

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America

VOLUME VII, NO. 28 [WHOLE NO. 232]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1934

PRICE 2 CENTS

MINNEAPOLIS STRIKES MONDAY

Teamsters Join Dock Workers in Frisco Strike

BULLETIN
As we go to press, there comes the news that the teamsters of San Francisco and Oakland, revolting against exploitation on their own jobs as well as against the boss terror used on the striking waterfront workers, have gone out on strike, 3,500 strong. With trucking strikes looming in Duluth and St. Paul, as well as Minneapolis, it begins to look as though the crowd in control of the International Union may have their hands full.

San Francisco, July 11.—Terrific pressure for, and terrific pressure against, a general strike—this is the meaning of events here, since last Thursday's murderous attack on the strikers by the police, killing two strikers and wounding scores of others. With the bringing in of the National Guard immediately after the police attack, the issue was clearly drawn: Either a general strike to back up the waterfront strike, or complete defeat for the strikers.

Only a general strike can save the waterfront strike, because the State of California itself is the chief strike-breaker. The so-called "opening of the port" by the bosses' Industrial Association was a fraud. All they did was get five trucks to be loaded and travel up and back from the pier to a nearby warehouse. This didn't make a dent in the mountain-high load of goods piled on the docks. But the State-owned Belt Line Railway, which connects the piers to the railroads is endangering the strike. Its freight cars are loaded up on the docks, then shunted on to the railroad tracks, and there they are unloaded and the goods delivered in the city by truck.

Casey Affords the Pretext
The Teamsters Union could stop this, but the veteran reactionary teamster chief, Michael Casey, has limited truck drivers' cooperation with the strike to refuse to deliver goods to and from the piers. Even this he did on the basis that the teamsters were "endangered" by the strikers' struggle against scabs. This provided the excuse for the Industrial Association, which initiated the bloody Thursday fight on the pretext that they had sufficient longshoremen to work, but that goods could not be taken away from the piers because the teamsters were afraid of the strikers.

On Sunday the teamsters voted overwhelmingly to go out on strike in sympathy with the marine workers. This is the most important single step in moving to aid the waterfront fight. But Casey is still on the job. He got the teamsters to postpone going out until Thursday, and then got them to agree to another strike vote Wednesday (tonight).

The worst danger to the strike is the so-called "Strategy Committee" set up Friday night by the San Francisco Labor Council. This had a double purpose. First, it was a substitute for the General Strike Committee proposal, which was supported by many of the unions. The substitute merely provides a committee to advise the striking unions. Second, it was a maneuver to put the "Strategy Committee" at the head of the waterfront strike, so that its seven members—whom

(Continued from Page 1)

Comrade Thor Dead
San Francisco.—The proletariat of America lost one of its staunchest and most courageous fighters with the passing of Comrade Andy Thor. The strain of long weeks directing the picket lines of the water front strike told at last on a heart whose every beat was for the working class. Comrade Andy, still at his post of duty, was found dead at the wheel of his car.

Fearing foul play, for comrade Andy is not the only striker who has been found dead at his post of duty, his comrades instituted an autopsy independent of the original police verdict but it was comrade Andy's heart swollen from the terrific strain of loading cargoes that had faltered.

His brave wife, his two beautiful children and his comrades mourn the passing of this lovable and courageous worker.

Mass Meeting of Local 574 Unanimously Accepts Call for Walkout; Repudiates Tobin-Bosses Red Scare

PRESIDENT BROWN TEACHES TOBIN LESSON IN UNIONISM

"The cry of Communism raised by those who have contributed nothing to the organization of our Union or to the conduct of the recent strike is in itself a condemnation of those who helped raise the cry. We organized drivers, helpers, petroleum workers, and inside workers for the specific purpose of securing for them shorter hours and higher wages. To do this we use the structure provided by the American Federation of Labor. We have confined our efforts to trade union activities. The union is conducted as a democratic, economic instrument to achieve the ends set forth above. The political affiliations of our membership is not the concern of the leadership or of the rank and file. Every worker has complete freedom in this respect. This is one of the fundamental principles of organized labor."

Quoted from the *Organizer*, Vol. I, No. 3.

10,000 March in Big Labor Parade

Minneapolis.—On Friday night, July 6, workers of the Twin Cities massed solidly in the greatest demonstration of militant labor solidarity Minneapolis has ever seen to show their unanimous support of the fight being put up by the General Drivers, Helpers, Petroleum Workers and Inside Workers Union No. 574, against the lying and murderous onslaught of the Citizens' Alliance—an attack directed not only at the lives and living standards of the Drivers, but an attack upon the entire organized labor movement in Minneapolis. The great parade, culminating in an overflow mass meeting at the Municipal auditorium, recorded the enthusiastic sentiment of the Twin City working class for militant action in support of "Local 574," the pride of the labor movement here.

Beginning at six o'clock, laboring men and women filed into the Block 20 district. For over an hour steady streams of workers continued to pour into the workers' section of Minneapolis—teamsters, street car employees, building tradesmen, brewery workers, railroad workers, the organized unemployed, whole truckloads of delegates from the progressive Farmer's Holiday Association, scores of

(Continued from Page 1)

Minneapolis Sidelights

Minneapolis, July 11.—During last Friday's parade up Nicollet Ave. the Minneapolis Central Council of Workers (unemployed) which contains scores of the politically more advanced workers, pleased the thousands of spectators by singing working class songs along the line of march—Hold the Fort, Solidarity, Pie in the Sky. To many workers, such songs are a new experience. They showed their appreciation by applauding lustily and joining in when they could catch the words. All except a small group standing in front of a church on upper Nicollet. A horrified look appeared on the shiny faces of the Faithful as the M.C.C.W. swept by choraling "Preacher and the Slave".

Not only are the eyes of the American working class turned toward Minneapolis. With anxiety in their hearts the bosses from coast to coast are watching, baffled and troubled, the situation here. Walter Davenport of Collier's is in town. Correspondents from half a dozen big papers, including the yellow Chicago Tribune, arrived on Tuesday to cover the approaching events for their papers.

The re-write man on one of the largest local sheets has admitted that he is a member of the Silver Shirts—he says, "Ya, our government is almost perfect now; in a year or so—when we have a real dictatorship—it will be perfect; perfect for my class, but hell for the workers." Looks like we can

Daniel Tobin Goes to Bat For the Bosses

Joining his voice to that of the bosses in raising the Red-Scare against the militant leaders of Local 574 has been the contribution of Daniel J. Tobin, general president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, on the eve of the second strike.

This reactionary scab, who sits in a swivel chair the year round collecting the fat salary of \$10,000 per annum and expenses, who gave no cooperation to the workers in their first strike in Minneapolis, now comes to the fore—at the most crucial moment—showing his "solidarity" with the drivers by denouncing their sterling leadership as "radicals and Communists".

Solidarity it is. Solidarity with the bosses.

Tobin has already received the answer for his perfidious strike-breaking move.

From the bosses, praises and panegyric—big scarehead streamers in the Minneapolis capitalist rags.

A Smashing Repudiation
From the workers, a smashing repudiation. At the union meeting of July 9th of Local 574 full confidence in the leadership was manifested. And on the same night a conference of business agents in the Building Trades Unions met and voted to condemn Tobin's red scare and to reaffirm their full support of Local 574.

Of the leadership that led the whirlwind strike of ten days in May that brought victory into the lap of men who had never seen the inside of a union before, the employers' pal, Tobin says that "language describing, or capable of describing this class of serpent, in the shape of a working man would not be put into print. All we can say to our people is to beware of these wolves in sheep's clothing."

If Tobin believes, that by this treachery, for which the bosses undoubtedly show their gratitude, he can split the serried ranks of 574 and set the workers against each other on an issue that will cripple their ranks and bring victory to the Citizens' Alliance then let him read the statement of William Brown, president of 574 and he will know that the Minneapolis drivers are ready to speak to him in one language.

(Continued on Page 4)

BOSSSES WENT WILD WHEN THEY READ THIS SQUIB

The bosses quote this comment from the *Organizer* (Vol. I, No. 1), official organ of Local 574 and rave incoherently about respect for dead men.

"The 'Low and Odor' League"
"We just found out that this fellow John Dillingier is a 'Piker.' The Government is offering only \$10,000 Bucks for his capture.—Small town stuff—Why?; he only killed fifteen or twenty people. Right here in our home town the 'low and odor' League is offering \$20,000 for any information leading to the apprehension of the exterminator of a couple of rats."

"Notes from our Wild Animal Department:
"There will be less rats in the Central Market this summer. What Ho! Grand Jury!"

Red Herring Cover For Real Issues

Despairing of swindling the Minneapolis workers out of their strike-wage increases by a broad campaign of public intimidation which reeks with insinuation and calumny, the Citizens Alliance has resorted to the time worn method when all others fail—the Red Scare.

In dragging the red herring across the front page of the prostituted capitalist press the Minneapolis bosses are trying to divert attention from the outstanding issue before the Minneapolis working class.

The Real Issue
That issue, recognized by every working man in the Twin Cities, is the stubborn refusal of the employers to increase the wretched wages of the drivers and to deal with the inside men as represented by 574.

They charge the union leadership with being Communists. By that they hope to estrange the sympathy of the Minneapolis toilers and to split the solid phalanx of the Drivers Union.

Reports in another column of the *Militant* show what a complete dud their red scare turned out to be.

In this campaign to terrorize public opinion the Minneapolis bosses have found themselves in hearty agreement with Dan Tobin, International Teamsters President. The Minneapolis *Daily Star* features the revolting attack on the local leadership under a big scare head, "COMMUNISTIC, RADICAL INFLUENCE IN LOCAL DRIVERS' UNION SCORED."

The leadership of the local union is branded as red because their direction was so effective. It is branded as Communist because it brought the bosses to their knees before they had time to consider a plan of battle. It is stigmatized as "radical" because the bosses feel themselves powerless against its unconquerable militancy.

A "Startling" Discovery
A "startling" discovery is made by the "Employers Advisory Committee, representing 168 Employers" in one of their half-page ads which costs them \$431.30 for one issue. With mock indignation they howl: "Further evidence of the type of men who are attempting to arouse honest workmen to vote a general strike is furnished in a handbill recently distributed in the streets of Minneapolis. This handbill issues a call for a mass meeting at which speakers (which the handbill identifies as 'outstanding strike leaders') will speak on the Minneapolis

(Continued on Page 4)

Housewarming
A housewarming party at the new headquarters of the New York Local of the Communist League of America will take place Saturday, July 14th at 8 P.M. The new headquarters are located at 144 Second Ave., corner 9th Street. A program of entertainment has been arranged for this occasion, food and refreshments will be served. All friends and sympathizers are invited.

Strike Call of Local 574 Central Labor Union Backs Drivers' Local

(By Airmail to the Militant)

MINNEAPOLIS, July 11.—Since the settlement of the strike on May 25th, Local 574, through its duly authorized representatives, has been attempting to negotiate wage scales with the employers in accordance with the agreement which brought about the ending of the strike. We have attempted to settle with the employers all other matters left for negotiation. All these attempts to settle the dispute by negotiation, conducted with the greatest patience and persistence, have met with failure. The employers, egged on by the Union-hating Citizens' Alliance, behind which stand the banks and the sinister financial interests of Wall Street, have violated the agreement. They have set out to break our union and rob us of the fruits of our victory.

All the efforts of our Union, over a period of six weeks since the ending of the strike, to establish living wages and hours have been frustrated by the arrogant attitude of the employers. The Regional Labor Board by its action, or rather, by its failure to act, has aided in every case in upholding the hand of the employers. Every attempt of the Union to negotiate and secure satisfaction for the just demands of its members has been met with evasions, tricks and subterfuges. Every approach for practical discussions of our grievances has been answered by columns of paid newspaper advertisements filled with misrepresentations, lies and slanders against the union and its leadership.

THE AGREEMENT VIOLATED BY THE BOSSSES

The vital questions of wages and hours, which are of life and death concern to our members and their families, have been callously ignored. The right of the Union to represent all its members—which was explicitly agreed to in the strike settlement, has been denied. Seniority rules provided for in the agreement have been violated by the majority of the firms.

In this unscrupulous course, the Citizens' Alliance and the employers are seeking to shift the issue. They cloak their campaign to wreck the Trade Union movement and deprive the workers of decent human lives behind personal attacks on the leaders of the Union. The bosses want to dictate to the Union what leaders it should have. We reject this dictation. We have the right to be represented by leaders of our own choosing and we intend to assert this right. We reject the insolent demand of the Citizens' Alliance and the bosses to choose our leaders for us. Local 574 is a democratic trade union organization. Its membership is fully capable of deciding this question for itself without any advice from the exploiters of labor.

The general membership meeting declares that the leaders of our Union have faithfully served the interests of the membership. They have conducted themselves as responsible trade union officials and have not imposed on the Union any issues, political or otherwise, contrary to the interests of the Union and its members. They have shown their efficiency as organizers in the building of our Union. They have demonstrated their loyalty and courage under fire.

THE "RED SCARE" MANEUVER

The "Red Scare" of the Citizens' Alliance is nothing but a fraudulent manoeuvre to distract our attention from the struggle for decent living conditions and demoralize our ranks. They will not succeed. The conditions of our lives are too bitter. Nobody can divert us from the fight to better them.

We note with the greatest indignation that D. J. Tobin, President of our international organization, has associated himself with this diabolical game of the bosses by publishing a slanderous attack on our leadership in the official magazine. The fact that this attack has become part of the "ammunition" of the bosses in their campaign to wreck our union, is enough for any intelligent worker to estimate it for what it really is. We say plainly to D. J. Tobin: If you can't act like a Union man, and help us, instead of helping the bosses, then at least have the decency to stand aside and let us fight our battle alone. We did it in the organization campaign and in the previous strike and we can do it again. We received absolutely no help of any kind from you. Our leadership and guidance has come from our own local leaders, and from them alone. We put our confidence in them and will not support any attack on them under any circumstance.

We are fighting for more wages, for better hours and working conditions and for the right of Union organization. The conditions under which we work are intolerable for men who want to live as human beings and who aspire to provide a decent existence and a future for their families in this, the richest country in the world. That is our right. We have worked for it, and we intend to fight for it to the bitter end.

AN APPEAL FOR SOLIDARITY

In doing so we feel deeply convinced that we are fighters for the preservation of the Trade Union movement and for the rights and interests of all workers. Our strength and confidence is multiplied by the conviction that our fellow workers and brother unionists in other trades, who helped us so nobly before, will rally to our aid again. We rely on the sympathy and solidarity of the other unions and workers organizations who endorsed our demands by their presence in the great labor demonstration Friday, July 6th. We appeal for the support also of the organizations of farmers and gardeners, of the unemployed workers, of the rank and file of small business and professional people—of all who are cheated and oppressed by the financial tyrants who turned our great rich country into a land of privation and misery for the masses.

We are confident that our appeal will not be in vain. Therefore, convinced of the justice of our cause, relying on our own strength and the sympathetic aid of the great majority of the population, the general membership meeting solemnly declares:

1. All members of Local No. 574 will go on strike for the enforcement of the Union demands on Monday, July 16th, at 12 o'clock midnight.
2. We call upon our sister Local No. 120 in St. Paul to take similar action at its general membership meeting Thursday night, and we pledge to Local 120 our solidarity and co-operation in a joint struggle to a successful conclusion.
3. We call upon all other trade unions in the Twin Cities to rally to our support with moral and financial aid and to hold themselves in readiness to take sympathetic strike action if such becomes necessary to secure our victory and smash the union-wrecking campaign of the Citizens' Alliance.

Central Labor Union Backs Drivers' Local

By JAMES P. CANNON

Minneapolis, July 11 (By Wire).—Spirit ran high among all sections of the Minneapolis working class tonight, as thousands of workers in a mass meeting of General Drivers Union 574 cast a unanimous vote to strike the transportation industry for the second time in less than sixty days. As a result of tonight's decision, Minneapolis will be tied up tight as a drum from Monday night until the bosses grant the union's demands.

It was announced at the meeting that a strike vote would be taken by the Duluth local.

The mass meeting boiled over with enthusiasm when the members of 574 were asked to adopt a vote of confidence in their local union leaders. Unanimously they repudiated the vicious attacks made on Wm. S. Brown, the Dunnes, Carl Skoglund and the other local leaders by the bosses and Dan J. Tobin, International President of the Brotherhood of Teamsters. Pointing out that the International has done nothing to help organize the Minneapolis truckers, they refused to be stampeded by the Red scare and reendorsed the leaders who built 574 and led it to victory in the spring.

While the members of 574 were taking these decisive steps, the Minneapolis Central Labor Union also held an important session. The resolution adopted by 574 was laid before this body, the controlling organ of the A. F. of L. in Minneapolis. Here, too, the response was unanimous. The resolution was adopted and the C.L.U. pledged full support to the coming strike. Thus Minneapolis labor gave an authentic class answer to the bosses and all their agents.

St. Paul to Vote on Strike

President Fleming of the St. Paul truckers, addressing the mass meeting, announced that on Thursday his organization, Local 120, will also take a strike vote. "We have the same grievances as you have," Fleming stated, "and we are for common action." Fleming also repudiated Tobin's attacks on the leaders of 574 which have been published as paid advertising in the Employers Advisory Committee, leader of the strike-breaking crowd.

Among the speakers at the mass meeting were President Brown of Local 574, the three Dunne brothers—Vincent, Grant and Miles—and representatives of the Ladies' Auxiliary of Local 574. One speaker declared on behalf of the latter, that "we will fight side by side with the men to the finish." Wild applause greeted her statement.

The militant spirit of the meeting quickly conveyed itself beyond the confines of the hall. Ever since the mass demonstration of last Friday the solidarity sentiment of Minneapolis workers has been moving to new heights. Tonight workers of many industries waited outside the truckers' meeting to get the decision.

In addition to this spirit of solidarity, there is a spirit of firm determination afoot. The last truckers' strike was a tough fight, but everyone is ready to face even tougher resistance.

Strike talk is spreading to other industries. Barbers, auto mechanics, laundry and dry cleaning workers, ice wagon drivers, retail clerks, street railway workers, dental mechanics, upholsterers and building trades workers all have long-standing grievances. The notion of a united struggle for decent conditions is rapidly gaining ground. The laundry and dry cleaning drivers have affiliated with Local 574, the third formerly independent group to take such action since the last strike victory.

Last minute frantic efforts of the bosses to head off the strike are now to be expected. They no doubt will intensify their slander campaign against the union leadership. Tonight's vote, however, makes one thing clear: the workers know their interests and are not to be drawn off by any red herrings.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

That Omniscient "Zack Tendency"

"Under the leadership of the Communist International with the best disciple, Stalin at the head" the Communists of the entire capitalist world were withdrawn from the regular trade union movement and set the task of building revolutionary unions. In the United States in 1930 the A. F. of L. was said to be openly Fascist and the Party in resolutions, articles and speeches stated, "The most fundamental task in mass work is the building of revolutionary unions of the T.U.U.L." In England the new line of Stalinism was so well carried out that good rank-and-file members of the trade unions considered the Party to be anti-trade unionist. (Harry Pollitt admitted this in the English Daily Worker.)

The result of this policy was everywhere the same, isolation and defeat. This has finally become evident to Browder himself in America and so we have resolutions, open-letters and plenums, all taking up the situation. Not for the purpose of finding where the fault was and laying the blame. No, not at all. Every child knows that the C. I. with Stalin at the head is responsible.

Rudolf Hess Defends Hitler and Murder

Rudolf Hess who succeeds the homo-sexual Roehm as the closest associate of Hitler, delivered a speech last Sunday. A few extracts from the speech will indicate that in shooting his former intimate companion, Roehm, and securing a new one, Hitler, like Henry VIII, was not in search of brains.

Speaking of the slaughter of his associates by Hitler, Hess says "Who could suppose that every one of the Hitler Youth would not regard the leader as his idol since, especially in the last few days, he has acted the part of the boys' ideal hero."

Describing Hitler's "superman" activities on the first day of the murders, Hess tells how Hitler arrested Roehm and others and goes on to say, "Then he went over to the Brownhouse . . . and out of tremendous tension he poured forth a speech of great historical importance. Again in his workroom the leader pronounced the first sentences of death. Without a pause he worked on . . . he dictated a letter for the new chief of staff and went on dictating the views of the National Socialist Party on the events of the day and on his own actions. From time to time he gave additional orders for arrests of individual persons." (If Hitler could also have dictated the views of the rest of the world on the events of the day and his own actions, his work would have been complete.)

Starting News

Head of 100,000 American trade unionists endorses sub drive of Daily Worker. Yes siree, believe it or not. Andrew Overgaard, head of the Trade Union Unity Council, which counts 100,000 members (Mike Gold system of counting) has come out flat footed behind the Daily Worker. The Daily prints Overgaard's picture and record in their Labor Who's Who column. His picture was almost recognizable. His record completely so. Just imagine, if you can, Andy in the name of "100,000" refusing to endorse a "D.W." drive or a Browder decision. How the gaps in that record would fill out!

"Holy Joe" McKee and Patriotic Whalen

Joseph McKee, "that honest man of sterling character" and Grover Whalen, the fire-eating patriot, are again in the news. "New York's Finest", who never hesitated to crack the skulls of striking or unemployed workers at the orders of former Mayor McKee and former police chief Whalen, have a Police Relief Fund. Or to be more exact they had such a fund in 1929. Now they are not so sure. In 1929 the fund amounted to about \$3,000,000, all in liquid assets. Holy Joe and Patriotic Whalen were in charge. They sold \$1,000,000 worth of Liberty Bonds and "invested" the proceeds in the certificates of a mortgage company. That was in the Fall of 1929. Other funds were also "invested" The mortgage certificates turned out to be worth as much as an NRA pledge to labor. And today the \$3,000,000 fund looks like 30 cents. Legal action is proposed against Whalen and McKee. Some cops should begin to realize that they cracked the wrong skulls in 1929.

New Features in Second Strike Wave

With the world-wide crisis still rampant the first year of the NRA finds American labor taking the aggressive. The significance of this year's events are here summed up in a simple tabulation:

- 1. Every important strike or threat of strike involves direct intervention of the state. (Political action by Federal government.)
2. Already a militant attitude is being shown by workers toward the machinery of governmental intervention—against its evasion, delay, suppression, and support of company unions and the boss class.
3. Specifically the trick Ta clause is recognized as such by the workers. It is safe to say the workers are ready to break up existing company unions at the first opportunity.
4. The rank and file have also learned (though not fully, it is true) to distrust the old guard A. F. of L. leadership and to insist on action.
5. It is very easy still to underestimate the aroused militancy of the masses against the terrific pressure of the crisis.
6. The "settlement" of strikes and threatened strikes are not settlements at all but postponements of wider outbreaks. Workers are forced to demand and fight for substantial gains.
7. Strikes spread and grow under present conditions with inflammatory ease. Strikes evolve almost spontaneously and without distinct leadership.
8. A new leadership is bound to spring up representative of this militancy.
9. Fundamental to and clinching the above points is the objective situation. Either extremely centralized "remedies" (fascism) or the direct brutality of big business, or war, is the way out for capitalism. Labor is compelled to learn more rapidly and fight more vigorously and unitedly every day.
10. The world situation: the return of Germany in the reckoning of the imperialists as a re-armed rival (a year of German fascism) postpones somewhat national outbreaks "at home" (France) and prolongs somewhat the preliminary maneuvers of national and allied forces for war. Russia has plunged into this diplomatic prelude. However, these maneuvers are proceeding with the greatest speed under the pressure of serious trouble inside the boundaries of each national government.

11. The Communist Party, by its self-inflicted isolation from the revolutionary interests of the working class, stands, or rather falls, condemned by objective events and the party's impotence therein. (Russia will build socialism, workers in other countries will "neutralize" the bourgeoisie, then Russia will defeat capitalism; a paper union is better than an A. F. of L. union, a Stalinist united front is better than a Leninist united front, etc. etc. Germany, Austria, France, Cuba, America in depression, etc. etc.)

The immediate opportunities and duties of leadership in this period and on the basis of the above considerations line up as follows:

- 1. Spread all strikes. Meet the militancy and solidarity of the rank and file with aggressive leadership and broad organizational unity. Turn half-steps into full strides, passives into an organized class. Fight delay that weakens or withholds the available blows of the workers.
2. A strike in a major industry like steel should be a signal for the labor movement to meet the military aggression of the bosses with a national strike in steel and national solidarity throughout the movement.
3. Thwart fascism in America by increasing the militant mass pressure of the workers against the bosses. Assure the movement a leadership which guarantees a broad aggressive march upon reaction. Preclude despair by giving the fighting spirit of the rank and file a leadership that also fights. Let labor learn its power.
4. In general, America presents the contradictions of capitalism in their extreme form (a world-dominating nation and a labor movement politically unorganized, to take the example nearest to this point), and just as in the past strikes often became civil wars on a local or regional scale, and as, too, in the present crisis the apex of American industry and its collapse coincided in point of time, so also now, in view of the inevitable stringency of the crisis and in spite of the political backwardness of American labor, cataclysmic struggles are absolutely to be expected in this period—struggles of immediate and rapidly expanding political significance. The rapidity of developments in this period, including political action of the masses, must be recognized.

—M. B.

QUESTION BOX

Send questions to "Question Box Editor", c/o the Militant. State the name under which you wish your answers to appear.

COMRADE H.M.N., New York.—Your contention that the unemployment figures compiled by the A. F. of L. are low is probably correct, and is borne out by U. S. Government statistics. (Senate document No. 124) as the following comparison shows:

Table with 3 columns: Year, U.S. Gov't., A. F. of L.
1930: 5.3, 3.9
1931: 9.7, 7.4
1932: 14.4, 11.4

The A. F. of L. figures for unemployment for May of this year is 10,267,000. Allowing for about three quarters of a million young workers who come to age each year, a figure around 14 million is probably nearer the truth.

We have the following data on speed-up. According to the National Bureau of Economic Research, a "kosher" capitalist institution, the output per man-hour in manufacturing industries, taking 1929 as 100, was as follows: 1930, 104; 1931, 112; 1932, 121; and 1933, 127. The comment which follows, "Little of the increased productivity since 1929 can be credited to the introduction of new machinery" indicates that there has been an average speed-up of about 27% since 1929.

Theoretically, the "sixty cent" dollar of Roosevelt would raise prices 67% higher than they were at the time the United States went off gold, provided that in the meanwhile the value of all commodities remained the same. Actually, the average price of all commodities is about 40% higher today, indicating that if the same gold standard of price had been maintained, average prices for all commodities would be lower today than in March of 1933.

YIPSEL, Boston.—Yes there were draft riots during the American Civil War, but this does not refute our statement to you of several weeks ago that the war was popular. Out of a total force of 2,128,948 men in the Union army only 119,954 (6%) were drafted. The population of the North was between 21 and 22 million so that about 20% of the total male population went under arms willingly.

Where did you get the idea that "Marx's dialectic is the same as Hegel's"? At least Marx disagrees with you: "My dialectical method is not only different from the Hegelian, but is its direct opposite. To Hegel, the life-process of the human brain, i.e., the process of thinking, which, under the name of 'the Idea', he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurgos of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of 'the Idea'. With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought." (Introduction to Vol. I of "Capital".)

By no means do we stand on the same theoretical ground as the Lovestonites. It is, of course, impossible here to go into the matter in any detail but suffice it to say that the Lovestonites support the theorem of "socialism in one country", which we reject, and maintain that the 3rd International can be reformed, whereas our position is summed up in the slogan for a 4th International. The Lovestonites, internationally, have for some time been attempting to crawl back to the C. P. For the latest on this subject see the article in the New Internationalist for July called "Brandler on the Road to Canossa."

So you still do not see the difference between the Soviet Union, Italy and Germany since "all are dictatorships". Just ask yourself, "Who owns the means of production in these countries?" and the difference becomes apparent. The capitalists still own the factories, etc. in the Fascist countries; the workers own them in the Soviet Union.

Your difficulty, as is shown by this and your previous questions of several weeks ago flows from the fact that you permit the class nature of society to be obscured by forms.

FOODWORKER, New York.—"Isn't it necessary to build strong national parties before we can begin building an International?" We think not, and see no reason for counterposing the tasks. Our enemy is international capitalism, and we therefore must construct an organization to cope with this problem, building the national parties and International simultaneously. Your logic, if carried to a conclusion, would require that you ask: Isn't it necessary to build strong locals in every city before you can begin building a national party? The very posing of such a question is ridiculous. Why make the same mistake because of the existence of national boundaries?

Buy a PIONEER PUBLISHERS CERTIFICATE. It's only \$5 and entitles you to 40% discount on our publications and to a 20% reduction on any book published by other publishers.

Fierce Trade War Grips Entire World

The leading capitalist nations are now entering a period of intensified trade wars that shift in emphasis and political expression almost every week. The ramifications of the struggle for markets is so great that it is difficult to follow the battle line on all fronts. But what can be pointed out is the general trends and the main antagonisms.

This struggle for markets by the imperialist powers finds its political expression in clashes between imperialist powers and in open class war within the countries or industries of the nations which cannot find outlets and markets for over-production and capital investments.

The economic isolation of Germany and the Anglo-Japanese trade war are two of the main pivotal points of this struggle for markets. Within these two struggles the interests of all the imperialist powers are at stake to say nothing of the interests of the U.S.S.R., and the world proletariat. The United States has up to the present managed to stay in the background of this fight, but in reality is one of the main contenders in these two struggles and is taking a most energetic part in them.

Japan has challenged England in an effort to obtain a bigger slice of world trade. England is ready to strike back in an open trade war and in maneuvers to defeat the Japanese demand for naval parity. This Japanese challenge is aimed just as much at the United States as it is against England. But the unfavorable economic position of England forces it to adopt different measures than those taken by America. The United States is working overtime on the question of naval parity and the trade war even though it is acting covertly.

U. S. imperialism occupies the most difficult position in the Anglo-Japanese trade war. Every retaliatory measure adopted by England against Japan becomes a blow at the United States. This forces America to strike back at both nations, and most often with the heaviest blows against England.

Each step Japan takes in opening up new markets with cheap products forces England to counter attack with more effective measures. This forces America to adopt suitable measures against both Japan and England in order to retain her world position. What is true in the struggle for markets is even more pronounced in the armament race between the nations. It can be said with certainty that in the end the Anglo-Japanese trade war will become an Anglo-American trade war.

What can be said of the Anglo-Japanese trade war can also be

said of the German-French struggle. Only in this case not only America is involved but the whole of Europe as well. What seemingly starts as a German-French trade war struggle ends by involving the imperialist powers of the world and the lesser nations also.

The Crisis in Germany Germany's economic crisis is worrying the statesmen of the world as well as bloody Hitler. The fate of Europe and mankind hinges to a large degree on the solution of this crisis. The debt repudiation wave that has followed the wake of the world crisis finds Germany taking similar measures. But her difficulties cannot be solved in this manner.

The boycott against Germany has intensified this unfavorable condition. Germany must find an outlet for her highly developed productive apparatus. Otherwise the internal class war will tear the present structure to the ground. But there are no markets for Germany. The victorious imperialists need what they have and are looking for more. This compels Germany to use the most drastic methods in the competition for markets. England, France, the United States and the other nations must follow suit or be pushed out of the race.

In turn the whole trade war is sharpened. Nothing fundamental is solved. The nations that obtain new markets plod along a little better and can beat back opposition at home more effectively, while the nations that lose confront increased internal class war.

The Most Decisive Conflict The German trade war with an internal economic crisis growing worse daily, is the most decisive and will come to a head with greater repercussions before the Anglo-Japanese struggle matures.

America's stakes are directly bound up with both of these conflicts. Although her favorable world position gives her a point of advantage it does not, however, insure the United States against the European and Asiatic trade wars. America's action to overcome her own crisis only aggravates these already difficult conditions and in turn pulls America deeper into the whirlpool.

All of the internal and international measures under the New Deal taken by the Roosevelt administration to improve its economic conditions and market relations will be in vain unless the problem of trade wars is taken in its broader aspects. It will postpone but not solve the problem. Therefore, American imperialism is speedily preparing for war, which the United States and the other nations know is the logical conclusion of the trade wars now ranging throughout the world. —HUGO OEHLER.

MARCH OF EVENTS

War Rumors

Rumors are notoriously unreliable except insofar as they reveal what is creating the greatest anxiety in capitalist society. In the case of war rumors the world press has been unceasingly filled with them since the Japanese seized Manchuria. If one went in for predicting he would surely be on the side of greatest probability in predicting that the next imperialist war would break out in the Far East between Japan and Soviet Russia. That is why any rumors bearing on the tense situation in Asia are given close attention for the earmarks of truth and actuality. One item that appeared recently in the British press seems to bear such earmarks.

The Public Ledger of London, a financial review, discloses that Japan approached Turkey last March for a secret alliance directed against the Soviet Union. The Turkish ambassador to Japan was invited to see Minister of Foreign Affairs Hirota who informed him that war was certain in 1935. Would Turkey care to join with Japan in the war against the Soviet Union? At the same time the Japanese Admiral Matsumura visited Ankara on the same mission. He will blockade the Russian Black Sea fleet. Turkey was promised "compensation" in the shape of territory in the Russian Caucasus. Japan would sell (in actuality give) men-of-war to Turkey, would send her naval instructors and supply technical assistance for the fortification of the Bosphorus against the Russian fleet.

England, Where Do You Stand?

Simultaneously, the English paper reveals that Washington is most interested in Great Britain's stand in the next war. In fact Washington has inquired concerning England's exact attitude in the event of a Russo-Jap war. Japan's diplomacy has been directed, ever since U. S. recognition of Soviet Russia, at either breaking off this too dangerous friendship between her potential enemies, or balancing the U. S. with England. In this scheming of diplomats to build up balances of power is clearly indicated the way in which modern capitalism inevitably take on a world character and convulse the entire planet, since all the major rivalries of the capitalist nations come to the fore and demand "solution" by the method of force.

Stalinist Comments on the German Events

The comments of the Stalinist Russian press on the German events hardly take the trouble any longer to carry on the pretence that there exists a powerful German Communist Party. Events preclude such stupidity and reveal the true depths of the lying propaganda that attempted to cover up the betrayal by Stalinism of the German proletariat. One would look in vain for any even remotely concrete directives from the Stalinists to its "German section" in line with the view that the Communist revolution would inevitably follow the fascist counter-revolution. The Stalinists reveal their utter "remoteness" from the German events and from the German working class. Only the stupid American party caught up the sensational mongering of the bourgeois press that a Communist revolt was about to take place in Germany. As was to be expected when millions of workers are betrayed by their parties (the social democratic and the Stalinist) and lose their faith in their revolutionary role, the German masses have become apathetic as is now casually acknowledged by those responsible for this apathy.

Pravda says: "The economic condition of Germany is growing worse and must result in accelerating the change of attitude of the masses from passivity toward the robbery and the oppression they are now enduring to an open class struggle on a mass scale." Radek covers with phrases that echo hollowness the same theme in Izvestia: "As yet only the Communist vanguard is actively opposing fascism but all the proletariat is opposed to fascism." He goes on to say that there are ten million workers not in the Nazi party who have not yet capitulated to fascism! Then why is not the "heroic" Communist party leading them in struggle? And further: "The tempo of Germany's historical development has turned out to be more rapid than was to be expected." But Comrade Radek, does that mean that you expected Hitler to remain in power very much longer without any crisis in his own ranks, or without any difficulty at all? What has happened to the thesis that Hitler was only a short interlude before the advent of Communism? Only the paper For Industrialization drones out, being careful to delete all reference to time: "A Bolshevist Revolution will inevitably follow the fascist counter-revolution."

—JACK WEBER. ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILITANTS—ONE CENT PER COPY. JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Militant Builders

Two More Weeks for Special Drive. Buy Your Cards Now.

The Club Plan (4 six-month subs for \$1) was initiated for the purpose of giving an opportunity to those workers who cannot afford the full rates. This drive, which is an extension of the first, ends on August 1. After that date the subscription rate for a six-month sub will be 50c. We urge every branch and sympathizer to take advantage of this opportunity and invest a few dollars in these cards before August 1st. The subs will be honored as they come in, but the purchase of them must be before August 1st.

Local New York bought 20 cards the past week and will probably get another 20 before the drive ends. Boro Park Branch of New York bought 4 cards. Chicago branch got 8; Davenport, Philadelphia and Youngstown branches each bought 4 cards. A total of 44. The following excerpt of a letter is indicative of how the Militant is being received by the leftward moving Socialists. We have a few more letters expressing the same sentiment:

"Gentlemen: Inclosing \$1 for 4 6-month sub cards. Will try and

put some Militants with men who need same—but please no publicity for me. I admire your attitude to the S. P. where I got my first light, and am connected there now—you have many friends in same (S.P.) here. Sincerely, A. Low Rumble."

Complete Record

Table listing branches and card counts: Local New York (76), Chicago Branch (44), Minneapolis Branch (40), Cleveland Branch (38), Los Angeles Branch (36), Philadelphia Branch (36), Davenport Branch (12), Youngstown Branch (8), Boston Branch (8), Chicago Friends of the Militant Club (8), San Francisco Branch (8), Constance N. (8), New Haven Branch (8), Toronto (4), Berkeley (Kogan) (4), Ben. L. and I. Porter Leaser (4), New Castle Branch (4), Newark Branch (4), Oakland Branch (4), Springfield Branch (4), St. Louis Branch (4), Osborn, Frisco (4), Toronto Branch (4), Toronto Youth Club (4), Wankegan Branch (4), Ross Moran (4), A. L. Rumble (4), Jefferson Hall (4). TOTAL 374

Books by Leon Trotsky. PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION Cloth \$1.50, paper \$1.00. THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION Cloth 1.00. THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION .25. GERMANY—WHAT NEXT? Cloth 65c, paper .35. THE ONLY ROAD FOR Germany Cloth 65c, paper .25. COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALISM .15. THE SPANISH REVOLUTION IN DANGER .15. PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE U.S.S.R. .15. SOVIET ECONOMY IN DANGER .10. IN DEFENSE OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION .05. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL .10. MY LIFE, (publishers price \$5.00) 2.50. THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 3 vols. (publishers' price \$10.00) 8.50. WHITHER ENGLAND .90. TEN YEARS, History and Principles of Left Opposition —by Max Shachtman .10. I ACCUSE STALINISM—by Maria Reese .05. GERMANY AND RUSSIA AT BREST LITOVSK .25. And all the Kerr and International Publishers books and pamphlets. PIONEER PUBLISHERS 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

Blending the Old With the New

In Roosevelt's latest political pronouncement, the President compared the "New Deal" and the present system with changes which are being made in the White House, during his vacation.

"We are going to include in this addition and in this renovation modern electric wiring and modern plumbing and modern means of keeping the offices cool in the hot Washington summers. But the structural lines of the old executive office building will remain.

"The architects and builders are men of common sense and of artistic American tastes. They know that the principles of harmony and of necessity itself require that the building of the new structure shall blend with the essential lines of the old. It is this combination of the old and the new that marks orderly, peaceful progress—not only in building buildings but in building government itself.

"Our new structure is a part of and a fulfillment of the old." Let us look at some of the "modern plumbing, electrical and cooling systems" (he did not mention gas) introduced by the "new deal" which will blend and harmonize with the "essential lines" of the old. First we have the huge increase of profits for industrialists and financiers, which will supply the means for cooling sea breezes for the "rugged individualists" and their families. In this we have a perfect blending with the old. The big naval building program harmonizes with the "big stick" of other days. Another new innovation is vomit gas to go with tear gas, bayonets, bullets and

clubs against strikers. The dead and blinded in Toledo are eloquent testimony of how this blends with the old methods and along the same "essential lines" as Homestead, Haymarket and Centralia.

Plowing down crops, killing of sows ready to farrow, numerous other "farm relief" measures, millions on the verge of starvation, hundreds starving to death, lynching, police terror, deportations, jailings and outright murders—that's the record of the past year. How well the course of capitalism in decay blends with its early days and stormy growth.

And on the other hand, the growth of organization, the militancy and fighting ability of the workers of America, also follows the "essential lines" of their fighting past. The strikes in Minneapolis, Toledo, and the Pacific Coast testify to that. A new Communist Party that will blend that militancy and the fighting tradition of the American working class with the theory and practise of the international revolutionary movement is needed now, not to renovate and redecorate the present social system but to end it and build the new—the Socialist Society. —BILL.

WAR AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL TO APPEAR SOON

The thesis of the International Secretariat of the League of International Communists on "War and the Fourth International" is ready to go to press. This long awaited pamphlet which deals with the most vital problem of contemporary society will soon be available for every revolutionary worker. Every financial obstacle but the coverage for paper for the pamphlet has been met. To overcome this difficulty at once we urge you to send your contributions and advance cash orders at once to Pioneer Publishers.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL An Organ of Revolutionary Marxism. Max Shachtman, Editor. Martin Abern, Bus. Mgr. Station D - Post Office Box 119 New York, N. Y. One Year, \$1.50; Seven Issues, \$1.00; Single Copy, 15 Cents; Canada and Foreign Countries—One Year, \$1.75. I enclose herewith \$..... for which please enter my subscription for the NEW INTERNATIONAL: Name..... Address..... City..... State.....

Problems of Marxism

"Workers' Democracy"

No one with the least understanding of Marxism would insist upon using a certain traditional term in a revolutionary program if there are weighty reasons for discarding that term and using some other one conveying exactly the same idea.

It must be absolutely certain, however, before a word or term is changed, that the new term is exactly synonymous with the old. We assume that the idea expressed by the old term is correct. If not, a change of term is necessary because the old idea must be changed.

The Program of the A.W.P. With the rise of new and different groups in the revolutionary movement and with the probable fusion of some of the groups to form a new party, the question of program assumes great importance.

One of the most important changes in the A.W.P. program is the use of "workers' democracy" for "dictatorship of the proletariat".

Two main reasons are advanced by Hook in justification for displacing the "dictatorship of the proletariat" by "workers' democracy" in the program of the A.W.P.

In all probability Hook is correct in his claim that the "non-political" worker (who however is political enough to follow the capitalist parties) tends to associate Fascism with Communism when he hears the word "dictatorship".

It is necessary to remember that we are dealing here with a program of a revolutionary party composed of advanced workers and trying to attract to itself the more conscious elements of the working class.

The Dictatorship in Russia. The same argument applies to the contention that the dictatorship of the proletariat is misunderstood to mean dictatorship over the proletariat.

ions are controlled by a self-seeking bureaucracy which does not permit the union members to say a word in opposition to the confidence of many workers in trade-unions? And should we for that reason advocate a change in the name from "trade-unions" to something else?

Necessarily comrade Hook assumes that workers' democracy is exactly the same thing as dictatorship of the proletariat. If that were so one could, though not fully convinced by the reasons given for the necessity of the substitution of terms, agree that a change of terms might do some good or at least could not do any harm.

The Characteristics of the Transition Period

It is absolutely correct to say that the dictatorship of the proletariat is workers' democracy. But it is not correct to assert that workers' democracy is the same as the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In a revolutionary program it is essential that the terms be exact and not such that can be stretched to suit one's convenience.

It is not necessary to remember that we are dealing here with a program of a revolutionary party composed of advanced workers and trying to attract to itself the more conscious elements of the working class.

There was a time when some socialists claimed that the best way to win the American workers for socialism is not to mention the word "socialism".

The League Marches To New Victories

The Communist League of America stands on the threshold of great events. Never in the history of our organization have opportunities been so favorable.

The whole physiognomy of American labor is undergoing a radical change. Everywhere the workers are stirring out of the chains of the economic crisis.

In the stress of the class struggle today the cry for leadership—honest, courageous revolutionary leadership—becomes more insistent. The minions of the capitalist class in the A. F. of L. hold back the struggle, stemming the tide when possible or knifing the movement when it gets out of their leading strings.

Spontaneous revolt against the reaction in the A. F. of L. crops up in union after union. First in the steel union and now in the longshoremen, tomorrow the militant workers will break the bonds in another union.

REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP VITAL

Political leadership of a revolutionary nature is the key to the successful outcome of the workers' struggle. This leadership cannot be had without the touchstone of Marxism.

It becomes more apparent every day that both the political parties claiming to represent the workers have failed where history called upon them to fulfill their self-appointed mission.

The Socialist party, torn by internal dissension, hopelessly compromised by the major events in Austria and in Germany,—what revolutionist could think of this "stinking corpse" directing the movement of the American working class?

BUILD THE NEW PARTY NOW!

Now then is the time to build that organization which for five years has been forging the weapon of Marxism, testing and tempering it in the crucible of world-shaking events.

Then their is the titanic job of erecting the new party in the fires of the class struggle. The creation of the new party depends for its momentum on the Marxian corps being rooted in the proletariat.

And already our training over the past five years, our granite foundation in the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky have begun to bear fruit.

Minneapolis is the first milestone on the road. There the international experience of the Bolshevik-Leninists as congealed in our trade union policy inspired a strike that has been exemplary in the whole labor movement.

The new strike which will probably break as we go to press will make the last one, with all its militancy, look like a social tea party.

All of capitalist reaction in Minneapolis is being pressed into service for the battle which will determine whether Minneapolis is to be a union town or a prey to the labor-hating Citizen's Alliance.

Red scabs are beginning to find their way in the press. Dan Tobin, labor scab head of the Teamsters Union has added his voice to the red-baiting campaign of the bosses against the militants leading the union.

GENERAL STRIKE IN MINNEAPOLIS

On the other side the entire Minneapolis movement knows that this is a finish fight and has pledged itself to pitch in, in a general strike.

Comrade Cannon, editor of the Militant, has already left, to be on hand when the big doughs pop in Minneapolis, to give us first hand reports for the Militant.

Out of the Minneapolis and similar struggles we will build a stronger and bigger Communist League. New recruits from the firing line. New influence in the mass organizations.

All our members and our sympathizers must realize how tremendous are these tasks. If we carry them through properly then it is a certainty that the Communist League will be on the map as a political force to be reckoned with throughout the labor movement.

Yet this stupendous task is nothing more and nothing less than building the Communist League.

Building the Communist League requires an apparatus, a functioning staff, and a whole corps of field organizers. Minneapolis, Detroit, Pittsburgh, the Middle and the Far West are all calling for organizers.

BUILD THE LEAGUE!

Besides these organizers there is another organizer, the collective organizer—our press—that must be built, that must be popularized.

When we appeal to you to support this campaign, we do it not to retrench, but to advance; not to stabilize but to build.

In supporting the Organization-Press campaign you are building the firm edifice of the new party in strengthening the League as the major instrument in its creation.

In supporting the Organization-Press campaign you are laying the best foundation for the new left wing in the trade unions.

F U N D S ! On those five letters hangs the whole campaign. As a revolutionary worker, as a supporter of Marxism in the labor movement, now is the time to rise to the task you are called upon to perform.

An Appeal to our Sympathizers

Marxists do not hold the stiff-necked attitude that everyone not holding a membership card in the political organization of the working class is to be sneered at as a weakling or castigated as a class enemy.

The concept of the political party as taught us by Lenin rests on the basis that the vanguard organization of the class consists of the best and most qualified fighters in the ranks of the proletariat.

It is to these sympathizers that we are making this appeal. We believe that sympathizers are not platonic friends, who have general agreement with our ideas, but active supporters of our cause heartily willing to work for it, if not to accept its discipline.

The Opportunity Is Here Now you comrades who would be classed as sympathizers have the opportunity to show whether your sympathy for the ideas of the Communist League are merely passing interest or whether you are reserve soldiers, ready to take your place when the signal is given.

It is in this spirit that we urge all our sympathizers to bring in donations and to solicit contributions from their friends for our Organization-Press drive. The call to action is given! The field of the Campaign is the Organization-Press campaign! Sympathizers! Take your place in this new battlefield of Marxism!

Our organization is small. We make no bones about this fact. The resources of our membership are insufficient for us to carry through the great tasks before us today. Our membership which has been burdened with the support of our weekly press, our monthly theoretical organ and our other various institutions has been again called on to bear the brunt of our Organization-Press Campaign. They have responded nobly.

But that is only the beginning, only a small part of this new campaign that will make the League a powerful political factor to be contended with by the capitalist class and all their agents. That's why we blow the bugle for a call to action to our periphery of sympathizers.

Now you comrades who would be classed as sympathizers have the opportunity to show whether your sympathy for the ideas of the Communist League are merely passing interest or whether you are reserve soldiers, ready to take your place when the signal is given.

Support Grows in Org-Press Drive

The heroic struggles of the workers in Minneapolis, Toledo and the Pacific Coast are firing our members and sympathizers with a stubborn determination to build the League and its press.

Two organizers have already been selected to be sent into the field. One to Minneapolis, the other to Detroit. If the funds continue to come in as they have in the past week, both organizers will be able to proceed into the field within a few days.

From Minneapolis we get word that our members there have already rented a headquarters, anticipating the arrival of the organizer. Detroit, we trust will not be long in doing likewise.

In order to maintain these organizations and give them the proper assistance from the national office in the way of timely information and directives, the center has to be strengthened—the press has to be vitalized.

MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE, FRIENDS AND SYMPATHIZERS, DON'T LOSE ANOTHER DAY!

Send in your collection on the Organization-Press coupon book without further delay. The returns from our readers are far from satisfactory thus far. Many have not responded at all.

Receipts (Since Last Report)

Table with 2 columns: Location, Amount. Includes Los Angeles Branch (\$20.00), Waukegan Branch (11.00), New Haven Branch (10.00), G. Duell, New Haven (1.00), S. Gendelman, New Haven (1.00), Pittsburgh Branch (17.20), Boston Branch (15.00), Cleveland Branch (6.60), Youngstown Branch (11.00), New Castle Branch (15.00), Newark Branch (5.00), Philadelphia Branch (5.00), Rose Hegedus, South Bend (1.00), Pearl Kling, Boro Park (1.00), Youth Club (1.00), A. Friend, Springfield, Ill. (1.00), Jeff. Rall, Bryan, O. (1.00), Manhattan Branch (King) (8.00), M. M., New York City (5.00).

M. M. of New York City has disposed of a total of 32 coupon books to date. The last time he came into the office, he took another 25 books. When asked as to how he manages to sell so many, he told us—"I go from door to door. The other day I rang the bell at a door and a man answered. I told him what I wanted and he refused to have anything to do with anything like it. I talked to him a while and discovered he was a Fascist sympathizer. But most of the places I get results."

Perhaps the method M. M. uses can be used by other comrades with good results. M. M. has also pledged \$2 weekly to our Pledge Fund, saying: "I cut out smoking. The money I save on this expense I'll give weekly to the Pledge Fund."

M. M. is not a member of the organization. He is an example of the kind of sympathizers a Communist organization should have.

Another sympathizer of ours from the Bronx came in to the office two weeks ago with a coupon book in his hands. He had gotten it through the mails. He tore the book in half, as we looked on saying: "I have no way of selling these coupons, so I am tearing it up. Tear another fourteen books for me, and here is \$15."

Here is another interesting item from a sympathizer:

"Dear Comrades: It was because I like the Militant so much that I got so annoyed when it did not come. I am now far away, therefore I really don't think I shall be able to sell any of the coupons. Instead, I am enclosing Ten Dollars, my birthday money, slightly anticipated. Helen Mason, Columbus, O." Marion McLeod, of Iowa Falls, writes:

"This will acknowledge receipt of the coupon book. While I was not able to dispose of them to other people, I am happy to be able to take the book myself and enclose \$1."

First Annual PICNIC Given by Communist League of America (Cleveland Branch) SUNDAY, JULY 22, 1934 Garfield Park - Section 7 (Take 105th St. Car - Garfield Pk.) Admission 10c. Free Refreshments

THE MILITANT Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published Weekly by the Communist League of America 144 Second Ave., New York, N. Y. Vol. 7, No. 28, (Whole No. 232) SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1934 EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Abern James P. Cannon Mar Shachtman Maurice Spektor Arne Swabeck Bundle rates one cent per copy. Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year; \$0.50 per half year - Canada and Foreign: \$1.50 per year; 75c for six months.

Hitler's Dilemma

The Crisis in Germany

Behind the recent events in the top circles of the Fascist dictatorship in Nazi Germany there looms the dark cloud of an economic crisis which more than any other single factor influenced the course of Hitler and his camarilla. Trade balances are unfavorable. The gold coverage on currency in circulation have dwindled by more than one third. Credit with other nations has been reduced to the zero point.

German industry is among the most advanced and technically best equipped of any in the world. Yet hemmed in within the boundaries of the Reich, with its enormous capacity of production, it is like a giant monster stifling for lack of air. Without the normal intercourse of foreign trade capitalism in Germany is faced inexorably with the need for an outlet for its surplus in commodity and capital goods.

Unfavorable Trade Balance

Germany's trade balance, unfavorable for the first time in four years, amounted to \$5,500,000 in January and increased by March 1st to \$8,750,000. The government itself has augmented this adverse trade balance by placing restrictions on imports. At the same time, trade with the Soviet Union which had for years been one of Germany's leading customers declined from 626,000,000 marks in 1932 to 282,000,000 marks in 1933, and then catapulted again to 21,000,000 marks in the first quarter of 1934.

By the side of the unfavorable trade balance stands a monetary system so tampered with by the financial doctors of Hitler that the Schacht doctored, from the menacing shadow of inflation looms big in Germany. Gold reserves in the Reichsbank have dropped from 351,241,000 marks on June 7, 1933, to 111,135,000 marks in the same month in 1934. The ratio of the Reichbank's gold to outstanding circulation fell to 3.4% as against 7.3% on June 7, 1934.

Wages Slashed

It is difficult to conceive how conditions could be very much worse for the German masses even if inflation were instituted. Wages have been slashed to below the subsistence level. An indication of this is given in the war industries which have operated at high capacity since the advent of Hitler. In the Krupp works where 35,647 workers were employed in 1932 and

43,409 in 1933 the payroll fell from 69,000,000 marks in 1932 to 67,000,000 marks in 1933. In the Hoersch works with an increase of almost 1,000 workers in employment the payroll dropped some 5 million marks. Like facts can be adduced to cover almost every German industry. If one were to take the boast of Hitler seriously that he has reduced unemployment from 6,000,000 to 2,500,000 then one gets an indication of how deeply wages have been slashed by the statistics of the Institut fuer Konjunktur Forschung as quoted in the Current History for July 1934. The payroll for Germany has careened from 6,850,000 marks in the last quarter of 1933 to 6,100,000 marks for the first quarter of 1934.

Prices Rise

While wages have declined to the vanishing point prices have risen more than 15.2 in the six months covering the last quarter of 1933 and the first quarter of 1934. How close the German masses are to starvation is again shown by the fact that food consumption has fallen 1,000,000 marks in the course of 1933. Retail sales in groceries, delicatessen, department stores, clothing and other staples bear further eloquent testimony to the ration system Hitler has instituted among the already impoverished German population.

Capitalism under its democratic form had become too expensive for the German ruling class. One of their principal objects in destroying the German trade union movement was to eradicate the gains made by the workers in decades of struggle. Tens of thousands have been removed, under Hitler, from the unemployment benefits. Even such an elementary social service as invalid insurance pensions were reduced by more than two million marks under the Brown Shirt regime.

The Master Is Repaid

Hitler has served his masters well. He has destroyed the entire political and labor movement in Germany, slashed wages to the bone, raised prices and made heavy inroads into the social services. The Thyssens, the Krupps and the others have every reason to be grateful to this depraved bandit. And why not? Profits in the Hoersch works were 23,700,000 marks in 1933 as compared with 12,500,000 marks in 1932. Thyssen's profits rocketed more than fifteen million dollars in increases over what was "earned" in 1932. All told German industrialists have been presented with a gift of more than \$1,000,000,000 in the form of tax reductions, subsidies and authorized wage reductions.

The record of one year of Hitler's stewardship in office speaks for itself. Plenty of gray for the capitalist parasites and nothing but misery and the iron heel for the workers. —G. C.

The Man on the Flying Trapeze

(Continued from last issue)

In 1931, Dunne swings into action again. And whoops! what a radical fellow. As graceful as a swan, he leaps through the air with a new theory: The American working class is on the offensive, and what the employers are engaged in is a counter-offensive. This in 1931! And alas! here too our uncontrolled literary man committed his views to paper with the result that he was kicked unmercifully around the lot by no less a man than Earl Browder, and he took his punishment without a peep. O Time, O Morn! And in the old days Dunne used to refer to Browder in such disrespectful terms as "Foster's clerk" or "Bill's office boy."

"It is therefore clear," said Browder in his most imperial manner, "that it is absolutely wrong to speak of the 'offensive of the working class and the counter-offensive of the capitalists'." An example of this wrong use of these terms, which can create an entirely erroneous political atmosphere around our struggles, may be found in a recent issue of the Daily Worker, which says: 'increased mass picketing at Piney Fork and other mines Saturday morning checked the counter-offensive of the coal operators.' (Earl Browder, Daily Worker, July 14, 1931. Browder refers to a dispatch sent the Worker by Dunne.)

And as a parting kick, Browder damned Dunne for "the idea that, because we have a splendid fighting spirit among the masses therefore we are already developing an offensive of the working class. Sometimes this is theorized. . . . In its least harmful form, this is no better than phrase-mongering. It is a substitution of the wish for the deed." (The Communist, August 1931.)

Now we ask, in all good conscience, why should anybody take seriously the criticisms of the man whose ideas and theories, according to no less an authority than Earl R. Browder himself, are, in their least harmful form, no better than phrase-mongering? Why?

We cannot refrain from one last quotation. The Stalinists, and in particular Dunne (or as his Bohemian friends of the New Masses now call him for the first time in his life, William Francis Dunne) indignantly condemn what he labels the bureaucratic trade union practices of the Trotskyists in the Minneapolis union. Dunne ought to know, even if he doesn't. In 1931, he was the official representative of the T.U.U.L. to the Pittsburgh convention of the organization which for some unknown reason goes by the name of the National Miners Union. Let us again listen to Browder's observations on Dunne:

"At the miners' convention, there occurred unprecedentedly bureaucratic distortions of the correct revolutionary line. This was typified by the method used in making a change in the name of the Union. The miners were all for the old name, National Miners Union; the Party had never made any decision instructing its members to try to change the name. And yet one comrade holding a strategic position proceeded upon his own personal whim and by use of personal prestige to propose and to have adopted without discussion the change of name to Mine, Oil and Smelter Workers Union (without even a discussion with the Communist fraction!) . . . It was an extreme example of bureaucratism, of going over the heads of the workers—and even of the Party. Further demoralization was thrown into the work of the Union at this convention by another irresponsible action, the postponement of the election of the official leadership and the installation of a 'provisional' committee instead. This again was an individual action." (Earl Browder, The Communist, August 1931.)

If the "democratic" trade union practices followed by Dunne, and the daring leaps through space which he makes regularly over the field of trade union policy, are what he recommends to the Minneapolis teamsters—is it any wonder that the Stalinists are anathema to them —S.

MINNEAPOLIS DRIVERS SOLID BEHIND LOCAL LEADERSHIP

United Front - Tobin and the Stalinists

Having failed to convince even themselves that the May strike of Minneapolis Drivers' Local 574 resulted in anything but gains for the workers, the Stalinists are now out to disrupt the impending second truckers' strike. Utterly indifferent to the interests of the class, basing themselves on their "rule or ruin" policy, they have sent a couple of their traveling salesmen of disruption into Minneapolis. These artists, backed by the **Daily Worker**, are busily slandering the leaders of Local 574.

In the crucial days before Wednesday's strike vote was taken, the bosses and Dan Tobin, International President, loosed a Red scare against the leaders of 574. The purpose was to frighten the workers out of voting for a strike. In this situation the Stalinists made a united front with Tobin and the Employers Advisory Committee.

They showered the workers with leaflets signed by the Rank and File Group—the usual Stalinist name for a couple of I.W.O. members ready to pose as truck drivers any day for the sake of the "cause." These leaflets slander "the Dunnes and Skoglund" in the union leadership and call them "sell-out artists."

The **Daily Worker** follows suit. But the **Daily**, poor thing, is puzzled. It has to explain why the bosses are raising the Red scare against the leaders of 574. And it seems that this is the reason:

The bosses love the leaders of 574, and want them to continue in the leadership of the workers. Fearing that the workers are getting so Red that they may at any moment send for Jack Stachel, the bosses are applying Red paint to the present leaders in order to popularize them with the workers!

The **Daily** also prints a barrage of lies as to the attitude of the leaders of 574 toward the question of the strike. It attempts to portray them as doing their best to head off the strike. It does not, however, present a shred of evidence. The leaders of 574 have viewed the strike purely from the viewpoint of the workers' interests. The strike is not a principle; it is a weapon in the hands of the workers. That the workers of 574 have decided for a second time in a few months to use this weapon is evidence not only of the oppression against which they must struggle to win decent living conditions, but

also of the unflinching militancy of the leadership which has laid down the line being followed by the union. The Stalinist disrupters, who have not led a strike to victory in years, fear that another triumph is in store for an honest, able trade union leadership. And they are out to prevent that triumph by hook or by crook. Thus far, happily, the workers of 574 have been dismayed neither by the filthy outpourings of Dan Tobin and the bosses, nor by the equally filthy slanders of the Stalinists. Against the united front of reaction, oppression and Stalinist disruption, the workers of Minneapolis stand solid behind the leaders who brought them one victory in May and will bring them a second before long.

Red Herring Cover for Real Issues

(Continued from Page 1)

The handbill announces the meeting is "under the auspices of the Communist League of America, Mpls. Br." The names given for the speakers are those of two of the prominent leaders of the last strike, and present agitators of another.

"The question naturally arises: Are the Communists insidiously taking over the union labor organizations—most of which are reputable and patriotic—to achieve the Russification of Americans?"

Another rag, the **Saturday Press**, accuses the strike leaders of being instructed by the "Communist International" and financed by "Moscow." And to prove this they reprint the entire leaflet of the nonexistent Stalinist "rank and file committee of Local No. 574. This disruptive splitting piece of trash which calls the leading members of the local "sell-out artists" finds its proper place in the brass check papers alongside of Tobin's and the bosses' red scare.

What Is This Communism? Now it must be clear to every militant worker that fighting for a better life in this world is Communism to the bosses and their agents. That building and maintaining a union of "their own choosing" is "Russification of Americans."

Take your choice between that and the 100% Americanism of the bosses which means coolie conditions and abject slavery for the working class.

10,000 in Greatest Parade in City's Labor History

(Continued from Page 1)

members of the Ex-Servicemen's Division, etc.

Handbills, distributed for 48 hours beforehand, indicated to the various trades the section where they were to assemble. In perfect order the working masses assembled at their posts, guided by assistant marshals from the Drivers Union. Each group carried at its head its own large banner. Besides these designating banners, hundreds of smaller placards were raised before the parade began; placards bearing slogans heartily expressing the feelings of every workingclass man and woman: "Smash the Citizen's Alliance!" "Bosses Do Not Want a Union, We Workers Do!" "In a Land of Plenty, We Want our Share!" "Down Depression by Cutting Hours, and Raising Wages!" etc.

Up Nicollet Avenue Promptly at 7:30 the parade, which assembled at the call of the Joint Conference of All Unions, swung up Nicollet Avenue towards the auditorium, led by an American Federation of Musicians' band.

In the front line of march were the leaders of the Drivers Union, who have inspired the whole working class of the Twin Cities with the spirit of determined struggle: Bill Brown, president; Miles Dunne, secretary; Grant Dunne, Ray Dunne, Carl Skoglund, Clifford Hall and Farrell Dobbs. Behind these leaders marched the Teamsters Joint Council. Then, in the order named, came the following battalions: street railway employees, laundry and dry cleaning workers, union "delegations from St. Paul, the Farmer's Holiday Association, the Women's Auxiliary of the Drivers, headed by Mrs. Grant Dunne, Mrs. Farrell Dobbs, Mrs. Clifford Hall and Mrs. McCormack; the mass of building trades workers, the brewer workers, the printing trades, the Ex-Servicemen's Division, the electrical workers, drivers, helpers, petroleum workers and inside workers, the upholsterers, the city and county employees, the railroad workers, the iron workers, the garment workers, the Minneapolis Central Council of Workers unemployed, the social problems club of the University of Minnesota, and at the end the unemployed councils and their affiliates.

As each division swung into the line of march tremendous cheers went up from those still awaiting their turn. The Drivers were given a roaring ovation, and the Farm Holidayers, the St. Paul workers and the Ex-Servicemen were greeted with wild enthusiasm.

Six thousand sympathizers flanked the line of march right up to the doors of the municipal auditorium, keeping up a steady stream of applause for the marches.

Filled to Capacity The vanguard had already entered the auditorium, fifteen blocks away, before the last sections of the demonstration began their trek. No sooner had the marchers seated themselves in the auditorium than the doors were opened to the public, and the immense building was rapidly filled to capacity, over 12,000 being seated. Thousands more clustered around the entrance to listen eagerly to the speeches which were relayed from the stage by amplifying equipment.

Draped across the foot of the stage was the red banner of the Farm Holidayers. Urbuebe, president of the Minneapolis Building Trades Council, was chairman of the meeting, which lasted for several hours.

The first speaker, Miles Dunne of the Drivers Union, received a great ovation and was cheered again and again as he proceeded rapidly to outline the history of the drivers organization, telling of events leading up to the February strike of the coal and ice wagon drivers' strike, its successful conclusion which won recognition of the union, the General Drivers strike in May, the settlement won from the bosses, etc. Dunne closed by explaining the challenge of the Citizen's Alliance and the Regional Labor Board, who by their stalling and evasive actions are now trying to wiggle out of the agreement signed with the Drivers at the end of the May strike.

Brought out in the course of the speech was the fact that the Citizen's Alliance are now complaining to their St. Paul brethren, from whom they are collecting further funds to continue their vicious attacks on the workers, that the strike in May cost them \$1,900,000. Almost two million dollars, which the labor-hating bosses of Minneapolis paid out in order to avoid paying a decent wage to the workers.

Roy Wier, organizer from the Central Labor Union, was the next speaker. He outlined the raw results of several labor disputes recently "settled" here, explained that strikes all over the nation are now being settled by political action of the bosses through their machinery of state, and advocated that the workers assembled act together from tonight onward, just as do all the bosses, their masters, the big Twin City banks. "An injury to one is an injury to all workers, from now on." Wild applause.

"Why Wait Till Wednesday?" Other speakers included Emory Nelson of the Milk Drivers Union, gaunt deep-voiced John Bosch of the Farmer's Holiday Association, who said the farmers would supply produce to the strikers, Robert Fleming of Drivers' Union No. 120, St. Paul, who promised that the next strike would be a Twin Cities strike.

Bill Brown, president of General Drivers Union No. 574 read the evening's resolution which concluded "... that as a united body the unions accept the challenge of the Citizen's Alliance—prepare for decisive victory." When Brown called for a rising vote, setting Wednesday night as the deadline, every last worker in the building sprang up. A great cry arose: "Why wait till Wednesday—let's go out tonight,"—testifying to the militancy of the workers, and to their indignation against the swindling tactics of the bosses.

The program was brought to a close by the addresses of Rubin Lutz of the laundry workers, and Myrtle Harris of the garment workers.

By the time this report gets into print, the Minneapolis-St. Paul transport strike will in all likelihood have begun—unless, at the last moment the bosses completely capitulate in a panic before the sight of a united working class which has at last been thoroughly aroused and stirred to its depths, and set in swift motion toward one common goal: overthrow of the bosses starvation program.

ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILITANTS—ONE CENT PER COPY. JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

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Tobin Goes to Bat for the Bosses

(Continued from Page 1)

gauge only—with the boot:

"We Plead Guilty" "If being a serpent consists in organizing unions for working men and women to secure for them the necessities of life, then we plead guilty to being serpents. And if being a wolf in sheep's clothing has to do with fighting the battles for those people who are in our union, then we are wolves."

When the whole labor movement, with the exception of the disrupters and degenerates, rise in cheering applause at the strike that pointed the way to a new day for the working man Tobin sits in his sumptuous office and advises the union men in a way that exceeds anything that has been seen by the bitter boss.

"The officers of local unions who do not guard themselves and their unions against a human monster of this kind are making a mistake. If you love the union which you have worked to build up then get busy and stifle such radicals because they do not belong in the union."

A Cowardly Appeal

Tobin, himself has not the courage to expel the leaders of 574, so he calls upon the rank and file to do his dirty work. But the rank-and-file "love" their union and they "love" the leadership that made it possible too much to take any heel of the advice of the man whose fame in breaking strikes, conniving with the bosses, and destroying union organizations is known throughout the nation.

The question is: why does Tobin choose this moment of all to hurl his rabid attack at the leadership of 574?

Is it because of radical or Communist opinions which he suspects are their beliefs? Hardly.

Like the assassin that he is he waits for the appropriate moment to drive the knife into the backs of the union men. The last strike, according to Tobin, which suffered none of his conniving help, "was a strike in violation of all of our laws, because the local did not receive the endorsement or any consideration from the international, nor was any request for consideration of official endorsement made to the International by the local union."

That the local union did not receive any consideration from the International Tobin did not have to tell us. No militant worker

could have expected any from a misleader of the stripe of Tobin. But that they asked for no consideration is a brazen lie that fits well with his scurrilous tirade. Not only the Minneapolis Teamster's Joint Council was consulted—and it gave its endorsement—but the International was notified of the intention to strike. And more than that. We are informed by an item printed in the Minneapolis **Labor Review** of another interesting incident that nails the lie to Tobin's charge. It says in part:

Couldn't Do a Thing "Senator Wagner of the National Labor Board telephoned President Dan Tobin of the Teamster's Union during the height of the street fighting and asked him what he could do to stop it."

"Tobin had to reply that he couldn't do a thing. The truckmen had organized themselves and were making their own battle."

Behind his lies there is no subtle motive for this post-mortem outlawing of the general drivers strike of last May. Tobin is laying the groundwork for an open condemnation of the strike which now stands on the order of the day. Openly ranging himself on the side of the bosses Tobin speaks out against sympathetic strikes which the "union will not sanction". Let the drivers go down into defeat far rather than trespass on the precious sinner of Tobin.

Preparing the Sell-Out

"... we come into contact with every branch of industry and unless we keep our contracts and protect ourselves, we would continuously be in trouble on account of the inside workers, or others, going out on strike."

That's just the sentiment of the bosses. Blanket refusal to deal with the union so long as it insists on representing the inside workers. The lines are drawn. The strikers are determined not to be swindled out of their wages. The unions have pledged their support.

"King" Tobin cannot stop the waves.

BROWNSVILLE BRANCH S.Y.L. Thursday Night.

July 19: George Marlen, author of "The Road", on Proletarian Literature.

July 26: Current Events. 1776 Pitkin Ave., near Stone Ave. Brooklyn.

CLEVELAND STRIKE NEWS

Cleveland.—The I.W.W. won its demands by threatening a strike on June 26 at the Dangler Stove Co., a branch of the American Stove Co. Recognition of the I.W.W. shop committee and a ten percent increase in wages were gained. 1,200 of this plant have joined the Metal and Machinery Workers No. 440.

Caddles who struck on June 30 for an increase in wages won a partial victory after a walkout lasting one day. At Ridgewood, Ridge Road and Parma, golf links affected by the strike, the so-called "better" class had to suffer the ignominy of carrying their own golf clubs for the day.

1,100 rubber workers have been out for two weeks in a strike against the General Tire and Rubber Co. for recognition of the union and an increase in wages.

Other strikes in Akron are the walkouts of 350 workers at the Enterprise Manufacturing Co., and 150 Clay workers at the Robinson Clay Product Co. Mass picketing takes place at most of these establishments.

Clashes between strikers and scabs are a daily occurrence in the several weeks old battle of the Taxi drivers against the Yellow Cab Co. Recognition of the union is demanded by the drivers. The Yellow Cab Co. has been forced, several times to withdraw their cabs from the streets of Cleveland despite police protection and injunctions.

The strike fever is catching on everywhere in Cleveland. Many of the strikes have not been reported in the capitalist press. There is the case of the Gas Station Attendants who are still carrying on negotiations over wages and working conditions, after several weeks of striking.

Even the T.U.U.L. won four or five small strikes involving several hundred workers. But neither the Stalinist party nor the T.U.U.L. plays any part in the larger and more important strikes.

A case in point is the Fisher Body strike where the Stalinists issued a leaflet to the men. Rank and file workers called the cops to drive them away. So incensed are these workers at the inane tactics of the Stalinists that they chase them out of the picket line every time they show their face. —P.

Nailing a Few Brazen Lies

A fair example of the politics and journalism of Weisbord is the report in **Class Struggle** (June-July 1934), of the negotiations between the United Youth Committee Against War and Fascism (Y.P.S.L., S.Y.L., S.L.I.D., Lovestonites, Weisbordites, etc.) and the Stalinist youth for a common demonstration in New York on May 30th. For gross misrepresentation of facts and opinions, through commissions and omissions and for its infantile conception of work with the young Socialists the report takes its place with the scribbles of the **Daily Worker**. Space limitation permits only a brief reply. The reader will find a detailed statement of the S.Y.L. on the negotiations in the June issue of **Young Spartacus**.

We read in the first paragraph of the report which is signed G. J.: "The Communist Party wanted the name to be 'United Youth Demonstration Against War and Fascism'. The split occurred on what slogans should be raised by the 'united front demonstration' as distinct from the slogans raised by the separate organizations themselves."

Lie number one. Not the C. P. proposed the name U.Y.D.A.W.F., but our committee proposed this name or any other commonly acceptable name, and the Stalinists rejected it at the joint committee meeting.

Lie number two. Complete unanimity on slogans was arrived at after conflict, at the joint meeting of May 15th. Differences on slogans could not therefore be a basis for a split. (That is why no mention is made of the May 15th meeting in the report.)

Later in the article we are told that the split occurred only on the "name" of the demonstration.

The Disagreement on the Name

Lie number three. First, it contradicts the statement in the first paragraph that disagreement on slogans caused the split. Second, it omits the facts that the Stalinists in addition to insisting upon calling the demonstration "National Youth Day", which led to disagreement on the "name", refused to issue a common leaflet, and common publicity with our committee! In a word no real united front!

We are further told that the Spartacus Youth delegates did not endeavor to prevent a division between the Y.C.L. and Yipsels and thereby "showed it was a regular centrist, opportunist organization."

with the Stalinists for a common demonstration. This fact is judiciously omitted, otherwise the false assertion quoted would be too obvious a fraud.

The report states that in our committee there was a dispute on the "character" of the demonstration and only the Weisbordites favored a demonstration against imperialism and Fascism.

Lie number five. There was no dispute on the character of the demonstration. All agreed that it was against imperialist war and Fascism. This character was defined by the slogans raised. The difference that existed was on the name of the committee: should it employ the phrase "imperialist war" or "war". The Spartacus delegates claimed that there was little difference as to which phrase was used in the name. The name "United Youth Committee Against War and Fascism" was more popular. It was correct because the chief anti-war demands referred to Roosevelt's imperialist war plans. If the position of the Weisbordites was so correct why were they compelled to distort the facts and report the dispute as one over the character of the demonstration?

A "Non-Aggression" Pact? The Spartacus delegates accepted a "non-aggression pact", the report claims, by supporting the motion that "Only those slogans acceptable to all organizations be carried in the demonstration."

Lie number six. The motion did not hinder any organization from raising their own political slogans. The term "acceptable" did not mean that all had to agree with the slogans, but had to approve their use at the demonstration. This is the procedure at all united front demonstrations! The Weisbordites were permitted to carry the insane slogan calling for the expulsion of all Fascist ambassadors from the United States, although none of the other organizations agreed with the slogan. The Weisbordites and the Spartacus Youth League were permitted to carry banners for the Fourth International though the other groups were opposed to the slogan.

The Weisbordite report further fulminates against the Spartacus delegates because of the spirit of friendliness between them and the young Socialist delegates. As Weisbord himself expresses it in an editorial: "... as though the differences between the Y.P.S.L. and the Communist Left were not differences between exploiters and exploited."

How is one to begin to answer

such infantile radicalism? That the differences between social democracy and Communism are those between the defenders of capitalism and their revolutionary opponents is a truism for Communists. Does this mean that we cannot approach the Left Socialists, particularly the militant Yipsels, as comrades in friendly discussions and common action? To answer negatively is to help the Socialist bureaucrats keep control over the young Socialists rather than to win them for Communism.

Another Weisbord Trick How does this friendliness affect our intransigent politics? When the Yipsels at the May 30th committee issued an ultimatum which was tantamount to no united front with the Stalinists, was it not the S.Y.L. delegates who sharply criticized—and with complete success—their position? The Weisbord report says not a word on this score! Again with good reason!

But the "secret" of the vehemence and slander is given away in the final paragraph of the report. On May 1st the Weisbordites participated in the Stalinist demonstration. Why not on May 30th? Because our original call came out for the release of the four German youth, and the Stalinist demonstration would have refused to permit them to raise the slogan. But did the Stalinist May Day demonstration permit the Weisbordites to raise the slogan of "For the Fourth International"? Of course not! The Weisbordites are now doing penance for not marching with the Stalinists on May 30th.

Weisbord's politics has led him to the worst Stalinist methods of distortion. All the above facts were stated in the **Militant** and **Young Spartacus**, so that no "misunderstandings" can be claimed. His blind hatred of the Communist League leads him to picking up and inventing filthy slanders against it. He is drifting far away from revolutionary Marxism.

ANTONIO FIERRO MEMORIAL MEETING

A memorial meeting for Antonio Fierro, murdered by a Fascist Khaki Shirts, has been called for Saturday, July 14 at 8:30 P.M. at the Debs Auditorium in the Rand School at 7 East 15th St. Speakers

If the number on your wrapper is 232 or smaller, your subscription to the **Militant** expired. Do not delay. Send your renewal in at once and so save us unnecessary labor and expense. If you cannot renew at this time let us know how soon you can.

Frisco Walkout Grows

(Continued from Page 1)

even Hearst's **Examiner** approves of as sufficiently "conservative"—can drive the striking unions into an early settlement, probably on the basis of the June 16th agreement, made between the bosses and Ryan, Longshoremen President, which was rejected by the longshoremen and the other maritime workers.

Ominous as the outlook for the general strike is, it still has a chance. If the teamsters vote again to come out tonight, half the battle will be won. Furthermore, about twenty of the 120 unions have already voted for the general strike, and many more are meeting to do so this week. The vote for the general strike is not mandatory, but enables the "Strategy Committee" to call it if they choose; but if a majority of the unions vote for it, a phony settlement will not be so easy. Also, Oakland Labor Council, composed of eight locals and about 35,000 members, has voted to submit the question of general strike to the membership. Word also came on Monday of a meeting in Portland, Oregon of representatives of eighty trade unions to discuss the general strike call.

But meanwhile the Frisco Labor Council will do nothing to further the general strike plan. Efforts of the Joint Marine Strike Committee to get the Labor Council even to discuss it, during a meeting on July 7, were frustrated. President of the Council, Edward Vandeleur, went out of his way to state to the capitalist press that the meeting did not discuss the general strike. All the "Strategy Committee" has been doing the last two days is talk at the open sessions of the National Longshoremen Board and sit in on the secret executive sessions of the Board.

The efforts of the government, the bosses, and the A. F. of L. chiefs are directed to driving the longshoremen into a separate settlement, leaving the other ten crafts—seamen, cooks, machinists, boiler-makers, etc.—holding the bag. This was the meaning of the July 16th agreement signed by the Longshoremen's international president, Joseph P. Ryan, which was turned down by the longshoremen. It provided for joint control of hiring halls, and a number of other dangerous concessions to the bosses, but the main reason the workers turned it down was that the other ten crafts, which really got involved in the strike by going out in sympathy with the longshoremen, should not be left in the lurch.

The 1919 strike of the longshoremen was smashed because they got

no support from the seamen. Now that the seamen have at last demonstrated their solidarity, the longshoremen are not going to turn around and let them down. If the bosses and the union chiefs succeed in forcing a separate settlement, it will take years to heal the breach between the longshoremen and the other maritime workers.

The government is cooperating in this attempt. First, the President set up, not a board to deal with the marine workers as a whole, but a **Longshoremen's Board**. Then, Attorney General Cummings made a ruling, upon the request of the Board, that the ship owners as a group do not have to deal with the seamen as a whole, but that each company deals separately with its "own" seamen. This was done in order to dodge the offer of the seamen to abide by a secret balloting to be held by the Board to determine the representatives of the seamen. The scheme now is to divide up the seamen in small groups, for a couple of dozen different elections, providing any number of opportunities of spotting union leaders, intimidating workers, and fixing each election. The ship owners insist on pretending that they do not function together as a group which can deal collectively with the seamen. In facing the longshoremen, however, whom even the bosses admit are almost all in the International Longshoremen's Association, the bosses act through a central control.

The action of the teamsters, the strike votes, and the lengths the "Strategy Committee" will dare to go in heading off the overwhelming sentiment for the general strike, will determine the outcome. That will come in the next few days.

Portland, July 8.—By greasing the tracks, and then winning the train crews, the waterfront strikers Saturday prevented any trains from getting to the piers. Representatives of 80 trade unions will meet Monday on the question of general strike. The leaders of the Oregon national guard are having conferences in preparation, with the Governor and the Portland officials.

Seattle, July 9.—The bosses are trying to put over the June 16th agreement, which the workers turned down by overwhelming votes. The bosses are conducting "straw ballots" to "determine the sentiment of the employees" who went out. The strike committee has prohibited the use of coast steamers in transporting goods from Seattle to Tacoma, and all shipping has been tied up.

HOW NOT TO LEAD A STRIKE

The Stalinists who are ever ready to shout sell-out about any strike which they do not control, have again demonstrated their utter incapacity to lead any strike without completely destroying and demoralizing whatever organization existed.

The most recent example comes to us from Bridgeton, N. J., where the Agricultural Cannery Industrial Union, under the guiding hand of Donald Henderson, ex-secretary of the National Students League "led" a strike at the Seabrook Farms.

The strike ended with renunciation of Henderson's leadership by the strikers, when he was forcibly dragged off the platform by enraged strikers, and capitulation to the United States Commissioner of Conciliation sent by Frances Perkins.

The terms of the agreement finally accepted include an "impartial" board of adjustment of 5 members—none of whom are strikers.

And here is how the board is to function: "The duties of the board shall consist in deciding any question in controversy between employer and employee and the decision of the board thereon shall be final in binding on all parties and interest."

"The board shall regulate its own procedure."

While Henderson opposed the settlement as finally accepted, the fact that the strikers would have none of him and yelled him down when he tried to speak, is indicative of the "confidence" the workers had in his leadership.

Is this the leadership Bill Dunne wanted the workers in Minneapolis to follow? No, thank you!

The **Daily Worker**, in its customary fashion, hailed the strike as a victory! The old wage scale of 25c to 30c per hour is to remain in force. Working conditions are the same as when the strike was called. And yet in the statement of the union published in the **Daily Worker** on July 12th, they have the audacity to say that: "The workers have won the major demands of the strike." This in face of the vicious clauses in the agreement in which the "arbitration" board—on which not a single striker is represented—is to arbitrate all differences between employer and employee and all decisions are to be binding.

This follows the Stalinist dictum that all strikes in which they participate must necessarily lead to victory, e.g., the N. Y. Taxi strike.