"That is the only way the mobilization . . . can be understood—as a threat against the strikers. That is why the workers who are enlisted in this fight for the right to live, demand and will continue to demand:

"WITHDRAW THE NATIONAL GUARD IMMEDIATELY!"

Opposition to Olsonism

This is the way in which the "counter-revolutionaries" behaved. This was their "deal" with Olson. Is there anything more shameful than a Stalinist pen-prostitute?"

And this is far from the end of the story.

Martial law was declared July 26. The *Organizer* of that day announces that "574 DEMANDS OLSON RECALL MILITIA ORDER." "Martial law," it declares, "cannot help the strikers. It must help the bosses. . . We call upon every labor union in the city . . . to second this demand. We ask them to impress with the utmost force and solemnity upon the Governor the implacable opposition of the overwhelming mass of the population to the presence of these troops and the operation of martial law."

The main headline of the *Organizer* of July 27 is "MARTIAL LAW CLOAKS SCAB MOVES."

On July 28 it blazes forth: "STRIKERS DEMAND TROOP REMOVAL," and there follows the text of the resolution of the Strike Committee of 100 against martial law.

On July 30 appears a photograph of General Walsh sitting side by side with Bloody Johannes, Chief of Police; under it is a satiric editorial driving home the truth that Olson's troops are hand-in-glove with the murderous police.

From Words to Deeds

And on July 31 (when picketing was a military crime) appears the sensational announcement:

"PICKETS TO REPORT AT 4 A.M."

"Replying to the latest public statement of Governor Olson," the leading news article in this issue states, "the Strike Committee of 100, shortly after noon today issued a public statement expressing its complete dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs and with the Governor's latest orders."

The statement is quoted:

"Despite all his harsh words directed at the employers, Governor Olson directs all his harsh blows at the Union and the strike."

Against this attempt to undermine and break the strike, Local 574 has but one alternative: to fight. . ."

And the editorial entitled "We Will Not Submit!" says of Olson:

"The course of action he has taken has served but one purpose: to aid the bosses and to hamper and restrict the independent activity of the workers in their struggle for the right to live and to enjoy the benefits of union organization. They cannot forgive that and they cannot forget it. And what is more, they cannot submit it without fighting back."

On the next day the strikers, following the plans laid down by their leaders, defied the militia and picketing was resumed in force.

On August 1 appeared the reply to Olson's seizure of headquarters and arrest of strike leaders and pickets:

"ANSWER MILITARY TYRANNY BY A GENERAL PROTEST STRIKE!"

One could go on indefinitely. So intense and skilled was the campaign of the official union paper, the leaders' speeches and a steady agitation in the ranks of the strikers, that Olson's raids and arrests failed to break the strike. The workers, shocked by the troops' actions, found a new point of orientation in their leaders' policy, a source of renewed courage in the fact that their leaders had fallen into no trap and had plans for handling the situation which the rank and file had not foreseen. The ranks were reformed; the workers defied the troops and labelled their commander, the once-idolized Olson, what he was: A STRIKE-BREAKER.

Olson's Friends

So pertinacious were the strike leaders in their anti-troop campaign, both before and after the declaration of martial law, that all Olson's adherents began to whine, and still do whine, that the strike leaders cared nothing about winning the strike but only wanted to put poor old Olson, the peepul's friend, on the spot. For example, Anne Ross, an Olson heler, made just such charges in the "liberal" *New Republic* among whose editors is the devoted Stalinist "sympathizer", Malcolm Cowley.

The study of the Stalinist attitude on this question of troops in Minneapolis would be incomplete if we limited ourselves to the filthy lies of the Dunne-Childs pamphlet. The true viciousness of Stalinism can only be understood by comparing their criticism of the "coun-

ter-revolutionary Trotskyites," with the actions of the Stalinists themselves.

Shortly after the troops began their strike-breaking activities, the Stalinists were confronted with the issue, not in Minneapolis where in their ignominious bscurity no issue ever confronts them, but in New York City where they have a following.

The strike-breaking moves of the State of California had stimulated the formation in New York of a Committee for Workers Rights, a joint body composed of delegates from half a dozen defense organizations, with the object of defending the rights of the Frisco workers. When the martial law situation reached a crisis in Minneapolis, it was proposed at a meeting of this committee that a protest be sent to Governor Olson. The representatives of the General Defense Committee (I.W.W.), the League for Industrial Democracy and the Non-Partisan Labor Defense supported the proposal. It was opposed by Frank Palmer of the Federated Press and other delegates of the American Civil Liberties Union. Palmer stated that a protest would be ill-advised because some Minneapolis workers favored martial law. Louis Berg, representative of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, protested against Palmer's statement. His remarks were received with stony silence by Allen Taub, representing the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners (of the I.L.D.) and by Anna Damon, representing the I.L.D.

The proposal of a protest against the Minneapolis suppression was bandied about for several weeks. Allen Taub, in a sub-committee, declared that the use of troops need not always be bad for the workers and that his people (the Stalinists) would even demand martial law for protection against lynching in the South! The Stalinist representatives never once raised their voice of the protest proposal. They served as the passive allies of the A.C.L.U., which attacked the proposal for a dozen different "reasons". The Liberal-Stalinist bloc succeeded in paralyzing the Committee and no protest was ever made by that body.

A similar pretty tale could be told about every major point in the Stalinist pamphlet. The long and short of it is that, since the Trotskyists recruited the members of the union, agitated for and organized and led and won the strike, it is a counter-revolutionary strike. . . it is a victory, but a victory for counter-revolution! Starting out from Stalinist "theories", Dunne and Childs quite naturally compose a masterpiece of brazen lies. And behind each lie is a Stalinist crime.

A Crime Against the Class

The pamphlet is, however, more than a web of lies. It does not merely obscure the truth about a strike and slander the Trotskyists. It is a blow to the working class as a whole.

Its main object is to "inform" workers, especially those of Minneapolis, that they have been defeated! All who have derived encouragement from the triumph of militancy in a day when so many militant performances are crushed or trapped into the National Run Around, are to be discouraged. Labor has again been beaten. The stimulus given to the Minneapolis trade union movement is based on a misapprehension: Minneapolis and other workers in the section who have joined unions, others who have begun to press their leaders to adopt the policies of Local 574, are all wrong. They should be disheartened, not heartened. No doubt they should relax into pessimism and passivity, quit the unions or whatnot. As for the workers of Fargo-Moorehead, they must bounce Mick Dunne, their strike leader, now under indictment for inciting to riot, and go jump in the creek for not knowing a fighter from a traitor!

For a so-called proletarian organization to sacrifice class morale in order to deal a blow at another organization is nothing short of a crime against the whole class. Little wonder that after such behavior the hardest task of the Minneapolis C.L.A. and the leaders of 574 in organizing a protest against a recent vigilante raid on the Stalinist bookstore was to convince workers that the interests of the class were involved. To them the Stalinists look like stooges for the boss and nothing else. Once the Dunne-Childs pamphlet appears in the Minneapolis bookstore, workers who want to defend that store against vigilantes will be as scarce as hens' teeth.

No doubt the pamphlet will be a success in New York petty bourgeois circles, however. It is rich in the corrupt qualities which well-fed dilettante Stalinists adore. All who think it a wonderful piece of work, and who would like to see Bill Dunne stay sober long enough to really clean up on the Trotskyists once and for all, will no doubt suggest that he accept the C.L.A.'s challenge to debate publicly the question of the Minneapolis strike policy. And it is equally certain that Bill Dunne will accept. Believe that and I'll tell you another one.

—HARRY STRANG.

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Truce Gov't Falls

(Continued from Page 1)

THE METHODS:

The general strike which is an immediate necessity, the preparation for which can be assured by the constitution of factory and district committees.

The People's Militia.

Time presses. We must begin at once. We must not wait until the constitution is revised and the relocation of forces changed in favor of the enemy. We must not wait for a new coup to launch the general strike. The bourgeoisie has learned the lesson of the February events. And the Jouhaux (yellow trade union leader) delay an answer under the pretext that six days are necessary for preparation, will find prettexts to make this answer completely negative.

The only possible defense for the workers against the maneuvers of the reaction is broad action, prepared from today on, unleashed forcefully and followed through to victory.

The only way to avoid the fate of the workers of Germany, Austria and Spain—paralysis and then defeat—is a revolutionary policy of broad scope, of well organized, well prepared struggle. It is high time our socialist sections and all workers' organizations took this road.

—P. FRANCK.

Fargo Drivers Win

(Continued from Page 1)

differences of size in the two communities. The roads leading into town were picketed, and a large picket line assembled at the Fairmont plant. Here the scabs were bottled up by the picket line.

The picketing was 100 per cent successful. Not a milk truck moved, with the exception of those bound for hospitals and children's homes, which were permitted to operate by the strikers.

A restaurant owner who brandished a revolver in an effort to frighten the pickets into permitting milk delivery at his place was disarmed by the workers and returned to his business considerably subdued. Upon this incident, apparently, were based the charges against Dunne and other union leaders who were arrested.

Sunday afternoon Miles Dunne and five other Local 173 leaders were arrested and thrown into jail on charges of inciting to riot, an offense which carries a penalty of 3 to 7 years imprisonment in North Dakota. The warrants were issued on complaints signed by a small creamery owner.

"This act was all that was required to arouse the greatest pro-polis—were warned by the Stalinists among the Fargo workers. Agitation for a general strike spread immediately.

The bosses became frightened. They had made a mis-step, overlooking the devotion which the strike leaders had inspired in the breasts of the workers.

They called a conference, and sent word to the union that they were ready to arbitrate.

Local 173 said: "First release all our leaders and bring them here." The bosses grumbled and groaned—and consented. By 1 A.M. Monday morning an agreement was arrived at, giving Local 173 union recognition, a 48-hour 6-day week and a \$3 weekly raise, with the agreement to arbitrate wages upwards within ten days.

The principles of Local 574 are spreading, are being assimilated by community after community in the north-west—and by the workers all over America. The success of this short militant Fargo strike added impetus to a union organization throughout this section.

The Fargo workers were warned by the Citizens' Alliance of Minneapolis in that pretty pamphlet, "Permanent Counter-Revolution"—to have no truck with the General Drivers Union Local 574. But the Fargo workers had their own interests to consider.

The Fargo one-day milk drivers strike may be considered another victory for the tactics of Local 574 in the American labor movement.

BRONX OPEN FORUM

Socialist Party of New Workers Party?

BRONX OPEN FORUM
Speaker:
JOE CARTER
Friday, Nov. 16, at 8 P.M.
1739 Boston Road

BORO PARK OPEN FORUM

Reform or Revolution—S. P. C. P. or New Yorkers Party?

Speaker:
BURKE COCHRAN
Friday, November 16, at 8 P.M.
1281 49th St., Brooklyn
Auspices: Boro Park Branch C.L.A.

HARLEM OPEN FORUM

Seventeen Years of the Russian Revolution.

Speaker:
A L D A S C H
Friday, Nov. 16, 8 P.M.
143 East 103rd Street
Auspices: Harlem Branch C.L.A.

NOTICE TO CHICAGO READERS:

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