



All Out to Madison Square on May Day!

Revolutionary Workers! March Under the Banner of the Communist League of America!

May Day

Important Notice!
League members and sympathizers mobilize on May Day at 126 East 16th Street at 11 A.M. sharp.

On May Day this year New York will witness the most imposing demonstration of the workers and the most tangible advances toward their united struggle against the common enemy that has been seen for many years. The participating workers' organizations will march together in a single parade and hold a common demonstration at Madison Square. The Communist League (International Communists) will march in the parade under its own banner and will be represented by its own speakers at the demonstration.

The idea that the political and economic organizations of the workers, regardless of their differences in principle, must form a united front of action against the class enemy,—this idea, which was rejected with such fatal consequences in Germany, has brought a host of organizations together and governs their practice in carrying out all the arrangements of the united front May Day parade and demonstration. The no less important condition—that each organization shall preserve its own identity and march under its own banner—is likewise respected and observed by the participants.

These features of the demonstration signify a victory for the idea of the workers' united front and the beginning of its realization in action. For these reasons alone, the Communist League, which insistently fights for the united front of the workers' organizations, would be duty bound to take part in the work and actions of the May Day Labor Conference which culminates in the parade and demonstration on May Day. But there are other reasons of no less weight and importance which make the course we have taken mandatory upon us as Communists.

The Stalinist Party (C.P.) and the organizations under its control are conducting a separate parade and demonstration at the same hour. Thus, although the preponderant weight of forces is with the Labor Day Conference, a serious element of division remains in the workers' ranks. Such a division is not of our making. We stand for the united front of all the workers' organizations and will continue to fight for it in the future. Nevertheless, the division, and the holding of the demonstrations at the same hour, compel each organization, and each individual militant to make a choice.

We have made our choice in this matter with full deliberation, and our decision is not an isolated one, applicable only to a single occasion. It corresponds, rather, to the trend of developments in the labor movement. And this, in turn, determines the tactical course of the revolutionary Marxists.

MADISON SQUARE AND UNION SQUARE

The Stalinists, who reject the united front with all organizations not under their direct control, demand that the workers demonstrate on May Day only under Stalinist auspices. This ultimatum is repeated by their camp followers of various kinds in varying stages of confusion and demoralization.

The ultimatums of the Stalinists have no interest for us. We reject the "leadership" of these political hooligans and condemn them as a menace to the labor movement. But to the conscientious left wing workers, who may have the mistaken impression that the conflicting May Day demonstrations present a choice between Communism and reformism, we owe a frank explanation of the course we have taken. Our remarks on the question are addressed especially to them.

It is argued by the Stalinists and their camp followers that the parade and demonstration at Madison Square, organized by the Labor Conference, will be composed predominantly of the socialist political organizations and reformist trade unions while

the Union Square demonstration represents the revolutionary workers. The workers who want a united front of action and defense are called upon to choose between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. This ultimatum contains three propositions which have to be dealt with separately.

SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS

It is quite true that the Madison Square demonstration will be predominantly socialist and trade unionist and that these organizations have by far the main weight in the conference. But that is not a reason for communists to stay away from the demonstration. On the contrary, it is the duty of the communists to march with the socialist workers and the trade unionists and to raise the banner of communism in their midst. As long as the communists are permitted to march with their own banner and to be represented by their own speakers at the demonstration—and these rights have been expressly provided for all the participating organizations by the joint arrangements committee—they have no need and no right to present any other demands as a condition for united action. March separately, strike together—this is the fundamental basis for the united front of the workers.

We do not demand that the socialist workers leave their organizations as a condition for common action with us. We do not demand that they cease to be socialists in order to make a united front with communists. We do not demand that our "leadership" be recognized beforehand, and we do not repeat the insane gibberish about the "united front from below". It is such ultimatums, which the Stalinist bureaucrats are in the habit of laying down to the workers, which negate the very idea of the united front and make it impossible. We hope to convince the workers, in the course of common action, of the inadequacy of reformism and the necessity for revolutionary policy and leadership. But we do not demand that they be convinced of this in advance. Therein lies the fundamental difference between the Stalinist and the revolutionary communist conception of the united front.

WHO ARE THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS?

The second false assumption in the ultimatum of the Stalinists and their ideological captives is the argument that the Union Square demonstration is a demonstration of "the revolutionary workers", that the Stalinist leaders are the representatives of Communism. This contention, false to the core, is especially repugnant today in the face of the cynical united front of Stalinism with world reaction in the hounding of the organizer of the Russian Revolution.

Many workers with the impulse to be revolutionaries will undoubtedly participate in the Stalinist demonstration. But Stalinism as a political current contributes nothing to the labor movement but ideological disorientation, demoralization and defeat. The Stalinist hooligans corrupt every principle of Communism and defile its very name. They always subordinate the interests of the working class to the special interests of a bureaucratic apparatus. The Stalinists disrupt and sabotage every attempt of the workers to unite their forces for a common fight against the class enemy. Stalinism is a poison in the veins of the labor movement, and its harmful influence derives precisely from the assumption by many workers that it represents Communism.

It is necessary to attack this illusion in deed as well as in word and to put the question as it really stands: **Stalinism is a reactionary force in the labor movement of the whole world.**

The Madison Square demonstration will be predominantly reformist in composition and leadership.

That is true. But it is no less true that the unfalsified doctrine of revolutionary internationalism will also be represented there this May Day, and only there. Not the banner of Stalinism, spotted with crimes and treacheries, but the banner of the International Communists—this is the banner of Communism. Every revolutionary worker ought to march behind it and no other.

PARTY MEETING OR UNITED FRONT?

The third fallacy in the ultimatum of the Stalinists and their apologists consists in the posing of the question of a united front on May Day as a rivalry and conflict between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, and the demand that the workers choose between the two parties. "March with the Communist Party, not with the Socialist Party", is the formula of this ultimatum. For our part, if it is a question of party preference, we choose neither the C. P. nor the S. P. and follow neither. If the May Day meetings are to be construed simply as meetings of different parties then the revolutionary workers supporting the Communist League would have no choice but to abstain from both demonstrations and to organize their own, however small it might be.

But this is not how the question presents itself to us. Quite the contrary. General political meetings of the parties can be conducted apart from the demonstration under the auspices of the respective parties—the Communist League, for example, will hold its own meeting in the evening. But the demonstration and parade on May Day ought to represent a united front of all the parties and workers' organizations in a single demonstration against war and fascism and for the immediate needs of the workers.

It is precisely the inability of the Stalinists even to comprehend the question in this sense, their shopkeeper's conception of the special interest of their own party apparatus and their fear of "competition", that impelled them to organize the Union Square demonstration as a demonstration for the Communist Party. Their stubborn refusal to merge their party interest, for a single occasion on May Day of all days, with the general class interest condemns the demonstration to isolation as an affair of the C. P. and its auxiliaries, despite all the crooked ballyhoo about "unity" and the "united front".

And by the same token this policy of the Stalinists and the whole line of conduct flowing from it, not forgetting the Madison Square Garden affair,—this policy and conduct made it easy for the Socialist leaders, who are no more in favor of an all-inclusive fighting united front than the Stalinists, to counteract the pressure of their own members for a single united demonstration.

THE STAND OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

The fact that the Socialist leaders felt obliged to agree to joint action with every other group and organization except the Stalinists, to give up their original demand that the May Day Labor Conference be labeled as "Socialist and Labor", their agreement that all the participating organizations be represented with their banners at the head of the parade as well as on the arrangements committee and on the speakers' platform—all this is powerful testimony to the deep-rooted sentiments of the Socialist workers for a genuine united front.

The Communist League fought in the conference and arrangements committee for an invitation to the Stalinists, but without success. We also sent delegates to the Stalinist conference to propose that a direct approach be made to the May Day Labor Conference for a single demonstration. Our proposal was rejected with the usual barrage of epithets and slander. Nevertheless, it can be asserted, so pressing

is the need for unity and so powerful the sentiment of the rank and file workers for it, that if our proposal had been adopted and carried out honestly and consistently it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the Socialist leaders to refuse.

We shall continue to fight for this policy as we have fought consistently for it in the past. For years, as a faction working for the reform of the C. P., we continuously advocated the adoption by the party of the policy of the united front in the same sense that we present it today. The victory of fascism in Germany is directly due to the rejection by the Stalinist leadership of the united front with the Social Democracy and the reformist trade unions which the Left Opposition insistently demanded. The weakness and disorganization of the working class movement in this country, after four and one-half years of the unprecedented crisis, is in large part also the result of the same fatal mistakes, systematically repeated.

Breaking with the Comintern because of its obvious and irremediable bankruptcy, and taking the path toward new parties and the Fourth International, the International Communists (formerly the Left Opposition) in no way alter or modify the principles, strategy and tactics with regard to the broad labor movement which they formerly proposed for the adoption of the official Communist Parties. The only difference is, that we carry out in practice now, as a completely independent organization, the tactics which we previously recommended to the C. P. This is the meaning of our decision to participate in the Madison Square demonstration and parade with the Socialist Party, the trade unions and other political groups and tendencies.

THE ROAD TO THE UNITED FRONT

The parade and demonstration organized by the May Day Labor Conference, lacking the inclusion of the Stalinist organizations, is obviously not a complete united front and should not be represented as such. But this is not reason to abstain from participation. After all the divisions and demoralization it is utopian to expect that the idea of the united front will take hold everywhere with the same force and that it can be realized organizationally overnight.

The building of the united front of the workers is a process. This process involves agitation for the idea, experiments in cooperation and tests in action. Including all the tendencies of the more or less progressive section of the labor movement, with the single exception of the Stalinists and their satellites, the May Day Labor Conference represents a tremendous step forward. From this point of view it must be hailed and supported by the revolutionary workers. At the same time efforts must be made to broaden out its composition and extend it to other fields of activity in the class struggle.

Needless to say, our participation at Madison Square does not imply in any way the slightest reconciliation with the Socialist Party. The united front of action on concrete questions does not signify political collaboration. No blurring of principle issues. No mixing of banners.

Our principle differences with social reformism remain. We shall fight them out to the end. Not by lies and slander, not by hooligan violence, but through argument and example we shall endeavor to convince the Socialist workers of the necessity of a revolutionary policy and leadership. In intransigent principled struggle against social reformism we shall work for the new party and the new international.

Meantime, now as always, we shall stand for the united front in concrete struggles of the day with the Socialist workers through the medium of their chosen organizations.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

LENIN'S MAY DAY APPEAL TO THE RUSSIAN WORKERS

This May Day leaflet of the League for the Struggle for the Emancipation of the Workingclass was written by Comrade Lenin in prison in the year 1896, and was distributed among the Petersburg workers in forty factories to the then tremendous amount of 2,000 copies.

"In preparing and distributing this leaflet we felt that we were accomplishing a great revolutionary act. A month and half later there developed the great strike of the spinners and weavers that began and grew precisely under the influence of the May Day leaflet and only waited for the occasion to go forward in more active form. This strike showed to us and to the whole world that our feelings had not betrayed us. The strike began precisely in those places where accidentally our leaflets had been particularly well distributed." B. Gorew-Goldmann. "Out of the Party Past."

COMRADES!

Let us consider our position very carefully—let us examine the conditions in which we spend our lives.

What do we see? We work long and hard. We produce endless wealth, gold and apparel, satins and silks. From the depths of the earth we extract iron and coal. We build machines, we outfit ships, we construct railroads. All the wealth of the world is the product of our hands, of our sweat and blood. And what kind of wages do we get for this forced labor? If things were as they should be, we would be living in fine houses, we would wear good clothes, and would never have to suffer any need. But we know well enough that our wages never suffice for our living. Our bosses push down wages, force us to work overtime, place unjust fines upon us—in a word oppress us in every way. And then when we give voice to our dissatisfaction, we are thrown into prison without further ado.

We have convinced ourselves only too often that all those to whom we turn for help are the servants and the friends of the bosses. They keep us workers in darkness, they keep us ignorant so that we should not dare to fight for an improvement of our conditions. They keep

us in slavery, they arrest and imprison every one who shows any signs of resistance against the oppressors—we are forbidden to struggle. Ignorance and slavery—these are the means thru which the capitalists and the government that serves them oppress us.

How can we then improve our conditions, raise our wages, shorten the working day, protect ourselves from insults, win for ourselves the opportunity of reading good books? Everybody is against us—and the better off these gentlemen are, the worse off we are! We can expect nothing from them, we can rely only upon ourselves. Our strength lies in unity, our method is the united stubborn resistance against the bosses. Our masters realize of course in what our strength lies and they try in every way to divide us and to hide the identity of interests of all workers.

But it's a long road that has not turning—and even the best of patience comes to an end. In the past few years the Russian workers have shown their masters that the cowardice of slaves has changed into

the courageous sturdiness of men, who refuse to submit to the greed of the capitalists. A whole series of strikes has swept thru various Russian cities. Most of these strikes ended successfully, especially in that they threw the bosses into terror and forced them into concessions. They showed that we were no longer cowardly pawns but that we had taken up the struggle.

As is well known the workers of many shops and factories have organized the League for the Struggle for the Emancipation of the Workingclass with the aim of exposing and removing all abuses, of struggling against the shameful oppressions and swindles of our conscienceless exploiters. The League distributes leaflets at the sight of which the hearts of the bosses and their servants, the police, tremble. They are not frightened by these leaflets—they are terrified at the possibility of our united resistance, the sign of our great power that we have already manifested more than once. We, Petersburg workers, members of the League, call upon all the rest of our comrades to join

the League and co-operate in the great task of unifying the working class in the struggle for their interests. It's time that we Russian workers smashed the chains that the bosses and the government have placed upon us. It is time that we joined our fellow workers of other lands in the struggle—under a common flag bearing the words: "Workers of all countries, unite!"

In France, England, Germany and other lands where the workers have already closed their ranks and won important rights, the First of May is a general holiday of all labor.

The workers leave the dark factories and parade the main streets in well-ordered lines with flags and music. They show their masters their power grown strong and join in numerous crowded assemblies to listen to speeches in which the victories achieved over the bosses are recounted and the plans for future struggles are developed.

Because they are afraid of strikes no individual boss dare fine or punish the workers who are absent from work on this day. On this day the workers also find their chief demand in the teeth of the bosses: "Eight-hour day." In other coun-

tries the workers are already proclaiming this. There was a time—and not so long ago—when they also didn't have the right to give voice to our needs, when they were in such slavery as we are in now. But thru relentless struggle and heavy sacrifice they have won the right to take up collectively the affairs of labor. Let us wish our brothers that their struggle soon lead to the desired goal, to a society in which there will be no masters and no slaves, no capitalists and no wage workers, but all will work together and all will enjoy the good things of life together.

Comrades, if we fight unitedly and together, then the time is not far off when we too will be in a position openly to join the common struggle of the workers of all lands, without distinction of race or creed, against the capitalists of the whole world. Our strong arm will rise and the chains of slavery will fall. The toilers of Russia will arise and terror will strike the hearts of the capitalists and of all other enemies of the workingclass.

LEAGUE FOR THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

Petersburg, May 1, 1896

Result of False Policies

The result of these policies was, as could have been and was again and again foretold, the victory of black reaction and, worse than that, the ignominious capitulation, without any struggle, of the powerful German labor movement. For this defeat, for the tortures, humiliations, exiles and death sentences heaped on the German working class, the treachery of the Social Democracy and the criminal blunderings of Stalinism bear the blame.

Refusing to learn by the bitter experiences of Germany the leadership of the Austrian Social Democracy followed the same treacherous and cowardly course, until the wrath of the aroused working class forced action. It was then too late for a victorious battle. But to the everlasting credit of the Austrian proletariat, they went down fighting, fighting heroically, men and women side by side, and by their action awakened again the militant spirit of the workers throughout the world.

The French Fascists in their

**May Day
Mass Meeting**

Madison Square and Union Square—Why Two
May Day Demonstrations?
Who Is Responsible for the Division of Forces?
What Is the Road to the United Front?

IRVING PLAZA HALL
(GRAND BALLROOM)
15th St. and Irving Place
Tuesday May 1st - 8p.m.

Speakers:
J.P. Cannon - A. Swabeck
Carl Cowl - Geo. Clarke - Reva Craine

(Continued on Page 4)

The "United Front"

"Mass Basis for Common Struggle Often Neglected in Dealing with Individuals". Thus runs the subtitle of an article dealing with the United Front tactic by Harry Yaris (in the Daily Worker). Very good! One would conclude from this that the C. P. had drawn some lessons from their recent experiences with the Congress against War and in the League against War and Fascism.

Therefore when Matthews, Henson, Fox, Muste and other leaders of the League resigned one would ordinarily conclude that this new orientation would be the guiding principle in re-organizing the League.

"United Front with Individuals" Yaris' article goes on to say: "In our efforts to set up some form of united struggles, a tendency has cropped up to form United Fronts with certain individuals—some very doubtful 'left' elements in the trade unions and in the Socialist Party—thus substituting for the United Front with masses of workers, the United Front with individuals, who in many cases represented 'generals' looking for armies. . ."

Further: "The United Front consisted solely of certain conferences and meetings with these individuals. It was never really brought down to the broad masses of workers in the form of united struggles. This is one reason why the organizations created by the conferences and the conferences themselves died so soon after birth, i.e., Tom Mooney Councils of Action, American League Against War and Fascism as a national organization, the Cleveland Conference, etc. . . We have very little to gain through United Fronts with individuals. If no practical struggles result, if the movement is not raised at least one notch higher, then we have not moved forward." (our emphasis)

"New 'Generals' for Old" Well, we thought, if the Party has not learnt anything from our criticism of the Anglo-Russian Committee and the Amsterdam Congress they are at last beginning to learn from their own bitter exper-

iences here in America. But our hopes were short-lived. No sooner did one group of "generals without armies" step out than another group was named to replace them. The new "generals" are Harry F. Ward, commander of the Union Theological Seminary—a real mass organization of workers—Robert Morss Lovett, professor at the University of Chicago; Lincoln Steffens, journalist; Rev. R. Lester Mondale of Evanston, Ill.; Prof. Colton E. Warne; Rabbi Goldstein and Winifred Chappell, secretary of the Methodist Federation of Social Service. A truly notable leadership in the struggle against War and Fascism. Now we can really "hope" that the struggle against Fascism will take on a mass character.

This is the new line of the Party. They have learnt nothing by the experiences . . . Germany . . . Austria . . . Amsterdam Congress . . . Cleveland Conference, etc. Those "lessons" referred to in the Daily Worker article, were promptly "forgotten".

Playing the Fascist Game By pursuing this kind of united front policy the party is playing right into the hands of the Fascists. Every day there are reports of new Fascist outbreaks throughout the world. While solemnly professing to believe in a genuine "united front" agreements from above with every type of careerist, representing no mass organization, and to whom any kind of militant mass action is anathema. This type of united front only paves the way for Fascism.

In New York recently, within the period of a year, the Fascists have managed to build a considerable mass following without any effective resistance. They are able to hold large mass meetings and parade through the streets to spread their vicious propaganda. A united front of all labor groups is imperative if the hydra-headed menace of Fascism is to be crushed. The time to do it is NOW—before it becomes too powerful and crushes us.

—W.

Organize the unemployed! The capitalists and the Board of Education want to use them to lower the standards of the employed.

Restore democracy in the union! The membership must have the right to vote on and decide questions of policy! Put a stop to the red-baiting of the administration of the union! Every teacher should have the right to his own social, political and economic views!

Organize mass demonstrations! Arouse the teachers! These are the lessons of the wage cuts. This is the road on which to march to defeat the coming attacks.

—H. L.

GREETINGS

Pearl Friedman, Chicago
Joseph Fischer, Chicago
Helen Judd, Chicago
Earl Hoffman, Chicago
Picrino Arquilla, Palos Park, Ill.
V. Di Giacomo, Chicago
G. Maris, Chicago
Cesarlo Parisi, Chicago
E. Spinelli, Chicago
Ed. Lipensky, Chicago
M. Mancini, Chicago
2 Friends, Chicago
John Castarra, Chicago
A Friend, Chicago
J. D. Rio, Chicago
Mary Camera, Chicago
Guido Galassi, Chicago
Thomas Sabatini, Chicago
Sam Mangiapelo, Chicago
Alfonso Clavartone, Chicago
Giuseppe Porro, Chicago
2 Friends, Chicago
Joe Gorodetzer, Philadelphia
S. Hardy, Philadelphia
L. L., Philadelphia
M. G., Philadelphia
Harry Allen, Philadelphia
Max Kaufman, Chicago
Mrs. Weiss, Chicago
Cant, Chicago
Lepes, Chicago
N. Rubin, Chicago
Clara Kaufman, Chicago
Welk, Chicago
Mrs. S. Krupka, Pittsburg, Pa.
Sam Verman, Pittsburg
Mrs. J. Mchelson, Pittsburg
A Friend, Pittsburg
M. Basin, Pittsburg
Dave, Pittsburg
Nick Leperes, Pittsburg
A Friend, Pittsburg
Albert Wolfe, New Haven, Conn.
Bernard Wolfe, New Haven
A Teacher, New Haven
Yale student, New Haven
Samuel Gandelman, New Haven
Morris, New Haven
A Sympathizer, New Haven
Another Sympathizer, New Haven
An Architect, New Haven
Gertrude Duell, New Haven
Joe Harris, New York City
Cora Duff, Kansas City, Mo.
Jean Rall, Kansas City
Fred Simmons, Kansas City
Nell Tygart, Kansas City
Chas. Warner, Kansas City
Jefferson Rall, Kansas City
Jenny M. Rall, Kansas City
Otto Zulauf, Kansas City
Theo. Croner, Kansas City
Alfred Caplan, Kansas City
S. H. Kassen, Kansas City
A Comrade, Kansas City
Fred Nesson, New York City

Compliments of
CONSOLIDATED LUNCH BAR
Third Ave. & 15th St.
New York City

COMPLIMENTS
of
Irving Plaza Hall
Irving Plaza & 15th St.
NEW YORK CITY

May Day Greetings
SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB
Kansas City, Mo.

May Day Greetings
NORTH PHILADELPHIA
SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB
Philadelphia, Pa.

GREETINGS
TO THE MILITANT
YOUNGSTOWN BRANCH
Youngstown, Ohio

May Day Greetings from
INDEPENDENT WORKMEN'S CIRCLE,
Branch 989
Minneapolis, Minn.

Compliments of
SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB
"REUBEN"

GREETINGS
to
COMRADE L. D. TROTSKY,
and to the League of International Communists
Forward to
THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
and **NEW COMMUNIST PARTIES**
Pittsburgh Branch, Communist League

GREETINGS
to the
MILITANT
BAY RIDGE BRANCH,
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

GREETINGS
to the
MILITANT
PHILADELPHIA BRANCH

A FRIEND
Youngstown, Ohio

GREETINGS
to the
MILITANT
NEW CASTLE BRANCH
New Castle, Pa.

May Day Greetings
from the
Kansas City, Mo. Branch

May Day Greetings
from
BUEHLER BOOK STORE
Kansas City, Mo.

May Day Greetings
BOSTON BRANCH
Boston, Mass.

May Day Greetings
to
THE MILITANT,
and all the International Communists on
this historic day.

Forward to The Fourth International!
from the
MINNEAPOLIS BRANCH OF THE
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA

GREETINGS
from the
MANHATTAN BRANCH,
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA
LOCAL NEW YORK

MAY DAY GREETINGS
to
THE MILITANT
from the
TORONTO COMRADES
Toronto, Canada

The Friends of the Militant Club
Chicago

Sends its hearty, comradely May Day Greetings to the entire International Proletarian Class. May this traditional holiday awaken and intensify the class consciousness of all workers, sharpen the revolutionary spirit and unify all working elements into one whole under the banner of the new Fourth International for the attainment of the final goal: a victorious Social Revolution all over the world.

May Day Greetings
to
THE MILITANT,
the International Communists and our comrade Harold Robins and his fellow class-war prisoner comrade Gras, now in prison for their activities in behalf of the striking hotel and restaurant workers.

BRONX BRANCH, New York

May Day Greetings
to
THE MILITANT,
and all the International Communists on
this historic day.

Forward to The Fourth International!
from the
MINNEAPOLIS BRANCH OF THE
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA

GREETINGS
from the
MANHATTAN BRANCH,
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA
LOCAL NEW YORK

MAY DAY GREETINGS
to
THE MILITANT
from the
TORONTO COMRADES
Toronto, Canada

MARCH OF EVENTS

Japan's Monroe Doctrine for Asia
The ruthless policy of Japanese militarism requires no documentary proof. During more than a generation the Japanese ruling class has made abundantly clear its inflexible aim of fixing the colonial yoke on the necks of the Chinese masses—and to do this before the other imperialist robber powers gain too strong a foothold in China. The notorious Twenty-one Demands made on China during the War and the Tanaka Document merely set forth the obvious, the unrestrained, cold-blooded bandit ambitions of Japanese militarism.

Why then the startled reaction of the capitalist press when Amano, chief of the intelligence division of the foreign office, mouthpiece of Hirota, formulates Japan's Monroe Doctrine for Asia, with its warning that Japan will resist by force any encroachments by others on its preserves in China? The answer lies in the fact that capitalist "peace" is merely a truce between wars for plunder that Amano's brutally frank statement disturbs the present truce and sets up the tremors that betoken the nearness of the next war.

Japanese Uncertainty
It has been clear for some time that the Japanese ruling class is divided in counsel. Recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the U. S. gave pause to the shrewd spirits among the militarists who realized the suicidal nature of a war against an alliance of two such formidable powers as the U. S. and the U.S.S.R. The perspective of immediate intervention in the Soviet Union slowly faded and a change in foreign policy resulted, the effort being made to woo America away from the Soviet alliance. Simultaneously Japan has been seeking assurance from British capitalism that England would "balance" the U. S. in case of war with the Soviet Union. Does the present turn signify that these assurances have been gained? Or is this merely the result of the pent-up emotions of those Japanese reactionaries who cannot await a more propitious moment for attack?

The Danger of Waiting
Waiting too is a dangerous policy. It permits the Soviet Union to strengthen its defenses. It gives the U. S. a chance, not merely to build a powerful navy, but to seek what has become essential to U. S. imperialism, a military base in China. The Japanese properly interpret the aid given Chiang Kalshek by America in the training of aviators, the selling of planes, the building of airports and communications, and the setting up of an airplane factory, as one step in the direction of establishing a military foothold on the Asiatic mainland.

Waiting means also the sharpening of the class struggle internally in Japan. The intense struggle to maintain her aims in foreign trade, so severely under attack by the jealous powers, involves the ever fiercer oppression of the Japanese masses of workers and peasants. The militarists are acutely aware of the volcano upon whose top they sit. The explosive internal forces, they delude themselves into believing, can be directed outwardly and dissipated. History will show how deluded they were.

Roosevelt and Nationalization
Roosevelt continues to attack the living standards of the workers to assure dividend and interest payments to the capitalists. Again, after a policy of temporizing and delay so as to dull the edge of the railroad workers' fighting spirit, Roosevelt insists on maintaining the wage cut. He insists that he does not want nationalization of the railroads but will be forced to take steps towards rigid control unless the railroad magnates reform the capital structure of these public utilities.

By such deception Roosevelt hopes to gain the sympathy of the middle and upper classes in his fight against the railway workers. For there is not another field of capitalist "enterprise" that offers a clearer picture of capitalist plundering and looting of public finances than the field of railroad transportation.

Roosevelt's attitude towards nationalization is that of his class. He fears nothing so much as a real political struggle supported by the masses and the middle classes, for nationalization of the railroads. The capitalists fear that this would be an entering wedge which might precipitate a real struggle for state socialism.

It was in this sense that "Railway Age" recently answered Jordan of the National Industrial Conference Board when he predicted nationalization. The editors stated that the resistance to state socialism would prevent nationalization of the railways.

—JACK WEBER.

Payless Furlough for N. Y. Teachers

With the passage of the LaGuardia Economy Bill giving the mayor the right to furlough city employees without pay for from seven days to one month and accompanying bill—whose passage by the New York State Legislature is indicated—empowering the Board of Education to furlough teachers in about the same proportion the teachers have lost a hard fight. In effect the furlough is a wage cut and will further lower the teachers' standards of living. It appears to be the strategy of the "economizers" to institute the furloughs during the summer vacation when the teachers are dispersed and their organized resistance, consequently, will be at its lowest ebb.

Second Wage Cut
The payless furlough is the second wage cut the New York City teachers have received. In December, 1932 they got a cut of from 6 to 10 percent through the efforts of Walker who was then mayor. A democratic administration asked the teachers to make a "small sacrifice" in the interests of economy. When LaGuardia was campaigning for mayor in 1933 he made much of this point in his attacks on Tammany. Yet only a few days ago he crowned his first 100 days in office, among other things, with a pay cut for teachers—in the interests of economy. It should be clear that there is no essential difference between Walker and LaGuardia, Democratic, Republican or Fusion administrations and politicians. Behind Walker stood the bankers and the realty interests who cracked the economy whip. Behind the LaGuardia mask the teachers will find, if they look, the same capitalist face carrying out the same capitalist program: protect profits at the expense of the standard of living of the masses, including the teachers.

The Teachers' Enemy
The enemy the teachers face is the overlord of society, the Wall Street banker, a powerful antagonist. This does not mean, as many teachers seem to think, that the fight is hopeless. PAY CUTS CAN BE DEFEATED! And the attacks which are impending now can be

beaten back. For that the teachers must fight. There are thirty-six thousand of them working in the schools; fifteen thousand more are unemployed. United by a common purpose and animated by a spirit of resistance against their attackers, they can strike heavy blows in defense of their standard of living and the institution of public education.

What is required first of all is a program of struggle and an organization corresponding to that program—a trade union. In view of the recent experience of the teachers the first plank of this program should be: no faith in the bourgeois politicians; the teachers can rely only on their own efforts and the support of the organized working class movement. The aim of such a program should be to put PRESSURE on the capitalist state through mass meetings, demonstrations, protests and united action with the labor movement.

The Teachers' Union
There is a union in the field, the Teachers Union, Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the A. F. of L. It is, as yet, a weak organization having only some 1900 members and is more of a lobbying organization than it is a trade union. Its program is confined, in the main, to deals with bourgeois politicians in Albany to introduce support or oppose legislation favorable or unfavorable to the teachers' interests, as the case may be; maintaining a lobby in Albany and issuing propaganda to raise money for this purpose.

Nevertheless it is a trade union in form; most of the teachers at work are eligible for membership in it although the ten thousand unemployed and employed are barred, supervisors (foremen) are eligible, and the present membership consists, in its greater part, of the higher salaried teachers. By and large it employs the practices of the conservative trade union movement and has taken to its bosom the methods of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats in stifling democracy in the union. At a recent meeting of the Executive Board recommended the admission of fifty-five new members but refused to divulge their names!

Reform the Union
Withal the union has the possibility more than any other of the seventy-five organizations in the field of becoming a mass organization with a militant program. But for that several things are necessary. The methods and policies of the present leadership must be scrapped. That means, in the first instance, that masses of teachers should be drawn into the union. A beginning can be made by lowering the dues. Hundreds who remain outside today because of what they consider excessively high dues will join the union tomorrow if the dues are lowered.

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L. D. Trotsky

What is the Meaning of Rakovsky's Surrender?

Rakovsky's declaration making known his intention, in view of the acute sharpening of international reaction, to submerge his differences with the "Party" and to submit completely to "discipline" came to many as a bolt from the blue. And no wonder! In the course of the years of his exile the old fighter was transformed from a human figure to a symbol, not only for the I. L. O. but for wide strata of the working class in general.

The average reader's reaction to Rakovsky's surrender is that it is a victory for the bureaucracy, or—if this strata be given its personal pseudonym—a great victory for Stalin! True, Rakovsky did not declare his views false nor sing Byzantine psalms of praise to the bureaucratic leadership, but in any case by his declaration he acknowledged that in the struggle against international reaction, cessation of the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy is necessary. If from the purely individual point of view his declaration contains nothing of the revolting and shameful self-abasement and self-degradation which have become now indispensable conditions for "Bolshevist" party loyalty, it appears at first glance all the more important from the political point of view.

It would, however, be absolutely false to dwell only on the immediate impressions and purely psychological effects of events. It is the bounden duty of every Marxist to appraise Rakovsky's case not as a case in itself but as a political symptom, that is, to bring it in relation with the deeper processes of development.

Center Shifted to West Already more than half a year ago, we wrote:

"The extremely difficult conditions under which the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists work exclude them from the possibility of playing the leading role on the international scale. More than this; the Left Opposition group in the U. S. S. R. can develop into a new party only as a result of the successful formation and growth of the new international. The revolutionary center of gravity has shifted definitely to the West where the immediate possibilities of building parties are immeasurably greater." (The Soviet Union and the Fourth International, page 28).

These lines were no chance remark but summed up rather the whole experience of the last decade. The Russian Left Opposition which set itself the direct aim of reconstituting the Bolshevik party and of shunting its policy back on the rails of the international revolution, succumbed in the struggle. One may suffer a defeat because one pursues a fundamentally false policy. But also with a correct policy one may fall victim to an unfavorable relation of forces. Engels repeatedly pointed out that a revolutionary party which suffers a decisive historic defeat is inevitably reduced to naught organizationally. At first glance it would seem that the fate of the Bolshevik party which, despite the defeat of 1905, twelve years later achieved the greatest revolutionary victory in world history contradicts this. But on closer scrutiny this example only strengthens Engels' statement. As a mass organization the Bolshevik party disappeared from the scene during the years 1907-1911. There remained only a few scattered, for the most part vacillating cadres, there remained a tradition, there remained above all the emigrant staff with Lenin at the head. The rising tide of 1912-1914 brought a new revolutionary generation to its feet, roused a part of the old Bolsheviks out of their lethargy and thus created a new party organization, which was historically—but in no way organizationally—the continuator of the old Bolshevik party. This example by no means exhausts the question with which we are concerned but offers certain points of support for its understanding.

The Struggle for Industrialization The Left Opposition began with the struggle for the industrialization and agrarian collectivization of the Soviet Union. This fight it won in a certain sense—namely in that, beginning with 1928, the whole policy of the Soviet government represents a bureaucratically distorted application of the principles of the Left Opposition. Without this the Soviet Union would not be in existence any longer. But the economic questions of the U.S.S.R. formed only one part, and a subordinate one at that, of our program whose center of gravity rested in the sphere of international revolution.

In this sphere we have during the last eleven years, together with the whole world proletariat, suffered nothing but defeats; in 1924 in Bulgaria and Germany, in 1924 in Estonia, 1925-27 in China, 1926 in England and Poland, 1928-32 the progressive bureaucratic degeneration of the Comintern, 1933 the

Nazi victory in Germany, 1934 the Austrian catastrophe. In all these events and processes the analyses and prognoses of the Left Opposition have been strikingly although unfortunately negatively confirmed. One may read carefully for instance the two novels of the French writer Malraux: "Les Conquerants" and "La Condition Humaine". Without fully realizing the political interrelations and consequences, the author presents here an annihilating indictment against the Comintern's policy in China and strengthens in a most striking manner through his images and figures all that the Left Opposition had already laid down in its theses and formulae before the events themselves. No one can dispute these invaluable theoretical triumphs of the Marxist method! But just so in the year 1905 not the Marxist method but the Bolshevik party was defeated. Later, after a period of years the methods proved victoriously correct. Right after the defeat, however, 99% of the cadres—including the members of the Central Committee—quit the party, turned into peaceful citizens, sometimes even into philistines.

Defeats of the Proletariat It is not by chance that national reaction triumphed in the U.S.S.R. on the basis of the social achievements of the proletarian revolution. The proletariat of the West and the oppressed peoples of the East exhibit nothing but defeats. Instead of the dictatorship of the proletariat the dictatorship of fascism spreads. Irrespective of what the reasons for this may be, since the Revolution itself proved inadequate, the idea of the international revolution was bound to suffer discredit. The Left Opposition above all, as the representative of the principles of the International Revolution, experienced a loss of confidence in the eyes of the toiling masses of the Soviet Union. This is the real reason for the growth of the autocratic rule of the bureaucratic apparatus in the Soviet Union and of its national-conservative degeneration.

Every Russian worker feels now too with his whole heart his solidarity with the proletariat of the rest of the world and hopes that it be finally victorious, but the international revolution as a practical

factor has gradually disappeared from the field of vision of the Russian masses. They pin their hopes on the economic successes of the Soviet Union, they discuss passionately the problems of food and shelter, they grow optimistic on the basis of a good crop—but what concerns the international working class movement has become the profession of Manuilsky-Kausinen-Losovsky, whom no one in the country takes seriously.

The Example of Kirov As to the spiritual make-up of the ruling upper crust of the Soviet Union, one example is highly illuminating—how Kirov expressed himself at the last party congress. "How beautiful it is to live now it is almost impossible to express". Kirov is no chance figure, he is a member of the political bureau and the political governor general of Leningrad; he occupies that post within the party which Zinoviev held at the pinnacle of his influence. That Kirov rejoices over the technical successes and the mitigation of the food scarcity is quite understandable. There is not an honest worker in the whole world who does not rejoice over this. The frightful part of it consists in that Kirov sees only these national partial successes but leaves out of sight the whole field of the international workers' movement. Military dictatorship rules in neighboring Poland, blackest reaction in all other neighboring states. Moscow is forced to preserve "friendship" with Mussolini and the Italian proletariat remains after twelve years of fascism still completely powerless and dispersed. The Chinese revolution was wrecked; Japan rules in Manchuria; the Soviet Union sees itself forced to deliver to Japan the Chinese Eastern Railway, the most important strategic instrument of the revolution in the East. In Germany the Nazis have scored a victory without a fight and no bureaucratic cheat or trickster will dare any longer to pass this victory off for the "acceleration" of the proletarian revolution. In Austria the chained and bleeding proletariat lies prostrate on the ground. The Comintern is compromised, beyond redemption, it has become a brake on the revolution. Despite its crimes the social democracy becomes anew the strongest party of

the working class and in all "democratic" countries prepares the way for Fascist slavery. In France Thaelman's policy is being carried on by Thorez. While in Germany the elite of the proletariat languishes in concentration camps and prisons, the Comintern bureaucracy works indistinguishably as though an accomplice of the social democracy, to make the whole of Europe, yes, and the whole world, into one fascist concentration camp. And Kirov, a member of the leading body of the first workers' state in the world, admits that he lacks words to express the joy of living today. Can this be simple stupidity? No, the man is not stupid; moreover he gives expression not only to his own feelings. His winged word is repeated and praised by the entire Soviet press. Speakers and listeners alike simply forget the whole world; they act, think, feel only Russian and even in this frame only bureaucratically.

Effects of Isolation The capitulation statements of Sosnovski and Preobrajenski reflect the same spirit. They close their eyes to the world proletariat. That alone makes it possible for them to reconcile themselves to the national perspectives of the Soviet bureaucracy. And if they seek reconciliation, they need it because they see no point of support, no lever, no great historic possibility in the storms of proletarian catastrophes in the West, following one on the heels of the other.

After Hitler's victory which brought the pre-history of the Fourth International ("Left Opposition") to an end, it was not easy for us in Germany as well as in Europe in general—that is the law of inertia that rules in all fields—to realize that now we must build new proletarian parties in relentless struggle with the old. Had we however not taken this road in time the Left Opposition would not only not have emerged from its pre-history into its own history proper but would have disappeared from the political scene altogether. How much more difficult, however, it is for the old cadres of the Left Opposition in the U.S.S.R., dispersed, isolated, disoriented, or what is worse, systematically misinformed, to embark on the new road. Rakovsky is a great revolutionary temperament, a personality, a lucid mind. But no one should be deceived. Rakovsky too is only a man and, having been for years separated from the great historic perspectives which inspire the cadres of the Fourth International, the "human" in him won the upperhand. By this we do not at all mean to justify Rakovsky. For fighters to explain does not mean to forgive, it means only to strengthen one's revolutionary certainty.

The "Gleichshaltung" (co-ordination) proceeded downwards for years from revolutionary internationalism to national reformism, from Lenin to Kirov. Thus the victory over Rakovsky is only the most glaring symptom of the degradation and wreckage of Marxism in the country which became a workers' state due to Marxism. A remarkable dialectic, a bitter dialectic, but it is actually here and cannot be evaded by mental acrobatics.

Hitler Aided Stalin Rakovsky's declaration is the expression of a subjective impasse and of pessimism. Without exaggerating by a hair's breadth we can say that Stalin got Rakovsky with the aid of Hitler. That means, however, that Rakovsky's road leads to a political nowhere. His example can carry away a dozen or more young comrades. In the scope of the international politics of the proletariat it will change nothing. In Rakovsky we mourn a lost political friend. We do not feel ourselves weakened by his elimination from the struggle, since it strengthens, although tragically from the personal point of view but politically unshakably, our fundamental principles. As a revolutionary factor the Comintern is dead. From the Moscow leadership the world proletariat can expect only obstructions, difficulties and sabotage. The situation is difficult to an unheard-of degree but by no means hopeless since our difficulties are only the difficulties of world capitalism transformed through both bureaucracies. Two processes run alongside of each other, into and through each other: on the one hand the decomposition of the old structure, the renunciation of old beliefs, capitulations before Hitler and, as a shadow thereof, capitulations before Stalin; on the other hand, however, the awakening of criticism, a feverish search for the broad revolutionary road, the gathering of the cadres of the Fourth International.

Light Will Come From West The Leninist current in the Soviet Union can from now on only be revived by great revolutionary successes in the West. Those Russian Bolsheviks who remain true to our cause under the unheard-of pressure of national reaction—and there are more of them than we suspect—will be recompensed by the further course of development. But now the light will come not from the East but from the West. Even the shamelessly betrayed Chinese revolution waits for a new impulse on the part of the world proletariat.

—C. C.

America vs Japan in Latin America

The key to many of the policies of American imperialism, both in relation to Latin America and to Japan, may be found in the following facts and figures, the latter taken from a Panama newspaper. A veritable flood of goods from Japan is reaching the Latin American market which, for the last 15 years, has been considered reserved for the U. S. While the amount of goods bearing the tale "Made in U. S. A." is diminishing, the goods bearing the words "Made in Japan" are increasing in number, relatively to the amount of imports from other countries and absolutely in relation to the figures of each preceding year.

Silks; cambrics; food-stuffs; paper goods; articles of porcelain, crockery, glassware, and china; drug, medical and toilet articles, leather goods; bamboo; canvas shoes; rubber articles; toys; celluloid—these are the chief articles of import.

Table with 2 columns: Year, Value of imports from Japan to Paraguay in pesos de oro. Rows include 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933.

These figures for 1932 are less than 20% of those for 1929. The same process is at work on a world scale as the following figures for the world export of the U. S. show:

Table with 2 columns: Year, Value of world export of the U.S. show. Rows include 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932.

173%, and to Peru, where the increase was 222%, is symptomatic of process that in the final analysis can only be changed by imperialist war.

Part of the meaning behind the Pan-American congresses, treaties, etc., can be found in these figures of U. S. exports to South America. These figures are taken from the World Year Book:

Table with 2 columns: Year, Value of U.S. exports to South America. Rows include 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932.

While in 1932 U. S. exports dropped to 31% of the 1929 figures, Japanese exports only dropped, at the end of the year 1932, to 67%.

Does this inequality mean war in which the American and Japanese wage slaves will, among other things, fight to determine whether Japanese or North American goods shall be found in the bazaars of India, the fairs of South America and the market places generally of the world?

—C. C.

Cuban Revolution

Stalinism Kneels to American Imperialism

Editor's Note—The following article on the shameful role of Stalinism in the Cuban revolution was written especially for the Militant by comrade M. Garcia Villareal, one of the leaders of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Cuba, section of the International Communist League.)

The present stage in the development of the Cuban revolution is marked on the one hand by a gradual regression toward plans of defensive struggles, and on the other by an accentuation of the acute contradictions of the existing political and social regime. Following the great struggles carried out by the working class from September to December 1933, the ascending conjuncture of the revolution has ceased, to make way for an offensive of the old ruling classes, under the pressure and control of Yankee diplomacy.

The governmental crisis of the early morning of January 18th, when president Grau San Martin was forced to resign by the "peaceful uprising" of the army, did not in any sense signify a simple political-ministerial crisis, but rather the tragic passage from the offensive to the defensive. Once more the working class had been defeated by its class adversaries. Upon fleeing from the political power which it had held during four months, the petty bourgeoisie, by logic of the historic process, should have stepped aside under pressure of the only progressive class in modern society: the proletariat. The fall of Grau San Martin should have signified the victory of the working class. But, far from this, it came to mean a return to the domination of the old political factions, and to imperialist rule in Cuba.

Reasons for the Defeat Why is it that the Cuban revolution, objectively mature, did not develop forward, breaking the resistance of the reactionary nuclei, and,

once the possibilities of paralyzing the functioning of the state were at hand, to a complete dismounting of the repressive apparatus of the bourgeoisie?

No workers' party has ever had a greater historical responsibility than that which falls directly on the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Caribbean secretariat, and of the Communist Party of Cuba. Not only in a historical sense, but also in the daily and immediate application of revolutionary policy, Cuban Stalinism has been converted into the most negative factor within the process of the revolutionary development. The whole blame for the proletarian defeat, falls on the shoulders of Stalinism, without any limitations. Its present cowardice before problems that demand energetic and decisive action, constitutes the last requiem to its existence as a vanguard party of the great exploited masses.

The labor movement of Cuba, considerably backward in its political conceptions, grew in a serious progressive manner, from the time of the fall of Machado's infamous dictatorship. Reformism offered no obstacle to the revolutionary development of the masses, because of the lack of a political and organic tradition and because the soil of Cuba is unfavorable to it due to the sharpness of the economic contradictions. Within the labor movement, two parties alone, struggled for supremacy: Stalinism, with its international resources, and the Bolshevik-Leninists, organizationally small but ideologically sound.

Road to Emancipation Opened The impetus of the masses who, for the first time in history, found the road to their emancipation open before them, was turned loose in the most impressive wave of strikes and combats the country had ever seen. The proletariat passing from victory to victory, was taking the offensive along the whole front; building its cadres; creating its own militia; preparing the assault

on political power. If a correct policy had been utilized; if our material resources had not been so limited, it would not be infantile to affirm clearly, that the working class would at this moment, be waging the preliminary combats for the conquest of power.

But, having grown and fortified its influence, Stalinism, by its narrow political outlook, isolated the working class, pushing it onto the road of adventures; violent zig-zags; abrupt withdrawals. Far from understanding the rhythm of the development of the revolution, it classed the petty bourgeois government of San Martin as a "bourgeois-feudal government, lacking of imperialism". Such a gross theory had a practical application to match. All efforts were directed towards the overthrow of the Grau government, in benefit, not of the working class, but of imperialist reaction which was once more preparing its return to power over the state apparatus.

Confusing the Masses

Without distinguishing essential or purely formal political differences, it confused all of its adversaries in one solid mass. Internal discords among the class enemies, instead of being utilized in the interests of the workers, were considered unimportant by Stalinism. The Leninist insurrectionary formula "to confuse the dominating classes" was interpreted by the functionaries of official Stalinism in a most peculiar manner: "To confuse the dominated classes". Thus when the proletariat found itself forced to fight, it was already too late: for Carlos Mendieta had been raised to government power on the athletic shoulders of the American marines.

Historically, the coming to power of Mendieta is a defeat for the proletariat. Only by preparing the defensive energetically and consciously, reaching out to all of the mass organizations for the creation of the united front; building the fighting equipment of the proletariat which will guard the retreat and prepare tomorrow's offensive, is it possible to check the disintegration of the workers' ranks which are falling back under the blows of reaction.

A Treasonable Capitulation

But Stalinism does not understand this question either. Stunned by unbridled reaction—the road to which Stalinism prepared in a criminal manner—it has done nothing but yield cynically and openly before the dictates of the plutocracy. Its last resolutions, emanating from the bureaucratic and "chantagist" Caribbean Secretariat, complete its infamous treason; Stalinism has ordered that in case of a revolution the property of the imperialist feudal holdings are to be respected, because imperialism is an "infinitely superior enemy".

This shameful capitulation has not even caused the most simple party militant to blush. The corruption of the C. C. of Cuba, has already reached such a state that not only is a resurgence impossible, but not even a protest can be hoped for. The Litvinoff-Roosevelt pact, denounced in time by the international Communists, has already borne its most delicate fruit: respect for the domination of Yankee finance capital. This prostration of the Stalinist functionaries at the feet of imperialism will go down as the most open and cynical betrayal, made by the Communist International in the last ten years.

New Revolutionary Explosion Impending

Today the Cuban revolution retreats before the onslaught of the opponent and the demoralization of the proletariat sold out by its bureaucratic leadership. In the near future however, a new revolutionary explosion, which will penetrate deeply into the popular masses of the nation, is inevitable. It is necessary to organize in the midst of the struggle a capable political leadership in order to lead the next assault on the enemy positions. If this leadership fails, if it is unable to mold itself in the course of the present battles, then the revolution will recede for a long time to come.

But the abnegation, vigor and tenacity demonstrated by the Bolshevik-Leninists in the recent months; their whole-hearted consecration to the proletarian cause, make it possible to predict that we shall be able with the aid, especially, of the proletariat of North and South America, to guide the broad Cuban masses, correctly and surely, towards the conquest of political power.

The coming return must find the Cuban proletariat in condition to fight and win, because leadership is tempered in struggle and each day finds it better prepared. For only in the destruction of capitalism, the cause and breeder of wars, and the victory of the workers, lies the certainty of the disappearance of war.

—M. GARCIA VILLAREAL. Havana, April 12, 1934

The Collapse of the Disarmament Bubble

The New York Times of April 16 in an editorial has a few good words to say for the students who demonstrated against war in the schools of the country last week. "There was an unquestionably sincere and admirable feeling shown in protesting against war as a cruel and useless resort. . . ." But was not, it asks, the display of praiseworthy emotion misdirected? Whereupon sound advice is administered to the bewildered student youth. "What these young men ought to do," it says, "is to pass on from their detestation of war to hearty support of every international agency designed to prevent it." This is followed by the very practical proposal that the young men should devote their energies to getting the United States to join the League of Nations and adhere to the World Court.

Bankruptcy of "Peace" Agencies

Unfortunately the Times selects an inopportune moment to direct the eyes of misguided students toward international agencies for peace. Right now the bankruptcy of all so-called international efforts for peace have become so transparent that even the journalists of the capitalist press are compelled to speak out openly about it.

In the columns of the N. Y. Times, just one day prior to the editorial mentioned, a London correspondent writes: "Fourteen years of effort in behalf of the League of Nations has come to naught so far as disarmament is concerned." In the Herald Tribune of April 15 we read: "The disarmament bubble—the pretense maintained convincingly since 1919, that the heavily armed powers would some day consent to reduce their armaments—was semi-publicly exploded last week, and the very word 'disarmament' may as well be dropped. The question now, as the Geneva conference on Tuesday recognized, is whether even a convention limiting future arms increases can be agreed upon when the full conference meets May 23". (our emphasis—G.R.) Thus the disarmament comedy is drawing to a close. The imperialist powers are now engaged in the

greatest armament race since the World War. It is no longer a question of disarmament but efforts of the rival countries to restrain each other in the mad feverish marathon. The statesmen know the hour of war is nearer than ever. The N. Y. Times writer in the same article says: "The governments of neighboring powers may solemnly proclaim at every opportunity that war is furthest from their thoughts, but their general staffs proceed upon the assumption that it is an imminent possibility".

The international agencies for peace are as useful in preventing war as were their pre-1914 prototypes in preventing the World War. What did the Hague conventions of 1899 and 1907 providing for the pacific settlement of international disputes mean on the days of August 1914? The answer is equal to zero.

Such institutions as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Foreign Policy Association in recent reports utter doleful notes about the agencies for preserving peace. Every foot of the earth is covered by one peace pact or another, they inform us. However all these mutual pledges are not working satisfactorily. Dr. James Brown Scott of the Carnegie endowment questions the good faith of the powers who signed the treaties. He has a suspicion the signatories have no intention of observing the pledges. How else, he asks, can it be possible for nations to negotiate and sign one treaty guaranteeing world peace, then violate it, and then sign another identical treaty?

Peace Pacts—and Wars

There is a contradiction between what is signed and what is done, the Carnegie report shows:

The Kellogg-Briand pact renounced war. But there has been no reduction in land armaments. All the nations of the Western Hemisphere signed anti-war pacts. But Paraguay and Bolivia have been at war for the last two years. The nine power treaty signed at Washington in 1922 guaranteed the integrity of China. But Japan invaded China in 1931 and has remained there since.

If the student or anyone else does not relish the prospect of being slaughtered in another capitalist war, he had better reject the advice of the New York Times. Instead let him turn his eyes toward the working class movement, and particularly toward the revolutionary section of the working class. For only in the destruction of capitalism, the cause and breeder of wars, and the victory of the workers, lies the certainty of the disappearance of war.

—G.R.

—L. TROTSKY. March 31 1934

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Statesmen at Albany
Senator McNaboe and President of the Senate Dunnigan were debating.

Tammany Gang Chief Dropped
There are no charges against me. No one can say I have not been an honest man," complained John Curry, Tammany chief, as the sachems and other warriors sharpened their tomahawks for his scalp.

When the voting was over and Curry was out, he made a few remarks, "Mr. Keneally, didn't I call you up on Monday to tell you I was making you a sachem?"

There was rejoicing in Washington. "Harmony" in the division of spoils by Federal, State and City Democratic leaders, will help in the fall elections.

"History" by Sam Don
Sam Don has a simple recipe for success, that has worked well with him. Last week he mixed a fresh batch (two parts quotations from Stalin, three parts lies about the "renegades", a few lines from Marx and Lenin to make it palatable, place in the Daily Worker and then sit back and await promotion).

The Facts
First, the "Trotskyite elements" were not in the Lovestone group. Secondly, in 1928-29 the Lovestone group, with the somewhat shamefaced cooperation of the Fosterites, were expelling the Trotskyites, burglarizing their homes, and with knives, black-jacks and lead pipes breaking up their meetings.

The Hosanna Chorus
If Lovestone was singing "hosannas to American capitalism" included in the chorus were not Trotskyites but such good Stalinists as Jack Stachel, W. Winestone, Robert Minor, I. Amter, Harry Wickes and Max Bedacht, not forgetting Sam Don himself who sang with either Winestone or Bittleman according as the wind blew from the Volga.

The Revolutionary Unions
Another fact which both Lovestone and Sam Don would like to forget is that the "revolutionary unions", the N. M. U., the Needle Trades Industrial Union, the Textile Workers Industrial Union, etc., were all set up under Lovestone leadership and Lovestone direction.

The C. I. Open Letter
The open letter from the C. I. did not clean out "Lovestone-Trotskyite" elements. In the first place there were not any such animals and besides the "Trotskyites" were already publishing the Militant.

Cleveland Convention of the C.P.

The Eighth Convention of the official Communist Party and all its artificial ballyhoo is over. According to the Daily Worker it is to live in the minds of posterity, epitomized by the "excellent", the "masterly and historical", the "clear and forceful analysis", the "masterfully applied Marxian combination of clear and general statements with concrete examples", the "brilliantly outlined", etc., etc., report of Earl Browder, the "best report ever made at any time in the history of the Party", together with his "remarkable final speech".

This report, if we are to believe Sam Don, "influenced the work and the discussion of the convention from the first to the last session". And Jack Stachel, in recounting the "progress" made by the Party, testifies that it was all "made possible under the leadership of the General Secretary of our Party, comrade Browder". (enthusiastic applause).

The Events of Four Years
Our expectation grows irresistibly to its natural climax. What did this report say? What does this Party leadership propose?

Between the Seventh and the Eighth Party convention almost four years have elapsed. Four years of world-shaking events, chief among which, as far as revolutionaries are concerned, must be counted the catastrophic defeats inflicted upon the proletariat in Germany and Austria. Four years in which the wave of reaction rolled on with a powerful sweep, crushing and smashing a working class movement in its wake. A period which more than ever exposed the perfidy and corruption of Social-Democracy, and also demonstrated the bankruptcy of the Comintern under the Stalin regime.

But, at the same time, a new and powerful ray of hope appeared in the very last of these events, in the magnificent battle of the Austrian Socialist workers, standing

out all the more in contrast to the dismal capitulation of the Communist Party and the Social Democracy of Germany. Who would dare deny that precisely in the events of this period is embodied the lessons to which a party, to be worthy of the name revolutionary, was duty bound to apply the most incisive analysis, the most critical examination, and draw a balance sheet.

They Learned Nothing
All that was entirely absent from the Stalinist convention. And as far as future history is concerned this convention can only denote an empty space. Marxism, as a living doctrine is a generalization of all working class experience, constantly drawing its strength from every new experience. A party calling itself Marxian, which fails to absorb into its very marrow the lessons of these recent decisive events, and fails to learn from them, can in no case escape the disintegrating tendencies that brought Social-Democracy into its stinking swamp of decay. It cannot at all be counted upon as a leader of the masses in a crisis. It will collapse as ignominiously as did the German Communist Party.

Instead of drawing a balance sheet from these great lessons the misguided workers at this convention were served the same "general line" which led to the catastrophic defeats. The delegates were told in the "magnificent" etc. speech that the New Deal "is not developed Fascism. But in political essence and direction, it is the same as Hitler's program". Thus is being prepared the same fatal disorientation as in Germany and the same justification for capitulation. In Germany the revolutionary workers had drilled into their minds the ideas of the Bruening fascism, the Von Papen fascism, the Von Schleicher fascism. When the real fascism, by

this disorientation, was able to ascend to power, they could not distinguish it from the previous regimes; they could not fight it; the Party was paralyzed. The German revolutionists were filled up with the spurious ideas of "social fascism".

Repeat the Old Errors
At the Cleveland convention this was not only repeated but glibly elaborated into various shades and degrees of right and left fascism. In such a maze of confusion the various working-class tendencies could never be properly distinguished nor could the false ideas be guarded against. But such an exposition of the question by the bureaucratic leadership is not merely a matter of confusion as far as they are concerned. It is a mirror of their own degeneracy. It is an effort to cover up their own failure to meet all other tendencies within the working class on the basis of a revolutionary program as real party leaders would do. Such covering up, however, becomes the worst form of disorientation and, in carrying it to its logical conclusion, the Stalinist leaders stoop to the lowest levels.

To shun the honest workers away from an objective examination of what the actual revolutionary current in the movement stands for, all the Browders, in their deadly fear of it, can only repeat their usual base slanders. Lumping us among their various brands of "social fascism", although they have previously pronounced us dead at least 27 dozen times, they say: "Too many of our members still do not understand that Trotskyism and the Trotskyists are not a 'branch' of the Communist movement, but rather a police agency of the capitalist class". What would they answer if any worker was to take them seriously at their word and say: Give us the proof so that we can properly substantiate the contention!

But this is all empty bravado handed out to cover up their own failure to meet our Marxian arguments. For the heavy blows of defeats suffered, due mainly to their own false political orientation and dismal incompetence, the Stalinists increase their slander of the revolutionary current. Simultaneously every possible measure is drawn upon to elevate a hand picked bureaucracy artificially to a position of infallibility with a Browder sitting on the very pinnacle.

—ARNE SWABECK. (Continued in Next Issue)

May Day

(Continued from page 1)

first test of strength were met by the proletariat call for a general strike. The French working class thus served notice on the Fascist scum that the road to power in France was barred by the working class. The movement for united action in France, which led to the general strike, if given leadership, determined and revolutionary, can lead to the crushing of the French Fascists. And, over and above that, in the further development of the struggle it can lead to the crushing of French capitalism and the founding of French Soviets.

Such a movement would again awaken the German and Austrian working class and change the whole world situation. Not reaction, but proletarian revolution, would be on the ascendency. It would arouse the international consciousness of the proletariat in the Soviet Union now stifled by the reactionary dogma of national socialism. Between a Soviet Union, again alive with the spirit of international solidarity on which it was founded, and the young Soviet France, the Fascist governments of Hitler, Dolfuss and Mussolini would go down like a house of cards.

The Road of the United Front

The road which opens up such a vista, is the road of the united front. The armed struggle of a united working class against Fascism in France is the first step on such a road. Socialist and Communist Party leaderships in France, instead of leading in such a direction, hung back, still chanting their defeatist slogans. Alone among the political forces one voice was raised for the united front, that voice was the Communist League of France, a voice that is gaining increased attention in the French proletariat.

Striking back at the danger which they saw clearly, the French reaction hit at the outstanding leader of International Communism, Leon Trotsky. The whole reactionary forces of the world united with the French reactionaries in the incitement against Trotsky. In this they had the support of the discredited organizers of defeats, the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Not only in Europe, but in the United States, Fascism raises its head. Alongside of the attacks launched against the basic organizations of the working class, the trade unions, by the organization, with state sanction, of company unions, goes the rise of Fascist bands: Blackshirts, Silvershirts, Brownshirts, spring up like mushrooms. Fascist bands are organizing, arming and drilling. Mass meetings and demonstrations of Nazis are held in New York and other cities.

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The Struggle in the U. S.
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Against company unions; against the starvation of the unemployed; against the lynching of Negro workers; against the growth of Fascist movements; against the growing danger of imperialist war—now, as never before, the united front of all working-class organizations must be formed.

We of the Communist League of America call on the workers in all organizations, Communist, Socialist, Trade Union, to raise the demand for genuine united front action. Let nothing stand in your way. Be not put aside by the rehash of past errors, demand that the united front be built now!

For the United Front of labor against war and Fascism! For the defense of the Soviet Union!

For the defense of the workers rights! For the right of asylum!

For unemployment insurance, the six-hour day and the five-day week!

For the new party of the Fourth International!

For Soviet America!

For the International Proletarian Revolution!

WAR AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
The First of a New Series of Lectures on the International Program with Special Reference to America
By James P. Cannon
At IRVING PLAZA HALL
15th Street and Irving Place
SUNDAY, APRIL 29th at 8 P.M.
ADMISSION 15 CENTS QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION
Other lectures to follow on successive Fridays: Fascism; the Trade Union Question; the United Front.

400 Hail Move For New Defense At Bellussi Meet

A cheering, singing, wildly enthusiastic gathering of more than 400 people converted the simple occasion of a farewell dinner to Comrade Anthony Bellussi, at Stuyvesant Casino, into a demonstration for honest non-partisan labor defense that heralds the early launching of a new defense organization.

The dinner was to honor Bellussi, anti-Fascist victim of the Federal Government's vicious deportation policy, and to raise money for his fare to another country in order to prevent his deportation to Fascist Italy. The right of voluntary departure, granted by the U. S. government being contingent on his fare being paid.

As speaker after speaker raised the broader issue of a united front against Fascism, however, the gathering, a mixed crowd of workers and working class sympathizers of varying shades of political belief, began to sense the genuineness and importance of the appeals.

Here was no fake call for unity, issuing from the tongue of sectarian bureaucrats, and prefaced by slander and abuse of the people appealed to.

Speakers Warmly Received
The speakers, by their example, by their earnestness and honesty, were putting the Stalinist labor fakery to shame. The gathering sensed this and responded, opened their hearts out to the speakers, cut loose with cheers that contained a note of relief. Here was the message that has long been awaited.

The speakers were Carlo Tresca, editor of Il Martello; Quincy Howe, editor of the Living Age; George Novak, of the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense; A. J. Muste, of the American Workers' Party; James P. Cannon, of the Communist League of America, and Bellussi. Comrade Cannon acted as toastmaster.

Tresca opened the meeting with a militant call for a fight—no mere newspaper campaign, no debates, but a fight—against Fascism, the common enemy. "You can't editorialize Fascism out of existence," he said. "You have to fight it with its own weapons, on the street, with your lives. It is war!"

Quincy Howe reviewed the history of deportations, and the transformation of this country from a haven for political refugees into one of the most forbidding and reactionary of all lands. He called for a fight to regain the right of asylum.

Simply, quietly, earnestly, Comrade Novak explained the circumstances that had led to the formation of the provisional committee. The group of intellectuals that formed this committee were formerly active in the I.L.D. and the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners. One member of the group was former secretary of the N.C.D.P.P. Three were ex-members of the National Committee of the I.L.D. Another was ex-secretary of the League for Professional Groups.

All had arrived, in the course of their work, at the same conclusion. The crying need in the labor movement was united action. Not only did the I.L.D. and the other groups affiliated with the Stalinists, not want genuine unity of action, but they blocked the efforts of all who sought it.

Advocate Non-Partisan Organization
Slandered, abused, and shut off from active work because they dared raise the issue of a genuine united front against Fascism, the group had abandoned the Stalinist camp in disgust. Now, since their experience and capacity was primarily in the direction of defense work, they were seeking a non-partisan, mass defense organization.

They were under no illusions that they, themselves, could or should form such an organization. It was primarily the task of working class bodies. But they had taken the initiative in inviting working class organizations to form a united defense body, and they would promise their cooperation to the utmost.

Muste and Cannon, following the speaker, at once pledged their support, and the support of their organizations. It was their stirring response to the call, their generous waiving of rights, priorities, precedent, their palpable sincerity on the issue, that drew the cheers of the crowd, and set the tone of the gathering.

In the same spirit of solidarity, the gathering unanimously passed a resolution protesting the expulsion of Leon Trotsky from France, and demanding right of asylum for him here in this country. This resolution also drew enthusiastic applause.

The sum of \$226 was raised for Bellussi—a large sum for the comparatively small and predominantly working class crowd.

SEND A DOLLAR FOR FOUR FREE-PAID SUB CARDS, EACH GOOD FOR A SIX-MONTHS SUBSCRIPTION ON THE CLUB PLAN.

Stalinist Hoodlums Attack Shachtman L. A. Meeting

Los Angeles—The Stalinists scored another one of their "victories"—they broke up the Shachtman meeting last night. But we got two new members on the spot. These two are really promising workers. They're not new to the movement and only needed this emotional push to send them to us. Undoubtedly the branch will be a much bigger one because of last night. The success of our first Shachtman meeting (a little over two hundred were there) probably inspired the Stalinists to attack the second meeting last night.

A gang of Y.C.L.'ers and local hoodlums—pugs and even gangsters—were rounded up and brought down by truck. They congregated outside the door, waiting for the signal that Shachtman had started to speak. They were noisy and tried to get in on their usual plea—"unemployed." One big fellow whose nose was flattened and ears cauliflowered, told Harry Ross: "The trouble with you guys is that you don't believe in God." You can judge how close to the labor movement these young lumps were.

We were only about six on the outside of the door. Around us was this mob of about thirty-five, led by Olsen, the Y.C.L. District Organizer.

Shachtman arose to speak. Olsen forced himself to the door and yelled out: "We're unemployed, and we want to get in." They shoved on masse into the door. Then we started, mostly with bare fists. We sent them down the steps, but not without casualties on our side. They ran for the lavatory, and pleaded: "You won't hit us if we walk out."

We let them go. Two minutes later we were sorry. They got one of our members (a young kid) and beat him into practically insensibility. He was down on the floor and they sapped him and kicked him, the whole damned gang. At this writing he's still resting in bed at home. Another of our young fellows was taken to the hospital. Six stitches were taken over his eye where somebody had struck him with a heavy jagged stick.

They weren't discriminating at all. They struck our women with rubber hose. One woman member of the Proletarian Party was mixed up in it. They raised great big welts on her arm. A most active woman member of our group took quite a beating.

A few of the Stalinists tried to

Militant is Barred From Canada

Coming on the heels of the international fury against the ideas of the Fourth International and its leader Leon Trotsky is the receipt of a memorandum at the offices of the Militant notifying it that the Department of Revenue has prohibited its importation into Canada.

The reactionary Canadian government, rabid in its persecution of militant workers and revolutionaries, has struck another blow at the ideas of internationalism by the prohibition of its outstanding exponent in the English language.

While no reason is attached to the banning of the Militant from Canada, we wish to call to the attention of our readers that every piece of literature issued by the Internationalist Communists is now banned from the Dominion of Canada.

YOUNG SPARTACUS

YOUNG SPARTACUS, published monthly by the National Committee of Spartacus Youth Clubs of America, April 1934.

Appearing in late April, the current issue of the organ of the S. Y. C.s features the recent world youth conference and the protest against the deportation of the four German youth.

Articles on the strike wave, the dental mechanics strike, the student anti-war strike, the Dr. Wirt "expulse", and on the recent Philippine "independence" law cover the outstanding current events. The problem of unionizing the young workers and the revolutionary attitude towards the proposed child labor amendment are treated in editorials. Activities among the students are covered in "Student Notes".

The preparations for a new war are covered in the feature "I Cover the War Front", an article on American munitions production and items on the C. C. C. An article on the Silver Shirts is printed as the first of a series on the growing Fascist movement in the United States. The lessons of the Austrian events are treated in popular form. Finally, the activities of the Spartacus Youth Clubs are included under "organization notes".

The May issue is planned for the early part of the month.

carry on the fight on the inside of the hall, but they were adequately taken care of. One came half way up the steps, put his hand on the inside pocket and yelled that if we moved down on him he'd pull his gun. Right on top of that they sent one of their husky women, and right behind her were in a mass. They outnumbered us by six times at least, and swept us to the door. Not numbers alone did it. They had acquired many new weapons, sticks, crowbars. They had everything there. We barricaded ourselves against them. They tried to throw broken chairs at us through the door—but that was the end until the cops came (the radio car). That finished the meeting.

After that we gathered at a comrade's house. Sympathizers were there and also some members of the different labor groups. Plans were immediately drawn up for a united front protest meeting against C.P. fascist hoodlums. Shachtman drew up the leaflet and a committee was appointed to go around the different organizations. They are now at work at it.

Shachtman's coming here put plenty of life into the League branch here. It had a tonic effect on everybody. Especially after the first public meeting, the effect on outsiders was surprising. The most important thing is that he certainly cleared up a lot of things, notably the Austrian question.

San Francisco Meeting

San Francisco.—Comrade Shachtman's meeting in San Francisco was a huge success. Held at the Labour College, a known labour meeting-place and headquarters of the Proletarian Party, the meeting was singularly well attended with 275 workers of all tendencies present.

Comrade Shachtman in his talk very ably pointed out the bankruptcy of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, demonstrating their impotency in the face of world-wide crisis and concluded by calling for the formation of a new revolutionary international.

During the discussion period a C. P. leader got up and announced the meeting of the C. P. was holding to "answer" "Mr." Shachtman. Around this arose a strenuous discussion of various policies, at the conclusion of which Comrade Shachtman challenged the Communist Party to debate and after remarking that for five and a half years they had refused to do so, he dared the C. P. to answer our challenge.

At the Communist Party "Answer to Mr. Shachtman" meeting, Comrade Shachtman was called "Trotsky's lackey", "leader of the Lovestones", and violently accused of "never having worked for a boss" and Comrade Trotsky was said to be "politically dead", "opposed to collectivization of the land in Russia" and for "taxing the poor peasantry to industrialize Russia." No attempt was made to answer in detail any theoretical arguments advanced by Comrade Shachtman. To their slanders, we reiterated our challenge to debate and called upon the membership to watch whether or not the C. P. would answer.

At Comrade Shachtman's meeting a great deal of literature and all available Militants were sold and, contrary to popular custom which ends most radical meetings at 10 o'clock, the meeting continued until 12 o'clock when the landlady turned off the lights.

Comrade Shachtman's meeting was the needed impetus to the further growth of the local branches. Already, as a result of the enthusiasm raised at this meeting, and the farce of the Stalinists' "answer", our prestige and influence among the working class has been strengthened and we are making headway in winning over many worthwhile elements to the position of the Left Opposition.

—FLORENCE WYLE.

SHACHTMAN TOUR SCHEDULE

- Fri., April 27—Staunton or Gillespie, Ill.
Sat., April 28—Springfield, Ill.
Sun., April 29—Davenport, Ia.
Mon., April 30—Davenport, Ia.
Tues., May 1—Chicago, Ill.
Wed. May 2—Chicago, Ill.
Thurs., May 3—Chicago, Ill.
Fri., May 4—Waukegan, Ill.
Sat., May 5—Detroit, Mich.
Sun., May 6—Detroit, Mich.

WILL FASCISM COME TO AMERICA?

Lecture by JAMES P. CANNON
Friday, May 4, 1934
at 8:00 P.M.
Elm Hill Building, 532 Warren St.
Opposite Waumbeck St.
Roxbury, Mass
Admission 15 Cents
Sponsored by Boston Branch Communist League of America