



Weavers Will Decide On Joining General Strike of Dye Workers

Dyers Spurn Boss Truce Offer and Continue Struggle

Paterson, Nov. 16.—When the Militant comes off the press, the weavers will have decided the issue of a complete tie-up in the silk industry.

Meanwhile the negotiations by means of which the dye plant operators had hoped to force upon the dye workers the continuation of the intolerable conditions prevailing in the industry under the old contract have been broken off.

The maneuvers of the bosses availed them nothing in the face of the determined front of the workers. The industry has been completely shut down since the inception of the strike. The 25,000 striking dyers are resolute in their decision to strike until their demands are met.

Having failed to force what amounts to the conditions of the old contract with the added provision that the dye workers bind themselves not to strike for two years against the very same conditions they are now fighting, the dye operators intend to break the strike now by force. The importation of scabs, gangsters and provocateurs and the direct utilization of the police, and all the armed forces of their government locally and throughout the state scale, reveals their frantic efforts for this end.

Fighting the Strike with Bullets

Their plan of campaign is obvious. They are attempting to break the strike by trying to reopen plants at the outlying centers. The strike stronghold being Paterson, the bosses are for the moment concentrating on plants outside of Paterson. The first plant the bosses attempted to reopen is the Warren Dye Works at Union City. The mass picket line of workers from Paterson, Lodi and Passaic was attacked by the police, who used their clubs and revolvers. The police fired shots—the shots were not blanks. Despite the turning of this plant into a fortress with machine guns, it is not operating.

The inception of the boss terror is accompanied by the familiar campaign in the yellow press, which is attempting to terrorize the strikers with indirect threats of plants moving out of the area, of false reports of plants operating, and of direct threats to operate plants with imported scabs.

The workers know that dye plants cannot be run with scabs and machine guns; and they have learned from the experiences of the past few months that their only hope lies in their own strength, solidarity and militancy.

Striking the Stallers

The most important developments of this week are the unmistakable signs that the silk weavers are not to be restrained any longer by the vacillations and cowardliness of "progressive" Eli Keller and by the betrayal of his reactionary U.T. W. allies.

The militant drive of the silk workers has been to join the dyers in their common struggle. Their insistence on meeting the open challenge of the silk bosses has compelled Keller and his pals to accede to a meeting—which should have been called, at least, simultaneously with that of the dyers—this Saturday to decide on the question of the strike.

All indications point to the unanimity of the weavers, warpers, throwsters, twistors and loomfixers on the question of strike. Unless the officialdom with Keller at the head again resorts to its stalling tactics of telegraphing Gorman, Green and Co. for "approval", the weavers will come out next week in support of the dyers and to fight for the demands they were so shamefully cheated out of in the last general strike. Their action will have magnificent results. It will spread the strike to the entire Passaic Valley, and if the bosses refuse to meet the workers demands, they will be faced not with an isolated section of the workers but with the entire organized force of labor in the industry.

A golden opportunity once again faces the workers of Paterson to take the lead and win first for themselves the UNION SHOP, the 30-hour week and higher wages. Paterson has shown the way before. It is going to do so again.

Giant Meeting Dec. 2nd To Greet Fusion

Arrangements for a gala mass meeting to greet the delegates to the conventions of the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party respectively, are progressing.

Germania Hall—16th St. and 3rd Ave.—has been tentatively selected and the date is to be Sunday night, December 2nd which will be the last day of the proposed Fusion Conference. Admission is to be 25c.

Outstanding among the speakers will be delegates from Minneapolis and Toledo who were active in both strikes and members of the National Committee of the C.L.A. and the Provisional Organization Committee of the A.W.P., as well as a representative of the Spartacus Youth League which is holding its first Convention the same week.

According to reports, there will be approximately seventy-five to one hundred delegates to the conventions of the Communist League and the Spartacus Youth League and almost as many to the A.W.P.

Keep the date in mind. Come and bring your friends and shopmates to this historic meeting which will be the orerunning of the founding of a new revolutionary workers party in America.

Workers Set For Elevator Strike Here

The Building Service Employees International Union went ahead with preparations for a city-wide walkout of building service workers after representatives of the Real Estate Board of New York, the employers organization refused to yield to the union's demand for wage increases and the closed shop. The strike call will probably be issued Monday. More than 45,000 workers are expected to respond.

Union leaders have indicated that the walkout will first become effective in the garment center where building owners have broken a strike agreement concluded through the mediation of the Regional Labor Board. The strike will then be extended to the financial and apartment house districts.

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MOONEY WINS COURT HEARING; MASS ACTION NEED OF HOUR

Security Plan Nails Wolf to Labor's Door

Unemployment Insurance Scheme Provides No Solution

President Roosevelt, embarrassed by the startling election landslide, can no longer conceal the reactionary nature of the New Deal behind a smile and a comforting promise.

The time has come to fulfill the promise to the working class, and the government has absolutely nothing to give. Last spring the President made a desperate play for popularity, he intimated that the new congress this fall would see the passage of a sweeping reform, of a Great Social Security Program. Throughout the summer the American working class consoled itself with the hope of this reform. Indeed, not only the people, but even the intimate advisers of the President, appear to have been deceived.

This Thursday two hundred economists and welfare workers gathered in Washington to launch the Great Social Security Program, gathered, as they thought, to launch a New Era.

"Bold Stroke"—Niggardly Reforms

Harry Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator, addressed the congress, and aroused it to enthusiasm. He spoke of the necessity for a "bold stroke" to unite all phases of economic security in a single comprehensive program. Doubtless Harry Hopkins himself expected the congress to accomplish something more than a few niggardly reforms.

We weren't, for it is evident that the capitalist government cannot improve matters radically for the workers of the country. It is no longer a matter of intention, for with the best possible will in the world the New Deal can not deliver the goods. There is one person who realizes this completely, that is the President himself. He knows that the New Deal is nothing more than an ineffectual stop gap, and that its popularity now rests, as it rested two years ago, on its promise, and not on its accomplishment. The President's problem is to keep up the promise, to keep up faith in the New Deal as long as possible, but he is already beginning to fail. Two years, and not one single promise, except the promise to business, has materialized.

No "Wild" Ideas Wanted

The Great Social Security Program fizzled out in a dismal fiasco.

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After 18 long years the Supreme Court, cloaked in the mantle of "impartial" justice has finally discovered the existence of the "Mooney Case".

The whole world quivered with indignation over the brazen frame-up. The international working class marched in the streets shouting its protest. Every scrap of evidence used to send Mooney to life-long incarceration was proved perjured, trumped-up or deliberately false. Witnesses against Mooney confessed that they had sold their testimony for a few filthy dollars. The trial judge issued a statement conceding Mooney's innocence. All living jurors have signed affidavits declaring that they brought in the verdict of "guilty" under pressure. But the Supreme Court—away from the maddening crowd, in splendid juridical isolation—failed to take notice.

The "Big-Hearted" Decision

Having finally bestirred itself, the Supreme Court is not granting Mooney a new trial. Nor does it propose to enter an elaborate examination of the case. The sum total of its munificent decision is a summons to Warden Holahan of San Quentin to show cause why Mooney should be denied a writ of habeas corpus. And he has forty days to do it!

There can be no doubt but that this is a ray of hope—however slender it may be—for long suffering Mooney! The explanation for the action of the Washington justices can hardly be laid at their much vaunted "liberalism". Nor can it be said that pressure of the aroused working class is responsible. No, for years the movement for Mooney has lain dormant—betrayed by labor scabbers, derided by liberals and false friends and stifled by Stalinists and reformists. Mr. Dooley long ago supplied the answer when he said the Supreme Court follows the election returns. Three fourths of a million votes for Sinclair in California were votes for the liberation of Mooney.

What will the Supreme Court do? Will its gesture recognizing this vote mean something real for Mooney or will it lead to the same old stalling?

We cannot prophesy beforehand as to what the Supreme Court will do, but if past experiences with capitalist courts mean anything it must be said that the "ray of hope" will penetrate little of the darkness in Mooney's cell.

Protest Is Only Weapon

The Supreme Court and every other court, governor or capitalist official in the country respond to one thing, and one thing only when class war prisoners are involved. Action, protest and strike by the working class!

When Mooney was about to swing in 1916 it was only the stormy demonstrations that stayed the ex-

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Jobless Organizations Lay Nationwide Plans For Big Demonstration

Accommodations Needed For Convention Delegates

We expect about eighty out-of-town delegates to the conventions of the C.L.A. and the Spartacus Youth League.

The convention of the C.L.A. will open on Monday, November 20th at the Stuyvesant Casino, and will last until Thursday, to be followed by the proposed Fusion Conference for another three days.

As you might guess, the delegates will not be able to stop at hotels. While we are arranging to feed the delegates throughout their stay, we must depend upon our members and close sympathizers to accommodate them with sleeping quarters.

If you can possibly take care of one or more delegates, please fill out the blank below and mail AT ONCE.

DELEGATE ACCOMMODATION BLANK

I can provide sleeping quarters for delegate.

Male or female?

YOUR NAME

ADDRESS

Directions for reaching your home:

Students in Free Speech Fight in L.A.

Los Angeles.—The reactionary whip of tory California strikes again. This time five students from the University of California at Los Angeles (U.C.L.A.) take the stinging lash in the form of suspension. This has occurred in the heat of a bitter election campaign.

John Burnside, president of the student body; Tom Lambert, chairman of the men's board, Mendel Lieberman, chairman of the scholarship committee; Sid Zagri, debating head; and Celeste Strach, Phi Beta Kappa and member of the National Student League, dared fly in the face of that dictator of liberty, exponent of Deweyism (note: lecture Tuesday and Thursday at 2:00 P.M. Scope of Course: "Training in independence of thought", the very right Provost of the U.C.L.A.—Dr. Moore.

Accused by Dr. Moore (once-

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1,100 Local Bodies March Nov. 24 for Relief Demands

New York, Nov. 14.—More than 750,000 unemployed, organized in some 1,100 local bodies from New York to California and from Minnesota to Texas are expected to participate in public protest meetings and demonstrations on Nov. 24, according to an announcement made yesterday at the office of the National Action Committee For November 24th, located at 22 East 22nd Street. This Committee, under whose auspices the manifestations will be conducted, is composed of representatives of the country's leading unemployed organizations, located in twenty-two states.

In addition, a million or more unorganized unemployed and trade union members are expected to participate in the day's program. In all likelihood this will be the greatest single campaign action of unemployed workers seeking amelioration of their condition which the country has seen since the depression began. The demonstrations, which will be of uniform character in all regions, will begin at 10 a. m. local time, and will have as their aim the presentation by mass delegations of a set of eight demands addressed to local county and state relief authorities for transmission to Washington.

A delegation of fifteen, representing the leading unemployed organizations of the United States, expects to present a report and a copy of the eight-point platform to President Roosevelt at the White House two or three days after the nationwide demonstrations. The eight points are:

1. That the Federal government undertake public works to provide work for the unemployed at trade union rates on the basis of a \$30 for a 30 hour week;
2. Passage of the Lunden Unemployment Insurance Bill now before Congress;
3. Pending these, immediate direct cash relief of \$10 weekly for single persons, \$15 weekly for families of two, and \$4 weekly for each additional dependent;
4. Guarantee of the rights of organization and collective bargaining to all workers on public projects;
5. Recognition of representatives of organized unemployed by relief administrations;
6. Federal adequate disability compensation on all public works and to and from the job;
7. Diversion of all war funds to unemployment relief;
8. Passage of a universal 30-hour work week law without pay cuts.

Preparations for the Nov. 24 demonstrations have been proceeding rapidly in all sections during the past weeks, according to David Lasser, Secretary of the N.A.C., who has just returned from a meeting of the Committee in Pittsburgh which ratified final details.

A statement issued by the organizations cooperating in the Nov. 24 movement places the number of unemployed in the country, aside from part-time workers, at 12,000,000, a figure somewhat higher than the latest estimate of the American Federation of Labor. According to the statement, the Nov. 24 demonstrations will voice a protest against the insufficiency of existing unemployment relief arrangements and reflect the increasing sentiment of the unemployed for full-time jobs at decent wages. The hourly wage rates for relief workers—30 to 50 cents—are characterized by this statement as "starvation wages, especially in view of the fact that the average wage is between \$6 and \$12 weekly."

The participating organizations also regard as unsatisfactory the relief rates which range from \$12 to \$38 monthly for a family, and the fact that in most regions single men get no relief. The general attitude of relief administrators toward efforts of the unemployed to organize, is also disapproved strongly by these organizations.

Among the powerful organizations affiliated to the N.A.C. are the Eastern Federation of Unemployed and Emergency Workers which has branches in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Maryland; the National Unemployed League, with branches in Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, North Carolina, Mississippi and Kentucky; the Illinois Workers Alliance; the Wisconsin Federation of Workers Committees, and the American Workers Union with groups in

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FOR A NEW REVOLUTIONARY PARTY!

By JAMES P. CANNON

We celebrate the sixth anniversary of the Militant on the eve of our national conference which has to pass final decision on the proposal to unite forces with the A. W.P. and launch a new, independent, revolutionary party. From all present indications the conferences of both organizations, meeting simultaneously, will approve the recommendations of their respective national committees and conclude the fusion in a joint convention. If this turns out to be the case, as we are confident it will, our sixth anniversary will mark the conclusion of the first phase of our historic struggle, first as a faction then as a separate independent group, and open up a new chapter of joint struggle with other progressive forces on a broader basis. The time is ripe for such a decisive turn, and we are ready for it.

The prospect of fusion between the C.L.A. and the A.W.P. has become the center of interest in the radical labor movement. It has already produced sharp reactions in all circles, ranging from panic in the camp of Stalinism and hysterical appeals to the "rank and file" of both organizations to hold back, to hasty manoeuvres of the pseudo-"Militants" in the S. P. to open the doors to penitent ex-communists in the hope that they will provide the S.P. with a "left" covering to halt the movement toward the new party. As for the numerous small, independent groups, which have expressed, by the fact of their existence, the confusion and disintegration of the movement, the question of our fusion has thrown them into internal crises which herald splits or liquidation in practically every case.

The Influence of the Fusion

The actual accomplishment of the fusion will produce far deeper repercussions. It will mark the opening of a new stage in the process of differentiation and regroupment in the general movement of the advanced workers. If the participants on both sides prove equal to their task and their opportunity, the fusion will decisively influence the future developments of the political labor movement in the U.S. And it will begin to assert this decisive influence from the very start. The two-fold significance of the move will not be lost on those who observe political developments, especially on those who want to take a part in shaping their course.

First, the fusion will represent the first step toward unification of the revolutionary forces that has been seen for thirteen years! Since the merger of the C.P. with the left-socialists (Workers Council group) at the end of 1921 there has been no such thing as any two or more groups getting together. The C.P. expelled the left wing (the "Trotskyites") in 1928. Less than a year later the right wing (Love-stones) who had officiated in this expulsion were themselves expelled. The Proletarian Party, itself a small sect, suffered two splits. A multiplicity of little grouplets ap-

The Post-Lenin Scene

The general picture of the whole post-Lenin period in the United States has been a picture of disintegration. The masses of workers awakening to class consciousness were repelled by it. They left the parties, or passed through them, or stood aside from all organizations, waiting for a sign of unity and order in the general chaos. The fusion of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P., that is, of the two largest and strongest of the independent groups, is bound to signify for such workers the opening of a contrary process, the process of the unification of the revolutionary forces. By that fact alone our fusion will stir the deepest interest and attention of the non-party radical workers and help to break their passivity with regard to organization.

On the other hand, and this is no less important, the formal proclamation of a new party will bring all speculation about a return to the C.P., on the part of those who have broken with it on principle grounds, to a definite conclusion. This will leave no more room for those who have occupied a halfway position. They will have to choose. At the same time the launching of the new party, irreconcilably hostile to social democracy in all colors and variations, slams the

door in the faces of those weaklings and deserters of the revolutionary cause who want to "unite" everybody in the Socialist party and close the debate with them. The new party thus deepens the split in the political movement with the reformist and centrist parties, and gives a sharper meaning and more definite, finished form, while it heralds the unity of the revolutionary elements in the struggle against them. The chaos and disintegration will give place to a clear line-up of parties: Social Democratic, Stalinist (Centrist) and the party of revolutionary Marxism. Small groups and individuals will find their place in one or the other, and in making their selection they will disclose their real tendency unflinchingly. The issue will be clear.

The Test of Present Conditions

The process of clarification, unification and split, in a word, the process of regroupment on party lines and the liquidation of separate groups, has not been invented or set into motion by the groups or parties, all of which, without exception, are caught in it. The process in the radical political movement is taking place under the impact of momentous developments in the working class of the country. International events have played their part, especially in the fundamental ideological regroupment, but it is the rising mass movement of the American workers which is putting all the organizations and groups to the test, shaking them

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REVIEWING THE NEWS

Weekly Prosperity Note

James M. Curley, Democratic governor-elect of Massachusetts, sees prosperity rounding the corner at last. "For the first time in five years," he declared, "you can ride through Massachusetts at night and see factory lights burning."

Last week Marion Davies, on her return from London to the hills of Hollywood, was astonished to see a New Yorker smiling. In an interview she declared she was sure the smile indicated the return of prosperity.

Morning, Noon and Night

Speaking before the morning session of the National Conference on Economic Security, Federal Relief Administrator Hopkins brought the session to a high pitch when he declared for "a bold stroke" to unite all phases of economic security into a comprehensive program.

The Majesty of the Law

The following should sum up the entire proceedings of the Vanderbilt baby for our readers who usually do not go in for that kind of copy in the press. We call from the Times of Nov. 15. "Mr. Justice Carewe decided that the child, Gloria Vanderbilt, is not to have for the future the life that it had from the death of its father up ill June, 1932."

Idea for a Brainstruter With Streamlined Brains

The latest settlement offered the Paterson Dyers was rejected by the workers because it contained a "truce" clause which would have deprived them of the right to strike. This marks the official end of President Roosevelt's great industrial truce scheme, a bare month after it was suggested. What next?

Perhaps the President will suggest an "Industrial Peace of God" whereby employers will be prohibited from cutting wages, firing union men or locking out employees from Friday until Tuesday.

This is no snippy head for a Winchell wisecrack. It is the name of the Dental Mechanics Union official paper. It's a corker. It stands up well with that greatest of all trade union papers, the Minneapolis Organizer.

Organization Notes - N.Y.

This Sunday, Nov. 4th, we held another meeting in Paterson. Right in the heart of the strike territory, at Oakley Hall, A. J. Muste, chairman of the American Workers Party, Hugo Oehler, Industrial Organizer of the Communist League of America and Arnold Johnson, Secretary of the National Unemployed Leagues spoke on the dyers strike and the necessity for joint action on the part of the strikers and the unemployed.

The Columbus Day United Anti-Fascist Committee is carrying the battle into the enemy's country. Continuing its offensive against the reactionary, disruptive tactics of the Stalinist controlled League Against War and Fascism, it has issued an open letter to the members of the latter organization and warned them that their organization is perpetuating the disunity which led to the defeat of the German working class.

Continuing the struggle to weld a united working class movement to smash fascism, our newly organized Spartacus Youth branch of Harlem has succeeded in organizing another open-air meeting in Yorkville against the local Nazi-crop of fascism.

Feeling the pressure of the campaign of the Columbus Day United Anti-Fascist Committee the local prophet of the Daily Worker, Clarence Hathaway called a meeting at Irving Plaza to explain to the workers why it was impossible to unite, as a matter of "principle" with the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites.

This Thursday, Oct. 25th, both our Brownsville branch of the C.L.A. and the local Spartacus led an anti-eviction demonstration, in which over 4,000 workers participated.

Our shop fraction of the Majestic Novelty Shop has issued the first issue of its paper "Our Voice". The 500 copies that were distributed among the shop workers on both the day and night shifts were very well received.

The second installment of the series of articles on the Communist Party has been held over to next week. The article proved to be of extreme length and pressure of space forbids its publication in this issue.

IN THE TRADE UNIONS

A Worker Looks at the A. F. of L. Convention

Those employers who were expectantly awaiting the A. F. of L. Convention, to see if that highest and most powerful body of American labor was going to reorganize their institution so that labor could more efficiently fight the oppressive tactics of the employer, can now lean back in their swivel chairs and rest in peace.

Consider the average worker. But does he think of the convention? It has been the writer's experience, and he is a member of a skilled craft that has long been organized, that the skilled worker wastes little of his time thinking of the A. F. of L. He knows there is such an organization because once or twice a year he hears a letter read in his local union requesting that body to take some action on a question, usually one of no particular interest to him.

The A. F. of L. has never stirred in him any desire for more effective solidarity by actually bringing down to his little local union some plan whereby his condition could be improved upon, or made more secure. To him the A. F. of L. is just another convention of little more importance than the Elks or Moose and not nearly so interesting as the ballyhoo of the Legion.

The only thing the A. F. of L. officials learned in the past year was that the employers can and do disobey the law. They have not yet learned that their moral persuasion and that of the President of the United States can prevent it.

Regardless of whether the ordinary worker knows it or not, a convention was held and some organizational changes were made. Chief of these were on industrial unionism. The final decision of the convention on this issue will meet the present needs of labor very well, providing the international officials of the craft unions do not step in and demand jurisdictional rights.

Some 60 unemployed organizations in six other states will also have local demonstrations on Nov. 24. Among the larger cities involved are New York, Baltimore, Camden, Bridgeport, Schenectady, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Allentown, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Dallas, Springfield, Ill., Toledo, Columbus, Wheeling, Tampa, Palo Alto.

In a number of these cities, locals of the American Federation of Labor have endorsed National Unemployment Day and the eight-point platform, and will mobilize members to participate in the demonstration of the unemployed. In Toledo, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Allentown and other cities relations between unemployed and trade unions have been solidified during recent strikes and the unemployed are now seeking to line up the official labor movement for their cause.

The N.A.C. states that it has received reports from several supporting bodies that police are planning to interfere with the demonstrations. The Committee states, however, that all participating bodies intend to carry through orderly demonstrations and to maintain their right to present grievances and demands.

The class in "The History of the International Left Opposition (Trotskyites)" with Max Shachtman as instructor, went off to a flying start last Wednesday. There is still time for those who wish to register for the entire course to do so. The fee for the entire course is \$1.50. Single lectures may be attended at 20c per lecture. The class meets every Wednesday at 8 P.M. at the headquarters, 144 2nd Avenue.

The drive ends DECEMBER 31st. Take advantage of this opportunity. Get a subscription to the MILITANT and one of the Marxist classics at a considerable saving. Send the literature to one of your friends who you think should read it, and keep the subscription, or, if you prefer, the other way round. Regular rates are: One year—\$1.00; Six months—50c.

Unemployed to March Nov. 24

Can you help us feed the delegates by donating any of the following articles, in any amounts? If so, please inform the Convention Arrangements Committee at 144 Second Ave. and we will send for the contributions.

We can use: Eggs, butter, sugar, bacon, ham, coffee, tea, fruits, bread and bakings of any and all kinds.

The Convention Arrangements Committee wants the services of eight League or Spartacus Youth members throughout the convention, to help in the kitchen. Report to Rose Karnser at the National Office.

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LETTERS OF SACCO AND VANZETTI..... 75c. IMPERIALISM—by Lenin..... 50c. STATE AND REVOLUTION—by Lenin..... 50c. EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE—by Marx..... 50c.

And for those who would like to get a proletarian novel, we offer: THE ROAD—by Marlen, \$1.50. With one year sub.\$1.75

FOOD FOR DELEGATES

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The Crisis Is Still With Us!

Although we did not carry on any kind of a campaign to solicit greetings for this issue except by an announcement in the Militant, a number of our readers have responded. Some of the accompanying letters are quoted here because they show what our paper means to our subscribers.

Comrade Gussie Krakofsky, who never fails to respond to a call, brought in one dollar.

W. J. of Oakland responded with \$2 and John Dane of the same city with \$1, while C. of Minneapolis sent us 30c worth of postage stamps, all he could spare.

Bill Young of Boston writes: "Enclosed find 2/3 of the money I had on me when I got the latest Militant. Best wishes for the new Party." Enclosed \$2.

Marion McL. of Iowa sends \$1 and says: "Am much interested in the coming convention of the Communist League and the American Workers Party. I trust that this time the merger will be successful."

"Find enclosed \$3. At present this is all I can send to keep the wolf from your door without inviting my own wolf in."

From another college student in Pennsylvania we get the following: "I read with horror the news that the Militant may have to miss an issue. Right now there is a great need for the Militant on the campus. I received the bundle this morning, and they are all gone. One of the professors has asked me to serve it to him weekly. I am taking a dollar from my food money and am sending it. . . . Here's to the success of the Militant and may it never miss an issue."

If only enough of our readers felt as this comrade does, and would act accordingly, our linotype and press comrades would not have to miss so many meals, and the Militant would never have to waste space for "ALARMS".

A number of our branches took the ALARM seriously and came to the assistance of the Militant: The Downtown Branch of Local New York collected from its Pledgers as did the Harlem Branch. The Cleveland Branch rushed its payment on the bundle account.

Comrade Koehler of the Youngstown Branch writes: "After sending what money we had in the treasury for Convention Assessments this morning, I received my copy of the Militant and had a chance to read your appeal. Have been able to raise \$3 and am sending this to you now."

MARCH OF EVENTS

Lull in the French Storm

The fall of the Doumergue government and its replacement by a new "truce" ministry can in no real sense be called a turn in the French situation. Rather it can be characterized as a momentary lull in the storm which must inevitably break out anew more violently and more intensely than before.

The mistake of Doumergue—looking back at events from this distance—was that he thought he could repeat the coup d'etat of February 19th, but evidently he had failed to prepare the ground sufficiently so as to force the support of the frightened middle class.

Herriot, leader of the upper layers of this class as organized in the Radical Socialist Party, was compelled, despite his outspoken fear of throwing the entire issue of state power into the streets, to take this risk in opposing the completion of Bonapartist rule because of the clear evidences of split in his own ranks if he supported this move.

The forces unleashed in French society in the February days will not be dissipated by Herriot's astute politics. The imminence of fascism acts as a giant wedge cleaving in two the upper and lower sections of the middle class, each section moving in an opposite direction.

In terms of social dynamics Herriot's support of the new "truce" government ties the one section of the middle class into closer union with the Bonapartist and fascist forces in France, while on the surface avoiding the break with the exploited and misled bulk of the petty bourgeoisie. It is necessary that the vanguard of the working class win this lower section to the side of the united front against fascism in the temporary lull.

War Politics and Diplomacy

The evidences of the feverish preparations all over the world for the impending imperialist war continue to accumulate. The naval conference in London reveals Japan bargaining with England for aid against the U.S. The constant denials of an alliance against America by British diplomacy mislead nobody. For the concessions made by the Japanese to England in the matter of textile competition and trade in Manchuria (including the sale of oil), the English bourgeoisie supports the demand of the Japanese militarists for naval parity.

Whether an actual military alliance such as is hoped for by Japanese diplomacy will be consummated probably will not become known—until actual hostilities commence. Meantime the fear of British colonial leaders that this is the case is voiced by General Smuts in his warning that England had better side with America.

Japan meantime utilizes the short time remaining at her disposal before opening her attack on the Soviet Union to attempt to bring her technology as nearly up to date as possible,—to overcome the handicap that exists as against America. A government sponsored expansion program is being put into effect. Existing mills and equipment are being modernized and enlarged. The government looks to the Japan Iron Manufacturing Co. to bring about by this process a reduction in the present high price of steel and iron manufactures.

New blast furnaces, electric furnaces, gasoline distillation plants, mills of all descriptions are being erected. Meantime Japan's imports of scrap steel and iron from the U.S. reach new high marks, breaking all records. While the serious drought that affected the operations of the large Yawata Plant in the Kyushu district undoubtedly helps bring this about, it is none the less an indication of the feverish war preparations.

Soviet diplomacy attempts meantime to meet the threat from both East and West in Stalinist fashion. It continues its policy of sacrificing the interests of the world proletariat under the guise of defense of the Soviet Fatherland. It strives to guarantee the maintenance of the status quo in the West in order to face the enemy in the East. To ward off the threat of attack by fascist Germany, it concludes a military alliance with the French bourgeoisie at the same time utilizing the Stalinist Party to guarantee the French capitalists against attack by the revolutionary proletariat. The powerful Soviet air fleet is thrown into the scales—as it was not when Hitler threatened the German workers—to defend French capitalism against attack by this same Hitler. Only the new fresh winds blowing strongly across France, bringing new clarity and new hope into the ranks of the workers, can sweep aside the poisonous effects of this false diplomacy and, under the guidance and leadership of the Bolshevik-Leninists, show the proletariat once more the road to revolution.

—JACK WEBER.

WORLD OF LABOR

Lessons of the Spanish Revolution

The massacres of workers continue. After the massacres and the Vienna days, the massacres and the Spanish days. This is a new defeat in the struggle of the workers against reaction in Europe, but a defeat whose revolutionary power strikes fear into the forces of the world counter-revolution.

Yes. On either side of the Atlantic, from the heroic Asturian miners to the thousands of fighters in Amsterdam and America the bourgeois counter-revolution has to reckon with the armed and tenacious resistance of the awakened masses. The blotting out of socialism which the bourgeoisie hopes to bring about by savage repression is everywhere shown to be a dream. The revolutionary workers' movement, extending over the entire world may perhaps be retarded here and there by bloody repressions but it can never be wiped out. But to overcome the defeats the revolutionary proletariat vanguard must be keenly alive to the epoch we are now living through, and especially to conditions in Europe.

Under the pressure of internal and international difficulties, the bourgeoisie in every country finds itself constrained to place itself on a subversive and reactionary soil, that is to say, it is forced to abandon the soil of so-called democracy and legality. It is the bourgeoisie, as a whole, which causes civil war by arming fascism whose only issue on the international arena is a new slaughter of the people.

More than ever, the cannibalism of the ruling class on the one hand and the bloody sacrifices of the toilers on the other, should convince the people that there is only one method to abridge, to simplify, to reduce the deadly suffering caused by capitalist decay: revolutionary struggle. Struggle or death; revolutionary struggle or annihilation; in this manner the bourgeoisie, which is determined to destroy everything to save its doomed regime, irrevocably poses the question.

Toilers, the example of Spain after that of Vienna, demonstrates again that the splendid heroism of the combatants does not suffice to assure victory over the enemy; undoubtedly physical force can only be defeated by physical force. With all our heart we are with our defeated brothers whatever their tendency. But precisely in order to avenge the victims and to liberate the prisoners it is necessary to prepare the new struggle, and this preparation, in the first place, should consist of open implacable criticism of the mistakes and the weaknesses of the workers' organizations themselves. After so many lies the proletariat needs the cure of truth.

The Spanish events should help the proletariat of other countries and particularly the French proletariat to learn in the fire of their experience. The processes which are hatching in France have long ago taken a mature form in Spain.

The Socialist party, carried to power by the spontaneous revolution, made every effort to arrest it and to save the bourgeois regime. New revolutionary attempts were crushed. This policy of parliamentary socialism contributed in stabilizing and strengthening anarchism and syndicalism, two tendencies which are fatal for the revolution. The Stalinists, on their part, with their policy of social-fascism did everything to repel the workers into anarchism or to keep them in the parliamentary party.

It is this fatal triangle: social democracy, Stalinism, anarchism, which has ruined the masses by dooming to defeat a series of heroic attempts and by giving the reaction time to prepare and to arm itself.

The Socialist party finally understood the mortal danger. It made serious preparations for struggle—but in a few months it was not able to offset the fruits of its past policy. The anarcho-syndicalists however, remained hostile to the socialist initiative and could not find anything better to do than to empty their rancor on the head of the revolution. The reaction had thus gained the opportunity of free movement on the chess board by occupying one position after another.

But it would be futile to expect a new revolution now; it would be equally false to class Lerroux, Gil Robles and the fascist groups in the same category. It is a matter of different classes and different political tendencies. Not the revolution is on the order of the day, but an internal conflict in the camp of those who have defeated the Spanish October. The party of the proletariat should carefully follow the internal relations in this camp, which is ten times more heterogeneous than Hitler's camp and does not possess one one-hundredth of the discipline of the Nazis. It is superfluous to say that a sharp, even an armed conflict (which is hardly excluded), can again change the situation in favor of the proletariat.

Miserable philistines declare that military technique has emerged victorious from the revolution of the masses. They draw the conclusion that the armed struggle of the proletariat is condemned in advance. Our conclusion is the direct opposite. Armed struggle which is the inevitable outcome of the class struggle of our epoch can only be victorious on the basis of a revolutionary policy which tests the cadres and wins the masses by giving them a clear analysis of the real situation.

The army of the revolution is not improvised at the minute that struggle is forced on it by the enemy. The working class must be prepared systematically for unremitting struggle, it must create the workers' militias. That is the lesson that should be drawn from the Spanish events.

Civil war, like all war, requires methodical preparation, a firm and capable leadership. We know that only a revolutionary proletarian party can assure this leadership. But we do not draw the false conclusion from the fact that the existing parties of the two internationals, socialist and communist, have once again demonstrated their bankruptcy, and hence the necessity of new proletarian parties, that it is necessary first to build the new party in order to struggle against fascism. The proletarian vanguard has begun to build this party in struggle; and it is in this struggle that it will grow in every country.

If the two internationals were capable of energetic initiative they long ago would have appealed to the working masses for the boycott against the butchers of the Spanish toilers. The negotiations in Brussels on the contrary, have demonstrated the complete bankruptcy of the two internationals, which still occupy the posts of leadership in the workers' movement. While the workers in Spain battle arms in hand the delegates of the two bureaucracies from Moscow and Zurich hold "fruitless and impotent negotiations" in Brussels.

Workers, the road to victory still remains open to you. There is no time to lose. Unity of action is a step forward in barring the road to fascism. But in order that this unity of action be effective and efficacious it must not be limited to agreements between the tops, on the parliamentary sphere, it must involve and organize all the working people over the entire country; every barrier between the workers must be broken down; every worker no matter what his political opinion, can find himself in fraternal contact with his class brothers. The workers' alliance in Spain would have been able to oppose and certainly would have been able to offer a much more stubborn and more effective resistance to the attacks of the troops of Gil Robles-Lerroux, if in advance

NEW YORK TRADE UNIONISTS QUIT C. P. JOIN MOVEMENT FOR NEW PARTY IN U. S.

Comrades Taylor and Terry, signatories to this statement were the organizers and leaders of the progressive opposition group which conducted a fight in the big electrical workers local number 3 against the corrupt administrations of the local and of the International Brotherhood. This remarkable fight, which attracted nationwide attention and claimed the life of one of the opposition members, resulted in the resignation of the International president, Broach. When renewed later, due to continued gangster methods employed by the local administration in shooting and wounding several of the opposition members. Taylor and Terry were the main organizers and leaders in a broad rank and file movement of many A. F. of L. building trades unions. The gangster officials were removed and convicted, much of the trade union racketeering was effectively exposed and several of the progressive measures sponsored by the opposition were accepted by the electrical workers local union.

Comrade Taylor is a member of the C.P. since 1926 and comrade Terry since 1930. Both are as active as ever in their leading capacities within the progressive trade union movement.—Ed.

The present period demands the greatest decisiveness and unity of action by the working class. The mistakes of the party both on the trade union and political field has resulted not only in retarding working class unity against capitalist reaction but has also served to strengthen the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and the social reformists.

The realization of the mistakes of the party, long ago transformed into tendencies alien to revolutionary Marxism, has finally forced upon me the conviction that my place is no longer in the ranks of the official Communist party. The impossibility of a free and frank discussion and a possible correction of mistakes has strengthened that conviction.

For the past eight years I have been engaged in trade union work. The major portion of my activity has been confined to the A. F. of L. Building Trades Opposition. I will therefore confine my statement to this aspect of party work.

"Independent Action" The party some few years ago issued the slogan of "Independent action over and above the heads of the bureaucrats." The party fractions everywhere were instructed to conduct "independent strike action". Assuming for a moment that the slogan of "independent action" is correct, it is therefore logical to conclude from the content of the slogan itself, that the opposition forces within the trade unions are properly organized to conduct "independent action over and above the heads of the bureaucrats".

The use of this slogan in the course of the actual struggle, however, soon convinced us that the party fractions within the trade unions were not only conducting "independent struggles over and above the A. F. of L. bureaucrats" but that those "struggles" were also carried on over and above the heads of the rank and file workers themselves.

Indifference to the organizational strength of the Opposition in the practical use of the slogan "independent action" soon resulted in liquidation not only of weakly organized opposition groups and party fractions, but of entire local unions.

Local 499 Painters A glaring example of the results of independent "strike action" will be found in reviewing the recent activities of the party fraction in Local 499 of the Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America. In the recent painters strike called by the officials of District Council No. 9, Local 499, under the influence of the party fraction, led the movement for independent "strike action" . . . organized its own picket lines, pulled jobs and conducted strike action "over and above the heads of the bureaucrats" . . .

Naturally much confusion resulted. It had organized the tolling population into fighting formations in every factory and every workers' district.

Unity of action! But that should signify: preparation of the masses for the inevitable struggle. Form the workers' militia. No more proletarian massacres, but the organization of a victorious struggle. Meetings, resolutions are useful for the Spanish proletariat in grips with frenzied reaction on the condition that this sympathy becomes active and energetic.—Petitions and meetings leave the Spanish bourgeoisie as well as those of other countries indifferent. In face of the cannibalism of the counter-revolution let us organize our united front of struggle; let us create our workers' militia. Long live the armed struggle of the Spanish workers! Long live the proletarian power! Long live the IVth International, organizing the proletarian vanguard of all countries for the victory of world socialism!

—The International Secretariat, International Communist League

ed. The strike conducted by the District Council and the "Independent strike" movement led by local 499 created hesitancy in both camps. This condition was further and more seriously aggravated by the complete isolation of left wing influence and militancy from the strike movement conducted by the District Council.

"Independent strike action" was smashed squarely on the head by Philip Zausner and his District Council No. 9. Local 499 had its charter revoked and its members instructed to enter other locals. The Painters Protective Association (rank and file opposition) will not so very quickly recover from this blow.

Already rumblings of dissatisfaction with the party leadership issue from below! Many party members in soft tones and among themselves complain that Weinstein's articles in the Daily Worker and the Rank and File Federation proclaiming victorious achievements after each defeat do not by any chance turn defeat into victory but lay the groundwork for future defeats. Weinstein believes in doing "big things in a big way. . ." He does not sit down with rank and file workers and together with them formulate policy and tactics. No, Weinstein is a "leader of the masses"—even though he leads those very same masses completely out of the painters' union and into a state of demoralization.

Local 2717 Carpenters For years the party boasted about the "good work" of the party fraction within local 2717 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. The party fraction completely dominated local 2717. The members of the local paraded in the party's line of march on May Day, supported the party's campaigns and sent delegates to the "Hunger Marchers" . . . All went well until the party considered the tempo of activation too slow and insisted upon "independent action" for local 2717. From then on it was "independent action" for local 2717 both against and over the heads of the District Council in New York and the Executive Council of the Brotherhood.

In the conflict with the District Council the party instructed its fraction in local 2717 to prevent the local from paying per capita tax to the General Office of the Brotherhood. But the General Office with the help of the District Council simply liquidated the local.

Local 2717—as a single local—one out of more than 25 locals in New York City and vicinity, was forced into "independent action". Had the party fraction within local 2717 coupled the fight with a program, on an inter-local basis, dealing with such demands as (1) lower dues, (2) protection of the union standing of the unemployed, (3) free speech and democracy, (4) reduction of the salaries of officials, both the party fraction and local 2717 would today be on firm ground! Such a program if properly applied on the basis of mobilizing all locals, should have resulted in the creation of a broad rank and file inter-local movement capable of effectively dealing with the corrupt officials of the New York District Council and of transforming the local unions into fighting instruments of the workers.

What is the result of this kind of "independent action"? In both instances those of the carpenters local 2717 and painters local 499, the left wing had obtained a strong basis. Two local unions under its influence thus provided a good beginning for a serious fight against the reactionaries. It could have been extended by careful building of left wing groups in the other locals, cementing them all together and fighting on the basis of remaining within the A. F. of L. But the party followed the policy of capture and split with the result that it captured nothing, stands discredited as a splitter and its fractions are now almost completely divorced from the rank and file. They are a negligible factor in the life of the unions.

The position of the corrupt A. F. of L. officials has been strengthened at the expense of the rank and file into whose ranks temporary demoralization has set in as a result of the series of defeats prepared by the "advance guard" of the working class.

Rival Unions The creation of rival unions has been the party policy during the last several years and it is a sore spot which spreads its poison throughout the A. F. of L. Building Trades Opposition. By rival unions I mean the artificial creation of new unions where the A. F. of L. already has a mass basis. The Independent Alteration Painters Union (T.U.U.L.) was organized some few years ago, with a wage scale and working conditions below that of the Brotherhood (A. F. of L.) The Independent Alteration Painters Union grew rapidly in the first stages of its existence.

In the course of time there developed vicious warfare between the Brotherhood and Independent Union for the control of Alteration paintshops. In the course of these struggles the membership of the Independent union gave a good ac-

count of themselves. The rank and file proved themselves militant fighters against Zausner's paid gangsters.

Zausner and his District Council No. 9 lost no time in denouncing the Communists within the Brotherhood locals as "dual unionists" whose intention it was to split the Brotherhood. . . . Zausner attempted to convince the rank and file that while their families were denied the necessities of life due to unemployment, the Communists had organized a dual union with a wage scale and working conditions below that of the Brotherhood, thus further deepening their own misery.

In the attempts to "blacken" the Communists with the material supplied to him by the Party leadership, Zausner was partly successful. Thus the prestige of the party members among the rank and file was lowered.

In the latter part of 1933 Zausner created his famous organizing campaign. Many hundreds of workers joined the Brotherhood. Had the original and correct policy of the party "into the A. F. of L." not been renounced and had the party members in the Brotherhood locals themselves developed a broad rank and file movement for the organization of the unorganized, the entire membership of the Independent union could have had the possibility of joining the Brotherhood locals and thus greatly strengthened the left wing.

Some four or five weeks ago, at a meeting of the leading building trades faction, of which at the time they were members, comrades Taylor and Terry quoted William Z. Foster's pamphlet "Organize the Unorganized", which was printed in 1926.

These comrades pointed out their agreement with the major portion of the section in Foster's pamphlet dealing with the danger of dual unions. In answer to the assertions of the comrades, the secretary of the A. F. of L. Building Trades Opposition, stated that Foster's pamphlet was written in 1926 and therefore cannot apply today! A real left winger would answer that this position was correct then and is correct now. But comrades Taylor and Terry were accused of having adopted Lovestone's position on dual unions which of course did not clear up the matter at all.

The artificial creation of rival unions has been a party policy for years. It has been the Comintern policy under the Stalin regime. Its disastrous results have been division and splits in the ranks of the organized workers, isolating the militants from the mass movement, discrediting them and strengthening the hands of the reactionary A. F. of L. officials. At this moment when the masses are actually going to the A. F. of L. unions the party is up a blind alley with its trade union policy. It is proceeding to liquidate its T.U.U.L. unions, not by an orderly retreat attempting to again entrench the militants in the mass unions, but by a route which will make the left wing elements impotent for a long time to come. Thus the failure to correct a false policy in time leads to new serious mistakes.

Bureaucracy Some few weeks ago a member of the A. F. of L. Committee appeared at the meeting of the electrical workers opposition ostensibly to get support for a dance arranged by the committee. He immediately informed the chairman that his topic for discussion was to be "Affiliation of the Electrical Workers Group to the A. F. of L. Committee."

This raised a storm of protest from the chairman and other leading members of the opposition. The question of the electrical workers' affiliation to the A. F. of L. Committee was never brought to the attention of the electrical workers' fraction. Nor was it first submitted to the executive committee of the A. F. of L. Committee tried to "catch the workers by surprise", as it were.

Comrade S. is a member of the N. Y. District Bureau of the C.P. and a member of the painters' frac-

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL announces a series of 12 lecture classes by

MAX SHACHTMAN on

The History of the Communist League (Trotskyists) Every Wednesday, beginning Nov. 14, at 8 P.M. at 144 Second Ave. The fee for entire course is \$1.50; or 20 cents for a single lecture.

Although the following courses of the school are already in session, it is still possible to register for them:

- 1. A.B.C. of Marxism—Carl Cowl. Every Friday at 8 P.M.
2. State & Revolution—J. Weber. Every Monday at 8 P.M.
3. American History—F. Morrow. Every Wednesday at 8 P.M.

The fee for these courses is \$1.50 for the entire course or 20 cents for any single session. Registrations are taken daily at the office, 144 Second Avenue, New York City.

tion. Through the initiative of the comrades S. and Weinstein a leaflet was distributed amongst painters signed in the name of the Opposition and calling for the defense of the Soviet Union.

This amazed comrades Taylor and Terry (and not them alone as has since been learned). These comrades thereupon questioned comrade S. as follows:

(Q.) Was the leaflet calling for the defense of the Soviet Union discussed and then authorized by the Opposition?

(A.) No.

(Q.) Then why was it issued in the name of the Opposition?

(A.) Some times it is necessary to do things over the heads of the rank and file and thus force a discussion of the issue. That is how the bureaucracy "defends" the Soviet Union. These are only some small examples of party bureaucracy. The real situation in the party is that no democracy exists, no criticism of the leadership or its policies is tolerated, thus resulting in a large turnover of membership.

Political Work

Although absorbed in the trade union work I did however closely observe the work of the party and the Comintern on the political field. The discerning comrade was able to see a constant degeneration in what the party and Comintern term "Leninist theory and practice. . . ."

Zinoviev, reporting for the Executive Committee of the C.I. at the Fourth Comintern Congress, said the following about the "United Front":

"The United Front means the leading of the working masses in the daily class war. It means that we are ready to march against capitalism side by side with all workers, be they Anarchists, Syndicalists, Christian Socialists, Social Democrats, or whatever you please to join forces with them in the daily struggle. . . . We accept the fact that we shall often have to sit at the table with the treacherous leaders. The foregoing is what the United Front means and nothing else." . . .

Lenin attended the 4th Congress of the Comintern. If there was anything alien to Leninism in the above explanation of the meaning of the United Front why did not Lenin or any other member of the E.C.C.I. tell Zinoviev that he was wrong: that there is only one united front and that is the "United Front from below" . . .

Obviously Zinoviev stated the Leninist position on the united front.

On Oct. 22, 1918 Lenin stated the following:

"Considering the power and the degree of organization of the German proletariat, we may believe that the German revolution will solve a hundred international problems. . . . We must not forget that Germany forms the most important link in the revolutionary chain. The success of the world revolution depends to the greatest degree upon Germany. . . ."

But the process of "Building Socialism in one country" cannot be interrupted, though what happens to be at stake is the German revolution, upon which the "success of world revolution depends". . . .

Revision of the Leninist United Front coupled with the treachery of the Social Democratic leaders; Stalin's "Socialism in one country"; the insane theory of "Social Fascism"; the retreat from revolutionary internationalism, those among others, are the reasons that made it possible for Fascism to assume power in Germany.

How did the Stalin dominated International greet the ascension of Hitler to power? In the usual manner. Every defeat of the proletariat is proclaimed a "weakening of international capitalism". "The Fascist reaction is not proof of bourgeois strength, but weakness. The bourgeoisie has chosen Fascism, terror and war, because the working class has grown stronger. . . ." (Communist Youth Pravda, March 4, 1934).

The downfall of the German proletariat proved to be the downfall of the Comintern. It is now necessary to build a new party and a Fourth International. We hope to help in the process of building both! The Communist League of America and the American Workers Party are about to achieve organic unity as a step towards the creation of the New Party.

We have carefully studied these efforts for the creation of the new party, with which we are in agreement. The proclamation of the New Party will be a festival occasion for the American working class.

—JACK TAYLOR. STATEMENT OF COMRADE ALFRED TERRY

Not desiring to repeat what has already been said in the above statement of Comrade Jack Taylor, I take this opportunity of stating that I withdraw from the ranks of the official C.P.U.S.A. for the reasons stated in the above document. The above statement coincides with my personal experiences as party member and in particular my experiences along trade-union lines. —ALFRED TERRY.

QUESTION BOX

A. S., CHICAGO—

Question: What is the Marxian basis of the theory of the inevitability of the social revolution? Is this theory fatalistic and, being sure of ultimate victory, does it pacify the working class in its struggle against capitalism?

Answer: There is no inevitability, in Marxian theory, in the sense that the working class whether they struggle or not MUST be victorious. It is not only not theoretically excluded, but even a probability for the present historical epoch, that the failure of the proletariat to build revolutionary parties and seize power in time may result in the victory of reaction on a world-wide scale (fascism, destruction of the Soviet Union, etc.) and in such a destruction of the world's productive forces (imperialist wars, restriction of production to a minimum inside national boundaries, etc.) that humanity may be set back for many years. It is of course difficult to imagine that the working class will not eventually destroy the capitalist system since all the laws of motion of present day society tend in this direction. Only in this HISTORICAL sense can the social revolution be conceived as inevitable. There are no guarantees, however, as to when or under what circumstances it will take place.

As to any idea that Marxian theory "pacifies" the workers. Marx stated his concept as follows:

"What I did was to prove the following: (1) That the existence of classes is connected only with certain historical struggles which are characteristic of the development of production. (2) That class war indisputably leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . ." (Quotation by Lenin in "State and Revolution")

How can this perspective be considered as fatalistic? What is it that leads to the proletarian dictatorship? Class War! If the proletarians were to sit at home then they would not be participating in the class struggle and the failure to achieve emancipation would be assured.

Even though "he does not make it out of the whole cloth, man makes his own history. . . ."

Question: Does Social Democracy accept the theory of inevitability?

Answer: This is a rather peculiar question since the Social Democracy is not revolutionary but reformist. Since it rejects the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, it certainly cannot be accused of saying that this is inevitable. However, it tells the workers that if they make proper use of the ballot box and elect to power Socialist candidates, the latter can and will then legislate the social revolution into being. One can with justice, therefore, say that the Social Democracy claims a Socialist Society to be inevitable provided that the workers don't forget to vote Socialist on election day.

B. Y., HARVARD—

Question: Shouldn't the question of "Self-Determination of the Black Belt" be left to be settled by the Negro workers themselves after the Revolution?

Answer: If the slogan of "Self-Determination" is rejected, i.e., if one accepts the position that the Negro problem in the U.S. is NOT that of a suppressed NATIONAL minority, your question, of course, becomes meaningless.

If the reverse position is adopted, however, the slogan would have to be advanced now since (1) our program is merely the formulation of the historic needs of society in every stage of its development; (2) acceptance of the slogan would imply our recognition that the Negroes have National aspirations of a progressive nature; and (3) even though the present reactionary position of capitalism makes the solution of the unfinished problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution the task of the proletarian revolution, (e.g. National Independence) it is precisely because of this fact that the struggle for these unfinished tasks becomes a lever toward the winning of proletarian power.

It must again be repeated that a direct answer to the question depends upon the attitude which one has to the slogan, and we do not wish to anticipate our national conference which will very shortly take a definite position on it.

ADAM B., CHICAGO—

Question: What part did the civil servants and the Federation des Fonctionnaires play in the French general strike of February?

Answer: We are informed by a comrade who was in Paris at the time that the civil servants were not called out, and because of the nature of the strike (a one day demonstration), there was no way of getting their attitude to it in action. Subsequent to that time, however, they have been taking a very active role in demonstrations etc. since the government's economy program is being carried out chiefly at their expense. (Pardon the delay in answering. A search through the files of both the radical and the capitalist press failed to disclose the information)

S. H., BRONX—

Question: What is meant by Bonapartism?

Answer: By this we usually mean a form of capitalist state power, without mass support, which bases itself upon the military, the police, and the bureaucracy and is able to do so because the hostile classes in society are balanced against each other, neither camp being able nor willing to upset the equilibrium which would result in a civil war, unless, as was done in Germany by the leadership of the S.P. and C.P., the opposing camp capitulates without a fight. It is usually a precondition, if a Bonapartist regime is to last for any length of time, that the classes shall have mutually exhausted each other in struggle. It is apparent from this general description of this historical phenomenon that the variety of forms which it can take are many and that it represents an unstable form of power comparable to a ball balanced on the top of a pyramid. (P.S. Haven't you read Trotsky's pamphlets?)

Acknowledgment:—Your editor wishes to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a letter from Comrade H. Sorz, of London, England, in which he submits to us, from another source, ("Communist International" No. 1, p. 18, published by C.P.G.B.) the same quotation from Lenin's "The Third International and Its Place in History" that was sent in by Comrade J. MacDonald and published in the "Question Box" of Nov. 3rd.

Correction: An unfortunate typographical error appeared in the "Question Box" of last week. A statement which was printed as ". . . ships of all capitalist countries including the U.S.S.R. . . ." should have read ". . . including the U.S.A. . . ."

November New International Out

The November issue of the New Internationalist is just off the press! Get your copy early. The October issue was completely sold out. Among the contents in this issue are letters from Marx, Trotsky and Rakovsky on Russia, a letter from Spain, an article on the Negro question, book reviews, archive material' etc., etc., etc. 15c per copy; \$1.50 a year; \$1 for seven issues.

For an Independent Movement

Our Road--The New Party

By JAMES P. CANNON

(Continued from Page 1)

by a conscious determination to get out of the propaganda circle into the broader movement. The actual fusion with the A.W.P., now on the order of the day, is in our understanding, a more decisive step on the same path; by no means a solution of the problem, for the combined forces of the two organizations are modest enough, but a real move in this direction.

The Fate of Our Critics

Those who built on firm foundations of principle proved to be most effective in mass work directly and in establishing relations and uniting with other progressive elements which, in the nature of the case, broadens the perspective mass activity in the future. The others, who did so much talking about "mass work" and condemned our preoccupation with propaganda as "sectarianism" (Weisbord, Field, etc.), made miserable failures with mass work, with propaganda, with organization and everything else.

The propaganda circle must give way now to the political party tied up with the movement of the masses. Under the impact of the rising activity of the general labor movement thousands upon thousands of workers are beginning to awaken to political life; others, who have fallen away in the period of reaction and stagnation, are being roused out of their passivity. These new forces will not go to little groups. They will seek political expression through the medium of one of the parties. This is understood, more or less, by all the political-minded people in all the groups. They are moving to adjust their activities accordingly, and, by the direction they take, they reveal their real colors.

Lovestone moves desperately to re-attach himself to the Stalinist party, in its swing to the right, before his group falls to pieces before his eyes. Gitlow-Zam-Goldman crawl back into the Socialist party to make good the "mistake" of 1919. We, who are neither Stalinists nor social democrats, move to unite with other forces to form an independent party opposed to both. Each, according to his opinion and his inner tendency, will find his place; except those who want to continue to "clarify" themselves in a small circle. For such there is no salvation and no political life in the period unfolding now.

Dilemma of Propaganda Groups

Degeneration is the fate of all propaganda groups which are not able to transform the nature of their activity and connect themselves with the broad movement when the hour strikes for such a transformation. We are prepared by our past for a great leap forward; but we ourselves must take the leap. We fought a good fight. It was historically necessary and progressive. Against unparalleled difficulties, against slander, isolation and poverty of resources we held tenaciously to our course. We have a right to be proud of our six-years' struggle. The history of the American movement does not know another example of a group that was put to such severe tests and stood up under them so firmly. We have survived. We have a right to be proud of our six years' struggle for principle; but it would be a tragedy if we should fail to understand that this struggle was not an end in itself but a period of preparation for the new opportunities and new tasks which stand before us now.

We must acknowledge that we are not immune from such a danger. A certain element of "sectarianism" is inseparable from the life of a group which lives a long time in isolation and is compelled by the needs of the movement, as we were, to preoccupy itself almost exclusively with theoretical work, with the intransigent struggle to clarify questions of principle. It is possible that we will have to face the decisive turn in our work with some "sectarian" hangovers in our

ranks, some hesitations and fears of the new tasks and the broader stream. Such a tendency could have only a negative influence now. We must face the problem squarely at the national conference and solve it. That means: we must not yield an inch to any kind of sectarian considerations in regard to the fusion and the launching of the new party.

Sectarianism can be a great danger in the present period of flux and change in the movement when vast new perspectives open up before us; when new opportunities to extend the basis and broaden the influence of revolutionary Marxism are ours to grasp. We shall oppose every manifestation of such a tendency with all our strength—in the League, and in the new party, also, if necessary.

Gitlow and Zam--Renegades!

But it goes without saying that our position in this regard has nothing in common with the position of those who seek to solve the problem of isolation by desertion of the revolutionary banner and entry into the Socialist party. Gitlow and Zam, by this shameful performance, only complete the evolution which began with their crusade against "Trotskyism" in the C. P. They were among the originators, or at least the earliest practitioners, of the art of misusing the Leninist weapon of denunciation, hurling the epithet "renegade" at honest revolutionists until the word lost all meaning. How hollow that all sounds now. They even console themselves with the thought that the horrible misuse of epithets by the Stalinists has engendered such a cynicism on the subject of renegacy that their own return to the "party of revolutionary unity" without a program, without a banner, without—as they announce—the slightest intention to even form a faction in this "united" party, will escape the indignant denunciation of the revolutionary workers. Never mind. The sword of Lenin has been blunted, but it will be sharpened again.

A really serious analysis of the situation, the trends and the currents in the workers' political movement in the United States does not lead to the conclusion that the Socialist Party is or will be the revolutionary party of the future, or that it is the best field for the activities of the revolutionists today. Of all the groups in the S.P. there is not one that is revolutionary, that is, bolshevik. There is not one leader that deserves the name of revolutionist. As for revolutionists entering the S. P. from the outside, they cannot do it, as the case of Gitlow and Zam proved, unless they give up their program and their banner. When revolutionists do that they cease to be revolutionists. The leaders of the "Militants" who, it must not be forgotten, are the leaders of the party nationally, exacted from Gitlow and Zam a public declaration that they have no intention of forming a communist faction, or any other kind of a faction, in the party. Then, to avoid a conflict with the Old Guard over their admittance, they chivied the ex-communists over to New Jersey—to join the S. P., so to speak, as second grade members.

Mistaken Analogies

Some people attempt to find an analogy between the contemptible course of Gitlow and Zam and the action of the French Bolshevik-Leninists in entering the S.F.I.O. as a group. But in reality there is no similarity at all. Shaken to its foundations by the crisis of the democratic state, the French Socialist party reacts to the broadest possible democracy in its own ranks; the leadership is not in a position to place limitations upon it. The Bolshevik-Leninists are able to enter the party without any conditions; they openly retained their whole program, their name, their banner, their press. They work within the Socialist Party for the same ideas that governed their activity as an outside group, and they do it openly. What does this course have in common with the skulking, shamefaced conduct of Gitlow?

We have supported the action of our French comrades. Under the exceptional circumstances prevailing in the French labor movement we think it was the correct tactical step. But it is obvious that the situation in this country is entirely different. Here the road is open for the creation of an independent party. It is a hard road, let us not deceive ourselves about that, but there is no other for those who have serious revolutionary aims and do not shrink from the implications of a struggle for them. It will be a hard up-hill fight. Those who have no stomach for it can be expected to stand aside on one pretext or another.

Goldman's Desertion

How else is one to explain the action of Albert Goldman in jumping over the fence into the S. P. at the moment our plans for fusion with the A.W.P. and the formal proclamation of the new party were nearing completion? What is that but the act of a strike-breaker?

Goldman, like Gitlow, forswearing any intention to form a faction in the S. P. and still less to proclaim the need of a split with the black hundred gang of the Old Guard, imagines that he has discovered a new political recipe. He is going to work wonders in the Socialist party all by himself by means of personal diplomacy, back-slapping the centrist leaders, and the devil knows what other clever tricks. It has been said that he even expects to remain a "friend" of the League and the new party. We have no need of such friends. The new party needs revolutionary militants who are firm in their convictions and loyal to their own organization. We have had a good chance in recent years to find out who they are. There are enough to make a start. Others will follow, and we will train them in the same spirit.

Our road is the road to the new revolutionary party. And, by that, not to conciliation with the parties of reformism and centrism but irreconcilable struggle against them. If we are equal to our task we have the opportunity to succeed. The perspective of a rising labor movement is all in our favor; a genuinely Marxist party cannot fail to thrive in the period of labor revival and mass activity. Our rivals—the C. P. and the S. P.—are irretrievably bankrupt, as the experience of the two big strike waves demonstrated once again. Our forces are not too numerous, but they are of better quality. They are firm in principle and, taking them all together, they embody a rich experience in trade union and mass activity. The task is a colossal one. But we can accomplish it if we have nerve to begin it and the will to carry it through.

The Principles of the New Party

We need a declaration of principles that speaks out clearly on every important question. The first draft, taken as a basis, is naturally to be edited, revised and clarified on every point. The bulk of this work of improving and clarifying the program has already been accomplished by the joint committee. The second draft, embodying important amendments and reformulations, will go to the convention delegates of each organization and then to the joint convention for final revision. The work in the joint program committee has demonstrated beyond any doubt that we have a common standpoint on all the fundamental questions of principles and tactics. What remains now is primarily a literary task of formulating each and every point with such precision that it cannot have two meanings to anybody. In the program declaration of the new party there should be no trace of ambiguity. We are confident that the final draft which passes the convention will meet this Marxian test and become the charter and guide of all the revolutionary militants in the country.

If, as all signs indicate, the sixth anniversary of our struggle is to culminate in the conclusion of our existence as a separate group and the beginning of a new period of joint struggle with the members of the A.W.P. in a single party, it can only mean that we carry with us that system of ideas and methods which, thanks to our international collaboration, and above all to the aid of our great teacher, we have so firmly acquired. Our conviction is unshakable. We "Trotskyites" are convinced to the marrow of our bones that our fight was justified and necessary. We renounce nothing and repeat nothing. Revolutionary internationalism remains as before our central, unifying idea. The great task now, as we understand it, is to carry this idea into the realm of organization and action. That means concretely: unite forces to build the new party of the Fourth International. We hope to contribute our full share to the accomplishment of this great historic task.

Elevator Strike Near

(Continued from Page 1)

Meanwhile a furious campaign of slander has been unleashed by the bosses in an effort to nip the strike in the bud. Five thousand scabs have been imported to fill the places of striking workers, while extensive preparations are being made by the police department to insure them adequate protection. A charge by the bosses that Chicago racketeers are in control of the union has failed to dampen the enthusiasm of the workers.

In a telegram sent to Mayor LaGuardia, the Real Estate Board warns of a "serious labor disturbance". This gives the lie to their recent assertion that the union has under its leadership no more than 20 per cent of the workers in the industry.

An offer by the bosses to submit the question of wages and hours to an "impartial arbitrator" was emphatically rejected by union leaders who first demand the closed shop.

Students Fight for Freedom of Speech

(Continued from Page 1)

upon-a-time-liberal and removed from superintendency of Los Angeles Public Schools for a pacifist stand during the war) of conspiracy to turn the university over to Trotsky (even quoting from the latter's book, "The Strategy of the World Revolution") and the Third International these students in reality advocated so communistic a measure as a student controlled forum.

Warned by Provost Moore to cease advocating a student forum, these students had the tenacity to think freedom of speech is permitted within the sacred precincts of a University campus. The student constitution provides for the right of petition for the referendum. Dr. Moore's representative hurried to the Student Council and bore the words that if the students attempted to use their right to petition—that right would be taken from them. Shades of 1776!

Like a bolt from the blue on Monday afternoon, October 29th, the five popular and active students were suspended.

On the same day student interest and resentment began swelling. Plans were laid.

On Tuesday the students acted. Ten o'clock classes were empty. Professors dismissed their classes as 4,000 students stood before Royce Hall steps and saw uniformed police and football heroes knock down the speakers who attempted to take the stand in the behalf of the recalcitrant free-speechers.

Cops Guard "Academic Freedom"

Cries of "What are the cops doing here?", "Let him speak", "We want an open hearing" rang out. Yes, the students were learning there on those steps lessons more poignant than can be found in many classes. A cop was scuffed. Students bood.

In the office of the university, Dr. Moore shuddered and, looking at the four young men who had been expelled and who had been summoned to appear before him, said "Get out there, you four, and break up that meeting!" No one moved. Then one spoke quietly: "Dr. Moore, you break it up. You started it."

These were brave words, but the four students anxious to get back into school had repudiated Celeste Strach, N.S.L. member because of her membership in that organization, and were later going to take the stand against "Communism" in an effort to purify their banner.

Outside—Pleading of a few "loyal" students who called upon everyone to sing the college anthem, "Hail Blue and Gold"; Earl Miller, dean of men, requests the students to go back to their classes. Back they go. But a glowing page in student action had already been written.

Support from Stanford

And support pours in from outside, from Stanford University where the editor of the organ of the students there writes a fine editorial on free speech. The University of California at Berkeley students declare a one hour strike in sympathy with the suspended students.

Here as at U.C.L.A. "Cross-Eyed Kellys" of the gridiron try to "bust things up". Los Angeles Junior College sends a petition with 750 names calling for reinstatement.

The days that have followed have seen Dr. Moore appealing to student vigilantes (here we must remember the vigilantes used during the strike in San Francisco) to drive radicalism (spell freedom of thought) off the campus. Says he: "A well-regulated university does not have free speech". So—a university is a "laboratory for experiment?" Says who?

The supporters of the "C.C.L.A. Americans" (as they call themselves) are: the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Better American Federation, the Chamber of Commerce, the Chief of Police Davis, the aristocratic Ebell Club. Cast an appreciative eye over that mob, Horatio!

But a wave of student support is starting, slowly, clumsily-directed. But, nevertheless, such a progressive wave, galvanized by demands for the reinstatement of the five students, for a student forum, for free speech that even the redoubtable Dr. Moore may be swept aside.

—BILL MONROE.

The Heritage of October

17 Years of the Workers State

By ARNE SWABECK

Seventeen years ago the October revolution brought the first great defeat to world capitalism. It transferred the power in a territory covering one sixth of the earth's surface from a class in decline and decay to a rising progressive force—the working class. This was then, and remains today its most fundamental aspect.

Around the working class rallied the great majority of the peasantry, cementing an alliance of mutual interests. This alliance has remained firm and found its joint expression in the Soviets, in the social and cultural institutions of the workers republic, in the Red Army and in the reciprocal relations of mutual benefits and mutual obligations between city and country. From this alliance the U.S.S.R. draws its great strength, serving in a dismal world as a beacon light of inspiration. And this also has held imperialist marauders back, although their palms are itching for the attack. The working class power has defied its foes. It has remained unshaken and stands as the guardian of the workers fatherland. To defend this fatherland remains an elementary duty for every revolutionist.

It is not necessary to make inquiries today about the accomplishments of the October revolution. We do not ask for its justification. It is sufficient to say that the world literally stands aghast, watching breathlessly every new advance in the U.S.S.R. The world watches in wonderment or bewilderment, with admiration and sympathy or with fear and hatred, but there is unanimity in the respectful attitude shown when confronting the magnitude of its developments. Even the most powerful among the imperialist nations, the United States itself, no longer dares to depreciate these developments, not to speak of making an actual comparison of conditions and achievements of the respective national economies.

The Contrast

It is true that here the scope of the productive forces still far outstrip those of the Soviet Union, but here an overwhelming percentage of its capacity lies idle and despite all the NRA code regulations the anarchy of capitalist production prevails, millions of workers remain in the misery and deprivations of unemployment, the standard of living for the class as a whole vastly reduced while bankruptcies make inroads in the various layers of the middle class. The superiority of planned economy as pursued in the U.S.S.R. has been demonstrated long ago and beyond a shadow of a doubt. There unemployment has been eliminated and the standard of living of the population as a whole is improving.

But the imperialists still cherish hopes in the midst of their deadly crisis. They know that the Soviet Union cannot stand alone. They have no illusions about the peaceful coexistence of the workers republic alongside of the capitalist powers. They still dominate world economy and never before world

Roosevelt Plan Fails

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Three hours after Harry Hopkins had roused the congress of economists to wild enthusiasm, President Roosevelt himself knocked the pins out from under them and told them their work would be confined to formulating unemployment insurance—not any kind of insurance for the present unemployed, but a cheap little fund that would tide present job holders over a few weeks of unemployment.

The Great Social Security Program boiled down to a plan whereby workers at present employed might receive a few weeks support from a fund created partly out of their meager salaries and partly out of pay roll taxes, a sort of company union mutual benefit association, with very little benefit at that.

The President warned (Warned!) the economists that they were not to consider any old age pensions, any health insurance, or any plans for bettering the ten million now unemployed.

The "Security" Grave

In a few short words the President dug a grave, buried the Social Security program, and erected a tombstone over the hopes of those who expected something from the New Deal.

There was rejoicing in one quarter. President Roosevelt has kept his promise to business. Said the New York Times: "Business leaders (read: robber barons) hailed the cautious policy enunciated by the President, who emphasized that miracles could not be achieved, that all problems could not be solved at once and that in developing the component parts of a broad program 'we must not lose sight of the fact that there can be no security for the individual in the midst of general insecurity.'"

they engaged so feverishly in the race for armaments in preparation for the final conflict between the two systems.

With each new marvelous achievement the Soviet Union is drawn closer into the vortex of world economy. Today this is illustrated in concrete terms of credits and exchange of products in terms of economy and of politics. It is impossible to disregard the interdependence of the various nations in the relations of world economy regardless of whether they have for their basis a socialist or a capitalist structure. In view of this it is necessary to emphasize over and over again that the theory of a national self-sufficiency as well as the theory of Socialism in One Country is utopian and reactionary. A socialist society within the limits of national boundaries is not feasible. Socialism and national separatism are mutually exclusive.

At this particular moment, for example, reports are current of the unwillingness of the major capitalist powers to grant long term credits to the Soviet Union and of the necessity in view of this to make drastic curtailments in the next five year plan. We do not accept these reports in any sense of finality inasmuch as the capitalist powers are far from having a united front among themselves, and engage in the competitive struggle for markets. But these reports must serve as a serious warning. The economic successes recorded in the Soviet Union do not and cannot solve its problems and do not at all secure the existence of the workers republic. Their existence is directly and inextricably bound up with their position on the international arena. It is bound up with the advance or the retreat of the international revolution. This is an elementary lesson of Marxism which we can never afford to overlook or to disregard.

Struggle to the End

The relationship between the workers republic and the capitalist powers is necessarily a compromise and will remain so until the one or the other conquers. It is in no sense a peaceful relationship no matter what the diplomatic coverings may seem to convey. The issues between them are fought out constantly in the class war and the advantage of either side is influenced step by step through the strengthening or the weakening of the position of either class on a world scale. The final victory will be determined by this position. Today the international revolution is not advancing. On the contrary, it has suffered serious reverses and defeats. It is a well known fact that within the ring of countries around the Soviet Union reaction is growing at a much faster pace than the successes of Socialist construction. The further direction of the reactionary offensive is clear and it has gained its advantages mainly due to the departure of the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union and the official Communist parties from the theory and practice of revolutionary internationalism. Out of this the severe defeats of the real defenders of the Soviet Union became possible. In order to prove this contention it is necessary to record once again only the defeat of the Chinese revolution, the defeat of the German workers and the crushing of their organizations when Hitler came to power, and the defeat of the Austrian workers. These were the greatest blows struck not only against the international revolution but against the Soviet power as well.

What has the Soviet Union gained in return for these blows on the international arena? From the capitalist powers it is accorded respect in outward appearance. Even the mighty dollar empire has extended its official recognition. Several powers, no doubt, would at this present stage not spurn an alliance with the Soviet Union but, as far as they are concerned, it would be only to further their own imperialist aims. The Soviet Union has entered non-aggression pacts of the kind that were declared scraps of paper in the last war. It has been taken into the icy embrace of the League of Nations. Its representatives will sit on the council in Geneva constructed by the robber bands of nations which were victorious in the last war and for the purpose of maintaining the artificial national boundaries of imperialist loot and to continue the enslavement of humanity with the "blessings" of capitalist civilization. Empty diplomatic victories when compared to the disastrous defeats flowing from a fundamentally false theory and practice. On the weak reed of such victories the Stalinist bureaucracy leans for its support to ward off the attacks upon the Soviet Union instead of placing its real reliance on the strengthening of the working class

forces throughout the world. Hence the defeat of the latter instead of their victory. But it is because of these defeats that the danger of the existence of the Soviet Union is much greater today. Its actual defense has become a much more pressing necessity.

It is for these reasons also that the defense of the Soviet Union cannot be conceived of without a struggle to the very end against the Stalinist bureaucratic regime. The parties dominated by this regime have been strangled and destroyed or rendered impotent. And for the revolutionists the only course now left open is the one of creating new parties and the creation of a new International. From this we do not at all exclude the Soviet Union. But the center of gravity of the struggle against the victorious reaction is now in the west, with France at this moment as its most crucial point. In the United States, however, rapid developments of the class struggle are also in the making.

This is where we will take our part in the creation of a new international and organizing the real defenders of the Soviet Union. We hail the seventeenth anniversary of the October revolution and pledge to it our loyalty and support. For us it meant the first stage in the international revolution and the beginning of a new civilization not to be confined to one single country. It is in this spirit that we are about to take the first serious step toward the organization of the American revolutionists into the new party. It is in this spirit also that we celebrate our sixth anniversary of the Militant.

Six years ago its first issue appeared, throwing down its challenge to the organizers of defeat and making the first attempt in this country to restore the banner of the October revolution. The Militant has grown since in influence and around it has rallied a movement, still small when compared to its gigantic tasks, but firmly founded on the teachings of Marx and Lenin. On that foundation we made common cause with the International Left Opposition and set for ourselves first the aim of propagandizing its ideas. To us this could only mean a certain stage of preparation to bring these ideas into actual life in the class struggle. We have now passed that transitional stage and we feel that our efforts have not been in vain. But in the course of these developments it also became clear to us that the ideas transformed into life must find their expression in a new party. No other conclusion could be drawn from the disastrous defeats of the working class movement on a world scale, the false theory and practice of the nationally limited Stalinist bureaucracy and the dismal failure of the parties it dominates.

We now stand on the threshold of the new revolutionary party in the United States. The League is preparing to unite with the A.W.P. It will be no exaggeration to say that the new party will become one of the important factors in laying the foundation for the actual organization of the Fourth International. It will have a serious mission to perform. The further extension of the October revolution still awaits the strong hands of a revolutionary movement capable of leading to victory. It is to that task that he new party will be dedicated.

Mooney Wins Hearing

(Continued from Page 1)

ectioner's hand and forced Woodrow Wilson to have his sentence commuted to life imprisonment. Evertime since then that Mooney had a chance for freedom, it was because the labor movement was in motion.

Today again, if the Supreme Court is not to be permitted to find a legal loophole to deny Mooney a retrial, it will only be because the militant working class is on its feet and says to the doddering judges that it will not take NO for an answer.

The cause of Mooney is the cause of the oppressed and exploited. Tom Mooney went to prison because he fought labor's battle. As long as Mooney remains in jail a cloud of shame will hang over the working class.

Fighting Mooney, never weary, never discouraged, has time and again called upon the working class for assistance. That they have not passed unheeded is a matter of history.

But now, now! more than ever before it is our duty to answer his call!

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