



## Insurance For Jobless Depends on Labor

Years of official silence to the demands of the workers for social insurance were finally ended in Roosevelt's message to Congress on Friday, June 8. The President has come forward with the promise of some kind of social insurance which will include old age and unemployment benefits.

"... The security of the home, the security of livelihood and the security of social insurance. . . . They constitute a right which belongs to every individual. . . ." says the President. But under what circumstances do these statements appear?

The 73rd Congress is closing its session, having passed no significant social legislation. The prestige of the Recovery program has gone down on the battleground of the class struggle. Labor has received only what it has won in the fiercest struggles. The government has retained popularity mainly through its promises. Those have been used up; and now there are new promises to dwell upon.

But this message reveals more than promises for popularity. For it is also, certainly, the defensive response to militant labor.

Judged at its face value Roosevelt's message is vague and even meaningless. He says directly that he is thinking chiefly of old age and unemployment insurance. It is to be federal in administration, the States cooperating. And "the funds necessary to provide this insurance should be raised by contributions rather than by an increase in general taxation." That is all the information offered.

### Roosevelt's Message Reflects Pressure of Discontent

The question for the worker is, why is the President vague about the kind of social insurance he will propose? There are many well known plans for social insurance. And the issues are simple and clear. Who will pay for it? What will be the amount of the benefits? Will they be permanent—for the period of need? Will they apply immediately? Will they accrue to the present millions of unemployed? And will they cover agricultural, professional occupations, etc.? There can be no hedging on these questions—and there can be no doubt of the President's knowledge of them. Two well known unemployment insurance bills, the Wagner Bill and the Lundeen Bill, have been before Congress during the present session. The Old Guard Republicans have been all over the lot to kill any insurance bill. The shrewder politicians, some of whom make up the present administration have favored the Wagner bill, with the fond patronage of William Green, as a blinder, to head off the labor offensive for a real bill. And now at the end of the legislative sessions, with the "Recovery" program washed up, millions still un-

employed, and wages, as always, dependent upon the militancy and efficiency of the strike, Roosevelt comes before a retiring Congress with those professional accents of sincerity, and says "Next winter . . . social insurance . . . looking for a sound means which I can recommend."

There is a reason for this vagueness and demagoguery. There is "social unrest". Last summer there was pretty talk about "collective bargaining", which became troops, gas and bullets to prevent anyone from taking that cordiality too seriously. The Roosevelt administration is the most demagogic in American history; pious and brutal, smiling and deadly. "Collective bargaining" became company unions when labor did not fight, or was not strong enough, or was sold out.

What will social insurance become? It will become what the workers make it. The words "social insurance" were wrung out of Roosevelt by the grip of an aroused working class. Between now and next winter the government hopes for a period of respite. But to obtain actual relief, the working class must present its own demands for social insurance and immediately build the united front of labor that will push it over. The A. F. of L., the independent unions, unemployed organizations, and the political parties of the labor movement must act together for this objective.

The employers and their government must make the "contributions". The benefits must provide a good standard of living. They must be as permanent as unemployment. They must apply immediately and to the existing unemployed.

—D. B.

Comrade Cannon's article in his series discussing the Minneapolis strike had to be omitted this week because of his absence from the city. It will appear in the next issue.

## Longshoremen Refuse Surrender

Despite the settlement signed by Thos. Ryan for the Seattle longshoremen all cargo movements have been blocked by the strikers. Thus the first efforts to open the Seattle waterfront failed. Pickets sat on the tracks in front of a locomotive dispatched to switch freight cars and refused to move. In the San Francisco Bay Region the local I.L.A. has addressed an appeal to all local unions to join in a general strike in its support. Several unions have voted favorably at this time. There are all indications that the combined efforts of the Chambers of Commerce, the ship owners, the mediators and the international officials of the Longshoremen Union to

## Union Barred at NRA Office

The attitude of the NRA administration towards unions has again been demonstrated—in its own house. When the workers in the NRA Labor Advisory Board attempted to take advantage of section 7a of the NRA and organized into the NRA Employees Union, Lodge 91, General Johnson called the organizer of the union into his office and discharged him for "insubordination".

"The little NRA union", said John Donovan, the president, "has received exactly the same dirty deal as the auto workers, the steel workers and every other group of workers who have come to General Johnson seeking justice."

The union demanded recognition, abandonment of overtime, compensatory time off for overtime, more equitable reclassification and remedying of specific cases of discrimination.

The workers are beginning to learn from their own bitter experience that they can expect nothing from the NRA. Only by reliance upon their own strength can they hope to win recognition from the bosses government. This lesson is being learnt by every group of workers who have attempted to establish a union and win recognition and the right of collective bargaining.

## Steel Workers Union Retreats Strike Plans Deferred

The steel strike has been postponed. None of the issues which gave rise to the strike plans have been settled. None of the demands made by the union have been met by the steel masters or even given serious consideration by them. In

### New Deal Marches Ahead



## Steel Workers Union Retreats Strike Plans Deferred

other words, a test of strength is held in abeyance. None of these issues can be considered settled until the union is recognized as the authentic spokesman of the workers—that means when it actually exists as a factor capable of enforcing the demands of the workers.

At the Pittsburgh convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, held last week to take final action on the strike proposition, the delegates accepted a proposal for a retreat submitted by William Green. This meek Baptist deacon from Coshocton, Ohio appeared before the steel delegates and delivered what is said to be the strongest plea of his career. His plea was against action, against a test of strength, against a strike to obtain the demands made by the workers. When appearing in such a role Bill Green seems growing in stature. His plea was not challenged, otherwise he would easily have become rattled and incoherent. As it was he could convey to the delegates his idea to put their faith, not in the power of organization, but in President Roosevelt.

### Bill Green's Proposal

That was the proposition accepted by the steel workers' convention. It recommends the setting up of an impartial board of three members to be appointed by President Roosevelt. This board is to: Adjust complaints of violations of the code for the Iron and Steel industry; mediate and conciliate disputes between employers and employees; undertake to arrange for a conference for collective bargaining with the employers; arbitrate labor disputes submitted to it voluntarily; hear and determine matters of discrimination against the workers. In addition this board is to have the authority to hold elections in the steel plants to determine workers' representatives for collective bargaining.

The proposal accepted by the convention finally declares that in the event the above recommendations are accepted by all parties the strike was to be declared off. Such was the proposition offered by Bill Green, and, of course, he could not

give the slightest assurance as to whether it would be accepted or even considered by the steel corporations. In sum and substance this proposition is the same as the infamous automobile settlement which he helped to put over.

What will the outcome be? To the steel trust it means that the threat of a strike is removed and it can go ahead with its unbridled exploitation, fearing no challenge to its coercive methods of company unionism. It can permit itself an even greater defiance than before and help stiffen the backbone of the struggle against union organization elsewhere.

### What Was Lacking?

To these workers a union of their own, firmly established, will have real meaning. But the surrender made at the Pittsburgh convention will undoubtedly have a disheart-

(Continued on Page 4)

## French Labor Parties Ignore Storm Signals

Reaction grips Europe. France, caught in the claws of the economic crisis—a chaotic budget, the decline of small commerce, the deterioration of the workers' standard, the impoverishment of the peasants—is the storm center. On the courage and the course of its proletariat depends not only the future of France but—perhaps for years, the future of the whole working class. The descendants of the Communards are not without courage; the events of Feb. 6th-12th have shown some of their power. But in France, today, there is no party capable of leading the proletariat to victory. There is the nucleus for such a party—the Feb. 6th and 12th events demonstrated—the French Communist League. The day after tomorrow, it must become such a party.

Clashes in the streets of important cities between workers' and fascist reactionaries take place almost daily. The workers stand their ground. Reaction retaliates. At this moment Comrade Trotsky is being hounded still, compelled to move from place to place. The reactionary aim is to paralyze his activities, to separate him completely from the working class.

The official Communist Party shows progressive decay; in 1920 the majority of the Socialist Party, 130,000 strong, joined the Comintern; today the Stalinites have 12,000 members. Political degeneracy takes its toll. A short period after its origin, the C.G.T.U. (red union) had 400,000 members while today there remain 70,000. Meanwhile, the C.G.T. (reformist unions), headed by the Compters of France, Jouhaux, has a membership of 1,000,000.

### Decisive Issues Moving to the Fore

But, for a revolutionary party, questions of theory, strategy, and tactics play the decisive role. They cannot be postponed or remain unanswered. Let us look at the "hollow men" of Stalinism, facing the growing fascist elements—remember that an empty barrel rolling down hill makes a tremendous rumble.

The Croix du Feu, the Voltaires de la France, the Jeunesse Patriote, the noisy disciples of the Action Francaise, are organizing. The "Trotskyites" call for the united front of all working-class organizations. They propose local committees of action in all industries; a general labor defense corps (workers militia); and of course the right to mutual criticism by all participating organizations. The C. P. refuses, proclaiming that only under its leadership can a united front be constituted. The S. P. and other working-class organiza-

tions accept—but the pressure grows. The C. P. reconsiders. It offers to enter the united front with the Socialist Party on these conditions: that it must be organized under the auspices of the Amsterdam International against War and Fascism; exclude the Trotskyites, etc. The S. P. refuses because it will not accept the Barbusse leadership in advance; and it answers that the Trotskyites represent an important political tendency in the labor movement. Then from within the C. P. ranks Doriot raises his voice for the united front policy.

### The Danger of False Slogans

On the streets, during the February days, the Stalinists raised the slogan of "Down with the government of Daladier-Frot, the murderers of workers" (the identical slogan of the fascist elements). And on Feb. 8th, L'Humanite comments: "... certain comrades show an entirely incomprehensible excitement concerning the fascist turmoil in the streets." The C. P. did not even understand the events. As a result it experienced further decline while the Socialist Party made gains.

Nor is the "case of Doriot" unconstructive in relation to the decay of the C. P. and the Comintern. Doriot learned from the Feb. 6-12 events. His experience in the work of organizing the anti-fascist front in St. Denis forced him to come out against the Central Committee, against the stupidity of "united front from below only", against Thorez and Cachin. Thorez remarked quite honestly: "If we accept his (Doriot's) evaluation of the present situation we compromise the whole of our political line pursued hitherto." By resigning his majority of St. Denis, Doriot forced the hand of the party Central Committee. Running on his own platform, the workers reelected him by an overwhelming majority. But the Stalinists had a comeback. They called a convention of their sections of Northern France, for the purpose of dealing with Doriot. They registered 110 votes for their condemnation of Doriot's position and 69 against. The convention vote was secured by allowing the same vote to each unit, regardless of its size. The numerically powerful units of St. Denis could record no more strength than the small units. However, he refused to make a pilgrimage to Moscow in order to be instructed in the tactic of the "united front from below". Ironically enough, the first name signed to the ukase expelling Doriot was that of Dimitroff.

### And in the Socialist Party

The Socialist Party of France, at its recent convention, held in Toulouse, May 20th through May 23rd, revealed nothing new. The party, since the split-off of the extreme right wing, remains in the hands of the "centrists" under the leadership of Blum and Faure. The days of "democracy" in France are about at an end. Fascism is advancing. A Marxist party would go over to the offensive. But not the S. P. The lessons from the German and Austrian events had no appreciable effects on the convention, except that the uselessness of an "armed insurrection" was broached. True, under the pressure of these events and in order to appease the left-wing elements, there was some gibbering about "radical decisive action." The united front policy of the "Administrative committee" was approved. But on a whole they were more concerned about the parliamentary elections next October. It did not occur to them that the time may soon come when there will be no more ballot boxes. A resolution against any "further" appropriations for war was passed—no realistic consideration of the tasks of a working-class party in relation to war. The leftward moving groups who had quit or been expelled (the right-wing had split off in the latter part of last year) were invited to return. A resolution condemning any bloc with the radical bourgeoisie slid through. A few lamentations over Renaudel—the right wing leader—barely anything on the reactionary leaders of the trade-unions—and the convention ended. The S. P. remains a hopelessly reformist organization. The militants must be won over to Communism.

### Fight to Oust Wolinsky

The French Communist League, which took the leadership in the united front proposals in the formation of workers' alliances, gains prestige in the French labor movement. To the questions of the proletariat it gives Marxian answers. Under the banner of the Fourth International, it will rally the workers of France for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. Forward, International Communists of France!

—A. B.

## Recovery For the Farmer

After the first year of the New Deal the American farmers are beginning to become disillusioned with its "recovery" program. The high prices for farm products which was to follow automatically from an artificially induced economy of curtailment of production has failed to materialize and the farmers find themselves holding the sack.

At the end of 1933 the year's index showed a gain of only 3% over 1932. In July 1933 the purchasing power of the farmers' dollar had fallen to 71 cents, in January 1934 it was down to 60 cents, while for February it was recorded at 64 cents.

Bad times did not set in for the farmer in 1929 at the time of the general crisis of capitalism but fully ten years earlier. Depression in agriculture set in almost immediately after the world war. All the evidences of a depressed economy were present: falling prices, land value deflation, heavy mortgages and the ever growing pressure of fixed charges (taxes, interests on debts, etc.). The farmers largely disappeared as purchasers of capital goods and a characteristic contradiction of capitalist economy made its appearance; agriculture became more efficient as a system of production as its gross income declined.

### One Example of Curtailed Production

Cotton was a typical item in the agricultural "recovery" program. One fourth of the 1933 crop was plowed under and the acreage was reduced from 41,000,000 acres to 30,000,000 acres. But the New Dealers found out that acreage reduction was by no means synonymous with yield reduction. Inten-

sive cultivation and the use of fertilizer was applied and the yield per acre jumped from the five year average of a 174 pounds to a yield of 200 pounds for 1933. The year's crop was 13,177,000 bales and was fully equal to that of 1932. From the standpoint of American production alone the farmer was no better off than before. Drastic reduction in the United States spurred producers elsewhere to increase enormously their planting. As a result the total of foreign cotton production reached the highest point since the pre-depression days 1927-28. Nor has the worst happened yet. Plans are going ahead for the opening up of vast cotton regions in India and Africa.

Since the price of cotton is determined by the world production rather than that of any single country it can be seen that the world position of American cotton is worse now than ever before. Net results in other commodities produced by agriculture will be likewise affected. Perhaps, the farmers began to sense this to see through the "national planning" demagoguery of the A.A.A. hence their quiet but effective sabotaging of the whole thing.

### Who Pays the Price?

Acreage reduction in wheat for the 1934 crop fell short by fully half of the administration's plans. Reduction in acreage had cost the consumers (largely the workers) \$150,000,000 in processing taxes and netted to the overwhelming mass of farmers no substantial gains. The American farmer began to wake up to the fact that national boundaries are largely arbitrary and not of much use where production for a market is concerned.

(Continued on Page 4)

## ORGANIZATION & PRESS DRIVE

We are on our way to new gains. The first results of our campaign to create a fund to build the organization and its press are at hand. The first steps to carry out this immediate objective have been taken. Two capable organizers have been selected to take up work in the field. The first issue of the theoretical organ, THE NEW INTERNATIONAL is off the press.

Two new branches have been added to the League in the last few weeks. In the Richmond, California, oil field the branch already reported is making headway. Now a large branch has been built up in Detroit composed of a number of comrades who are deeply entrenched in the trade unions. The Cleveland branch is strengthened with a field organizer giving his attention to the Cleveland-Pittsburgh territory. In Minneapolis the strike victory has created rich opportunities for the League. The two new field organizers are to be assigned to Minneapolis and Detroit respectively.

More indispensable than ever is THE MILITANT.

Its contents will become increasingly popularized to represent ever more of a mass agitation paper. But it must be stabilized, take in a wider field and have more material of interest to the average worker.

These are the objectives for which we intend to use the organization and press fund. We call upon you to help. Through collective efforts we can march forward to new and greater gains. Never before has the need been so pressing and the opportunities so favorable. The creation of a revolutionary movement is the issue.

Do not delay! If you have already received a coupon book for this campaign, containing ten coupons at 10c each, make haste to dispose of them and settle the account with the office. If you have not received one, you will forward your request to us? If you can advance a dollar or more for one or more coupon books, so much the better. But at any rate we count upon you. Send all your orders and your funds to THE MILITANT, 126 East 16th Street, New York City.

### Fight to Oust Wolinsky

New York.—In the Militant of April 26th issue we reported how Wolinsky the agent of the bosses is saving the New York pocketbook workers' union. Now we will give an analysis of what took place since.

The "fraternal club" administration of the pocketbook workers union and its so-called legal "advisor" Wolinsky held the first two conferences two weeks ago with the employers' association. At the first conference, according to the Forward's report of May 31 the bosses presented a list of demands to the union.

### How the Union Officials Work for the Bosses

How is it that at a time when there is a general talk of reducing hours and of raising wages the pocketbook bosses are demanding a lowering of conditions? The answer is that our misleaders did not enforce the rotten agreements they signed with the employers for the last few years. The agreement provides that the scale of mechanics should be \$32 and \$35.50. In most of the shops this scale was not enforced.

Moreover, the code that was signed by the Wolinsky administration did not change working conditions in the trade. Hours and wages remained the same. The pocketbook workers are still working 40 hours a week. Why? Because the present officials work hand in hand with the bosses.

At a time when there is such great unemployment in the industry. At a time when wages have been reduced from 40 to 50 per cent. Out of 4,000 pocketbook workers in New York, only 1,500 have jobs and they work only part time during the season. Is it a wonder that the employers rejoiced when Wolinsky became legal adviser of the union? They know how Wolinsky advised them to fight the union when he was manager of the Morris White firm and how he helped to throw out 110 workers in the same shop. Wolinsky made a statement that he "made" the union and he will break it. The bosses cannot have a better

(Continued on Page 4)



REVIEWING THE NEWS

Role of the Stalinists In Minneapolis Strike

L. R. writing from Philly on the "Stalinist-Divine" unity says: "Perhaps after all we are 'counter-revolutionists' because we were for a united front with the devil and his grandma against Fascism while Stalinism makes united fronts only with God."

That S.P. "Communist" Declaration

The more Norman Thomas explains it, the clearer it becomes that the "Declaration of Principles" was for Thomas and many others just a gesture to the left without any serious nor militant intention of opposing war.

Recent "Liberal" Moves by La Guardia

Denounced spokesmen for the unemployed as "yellow dogs". Approved the clubbing of starving men and women for protesting against starvation.

La Guardia, during his campaign for Mayor of New York, outdid Roosevelt as a "champion of the people". He, the "free, fearless, non-partisan fighter" is revealing daily that if he attacked Tammany gangsters it was only to sign up with the bankers who want to eliminate the Tammany retail grafters in order to better carry on wholesale robbery of the workers and unemployed of New York.

The Youth and War

"Young men—all of them—signs with the gilt of rank upon their shoulders—leading lads burned darkly brown by tropic suns. White uniforms—brown faces—and youth... 'How young they are!' others exclaimed."

In the same issue of the Times, Sunday, June 3, is the story of another parade of youth and its sequel. A court martial is being held in France to review the case of four youth who were court-martialed and shot in 1915.

"It was a veritable slaughterhouse" said Major Dubost, describing conditions on the field of battle. "Bodies of those killed in previous combats lay so close together they touched one another. Not a meter of space was free from corpses, with faces blackened in decomposition."

"The officers ordering the assault ran forward in a rain of machine-gun fire," one of them testified, "and dropped to cover in shell holes, but their men had failed to follow. They refused to move."

At the trial Corporal Morange merely said, "It is always the same with men who are ordered to go forward to death." The other accused men said nothing and all were convicted and shot.

The parade on Fifth Avenue, the blackened rotten faces of the youth

The Stalinists have two ways of looking at the same strike situation at all times, no matter where it is, in New York, in Toledo, San Francisco, or Minneapolis. A review of the Party actions in connection with the Minneapolis Strike will show this most clearly.

During the five months prior to the strike the official Communist Party had no part whatever in the building of the General Drivers Union. They had no members in it. But some of their sympathizers were working loyally with the members of the Communist League in the union. During the Coal strike they marched a bunch of unemployed workers up to a closed meeting of the union demanded admittance and to have a speaker address the union.

On the Eve of the Strike

One thousand, two thousand, going on to three thousand workers signed up with Local No. 574. Yet among them not one Stalinist appeared on the scene. For two weeks talk of a possible strike by the general drivers appeared in the daily press, while negotiations with the bosses was proceeding to a crisis.

The effect if any was a few more drivers on the sidelines—very few—for the main mass of members voted solidly for strike. Every rumor and slander against Communism and "Reds" was strengthening the minds of the thousands of proletarians that were entering the unions for the first time.

The First Day of the Strike

The strike was effective. The city was tied up. The union held a meeting. The strike committee of seventy-five was reporting. (The Stalinist leaflet called for a rank-and-file strike committee!). There is an offer from the Unemployed Council of assistance and support. The majority report is not to accept the assistance of the "Reds".

The Gathering of Forces

Wednesday the bosses met, and assembled the entire boss class through the Citizens Alliance behind the truck bosses to defeat the drivers. Their plan was to make a press campaign against the strike, so as to justify a terrific police attack upon the union and smash it down. To meet this the strike committee began immediately to solicit the other unions and workers' organizations for support.

of France, the death sentence by General de L'Etolle, and the praise of Grover Whalen—they are all inseparable parts of the capitalist slaughter machine.

working class—a training in filling gaps, in skirmishes with police and gunmen, in evading and experiencing arrests. Only on Friday were some C. P. militant members seen on the picket trucks leaving Headquarters.

The Saturday Events

A thousand special police had been assembled. The battle for the market began. Brushes throughout the morning, grew more ferocious around noon, and extended until three o'clock when the police were called off. The C. P. had some men without their leaders on the picket trucks. If the district bureaucrats wished it they would have been there.

Saturday night, S. K. Davis of the I.L.D. was given the floor to speak for the Committee of 23 (all defendants in the Court House unemployment riots of April 6th). The ultimatum tone of the Monday before was gone, the Stalinists were speaking to a group of workers who were fighters, and who were better organized to fight than they had been.

The International Communists had made it understood that they were for the participation of all workers groups including the Communist party (Stalinists). It was broadcasted from G.H.Q. that any worker could participate in picket duty regardless of political affiliation. By this act, the C. P. leadership was robbed of its argument that it was not allowed to do anything, and therefore could not show their "stuff".

Yes, Welsbord claims adherence to the International Left Opposition, but even on such points as our attitude towards the Soviet Union will you find quite a divergence. In his pamphlet "For a New Internationalism" we find (p. 26): "Today, what we have in Russia is not the dictatorship of the proletariat but the dictatorship of the bureaucracy over the proletariat."

Trotsky castigates this viewpoint ("Soviet Union and the Fourth International", p. 6: "The most widespread, popular, and at first sight irrefutable argument in favor of the non-proletarian character of the present Soviet state is based upon the reference to the strangulation of liberties of proletarian organizations and to the almighty-ness of the bureaucracy. Is it really possible to identify the dictatorship of an apparatus, which has led to the dictatorship of a single person, with the dictatorship of the proletariat as a class? Isn't it clear that the dictatorship of the proletariat is excluded by the dictatorship OVER the proletariat?")

What Happened Tuesday

The C. P. leadership was to assemble its forces and appear on the picket line. A delay—were the leaders pondering over the problem? Tuesday morning, after extensive organization work of 36 hours, Sunday night to Tuesday morning, the C. P. and its auxiliaries under the name of the Unemployed Councils (?) CAME DOWN, with their entire FORCE—fifteen men. All the wind, and boasts, and slander, and vilifications of the C. P. against the leadership of the strike, was based upon the rejection of their demand, representing these fifteen men, to sit on the strike committee of 6,000 truck drivers, with equal rights, at least equal vote if not more, to the elected representatives of the union members.

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QUESTION BOX

Numerous questions from readers concerning various phases of the class struggle have prompted the Militant to initiate this column. Address questions to Question Box Editor, c/o Militant, 126 E. 16th St., New York.

Comrade G. Flint: General Motors is the only automobile corporation for which figures, of the kind you request, are available at present to this editor. According to the company's report (Apr. 2, 1934) it had 116,152 employees in 1932 and 137,764 in 1933. With this gain (19%), production was increased about 64%, indicating the speed-up which occurred. Average wages per employee is reported as the same for both years, about \$1,235. This is about 25% less than the average wage for the industry in 1929, about \$1,640. The company's net profit was 88 million in 1933 as against 9 million in 1932.

No! The Stalinist policy in the automobile situation was not correct. One of the main issues was recognition of the A. F. of L. union which the bulk of the workers were joining. The Stalinist T.U.U.L. organization urged the workers to strike for their demands, saying that their organization "supported" such a strike. The question therefore arises: If it is correct (and it is) to strike for recognition of the A. F. of L. union, why do the Stalinists maintain a policy which separates the militants from the workers in the mass organization and leaves them hopelessly isolated in the T.U.U.L. paper unions?

Comrade B., N. Y.: The author of the statement that fascism and the social democracy "do not contradict each other, but supplement each other." They are not antipodes, but twins. Is none other than Stalin himself. See the pamphlet by Fritz Heckert "What is Happening in Germany", p. 21.

Max Eastman is not a member of the Communist League of America, nor are we responsible for his viewpoint.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT HAS BEEN DESTROYED." (Emphasis in original.)

Yipsel, Boston: According to the U. S. War Department figures there were 37,484,186 casualties during the world war; 57.8% of the total mobilized force. Of these, 8,538,315 were killed or died, 21,219,452 were wounded, and 7,750,919 were prisoners or missing. Out of a total force of 4,067,101, 88% (2,783,094) had to be drafted and test you forget, Wilson was elected on the slogan: He kept us out of war. Compare this to the American Civil War whose progressive character is shown by the fact that 94% of the Union forces were volunteers.

Despite the bureaucracy, the Soviet Union, so long as it retains its class character (i.e. as long as the means of production remain the property of the proletariat) can NOT conduct an imperialist war. The purpose of the imperialists in a war is to gain new markets, sources of raw material, spheres of influence for the investment of capital, etc., in short to be free to exploit those masses now being exploited by other imperialists. (In the case of the Soviet Union the imperialists would like to be able again to exploit those masses who have already thrown off their yoke). Proletarians on the other hand can exploit no one.

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

Y.C.L. Holds Seventh National Convention

On June 22nd, the national convention of the Young Communist League, originally planned for Detroit, will open in New York City. No one expects anything from this meeting except an endorsement of the "general line", a few words of criticism of its practical application, and the reiteration of high-sounding plans and policies which have failed in the past.

Three years ago the sixth national convention of the Y.C.L. went through the same ritual. As then, the mass of Y.C.L.ers are indifferent to the pre-convention discussion which is a farcical ceremony that no one takes seriously. With all real opposition expelled and stifled, those who remain faithfully follow the leadership—as long as they remain members.

"From a League of less than 2,500, the Y.C.L. has grown almost three times to a League of more than 6,000", states the leading editorial of the Young Worker (June 19th, 1934). Apparently a great achievement. Yet if we consider that the last three years in the United States offered unprecedented opportunities for a genuine communist youth organization—assuming it had the material resources to reach and hold the young workers, which the Y.C.L. had and has—the doubling of membership is not much of an accomplishment.

200% Turnover in Three Years Six thousand members in the Y.C.L. in June 1934. Yet between January 1932 to July 1933 seven thousand young workers joined the Y.C.L. (Y.C.L. Builder, September 1933.) At this rate we can conclude that there has been a two hundred per cent turnover of membership in the last three years—that is for every member who today remains, two young workers have left the Y.C.L. And this is called "growth"!

In no field can the Y.C.L. record any real success. Its inner life is drab and uninteresting, discouraging systematic activity or stable membership. Its educational and cultural activities are practically non-existent—they are left for the auxiliary youth organizations.

In the anti-militarist and anti-Fascist field, the Y.C.L. has the "Youth Section of the League Against War and Fascism", a sectarian outfit based on a confused program which has very little influence on the non-Stalinist radical youth of the country. The Y.C.L. rejected genuine united front action in this field with the Spartacus Youth League and the Y.P.S.L. for May 30th in New York, San Francisco and New Haven.

How about its work among the jobless and homeless youth? A little work in the C.C.C., sporadic organizations which soon disappear in various cities and no more. Persistent, systematic, stable organization is impossible with the Stalinist policies, methods and leadership.

In any case, we hear of the work of the Y.C.L. in the shops and factories, in the unions—if not A. F. of L., at least T.U.U.L. Here also there is more noise than accomplishment. For years the Stalinist youth have tried to organize youth sections or committees of trade unions, particularly of their own private little "unions", the "red unions". Where are these youth committees or sections? Where has the Y.C.L. organized the young workers? One needs but read the Stalinist press on the lamentations about their failures.

Militant Builders

SIX MORE WEEKS TO GO. No Cards Sold After August 1st.

Table listing contributions to the Pledge Fund from various locations including Minneapolis, Boston, Newark, N. J., and others.

young demand is: "Equal pay for equal work for young workers", a condition which appears to be in effect everywhere. Instead of concentrating on the social, cultural and sports needs of the young workers in industry this method of work and such policies lead to failure after failure.

The impotence of the American Young Communist League is a reflection of the failures of Stalinism over the entire world. It is a condemning fact that after the German and Austrian events there was no mass ferment in the Y.C.L. Unlike the Y.P.S.L., it was almost immune from the world shaking events. Those who raised doubts as to the correctness of the Comintern were summarily expelled as "Trotskyites".

The S.Y.L. is today the embryo of the coming revolutionary youth movement in the United States. Based on a Marxist program the S.Y.L., through participation in the class struggle, anti-militarist activity, anti-Fascist work, through educational and cultural activity, will take its place as the leader of the young workers and students. It will continue to strive for united front actions of all working class youth organizations, particularly with the Young Peoples Socialist League and the Y.C.L. In common work with these youth and through fraternal discussions of the problems confronting the movement we will win the best elements within these organizations for revolutionary Marxism, that is for the Fourth International and a new revolutionary youth international.

Pledge Fund

Through an oversight, we omitted to print last week the names of the comrades of the Manhattan Branch, N. Y. C. who pay on their pledges regularly.

Table listing names and amounts for the Pledge Fund, categorized by Manhattan Branch, Others in New York City, Bronx, Newark, N. J., Boston, and Others.

MARCH OF EVENTS

Fascism and the Junkers If Von Hindenburg and Von Papen, the spokesmen for the Junkers, yielded to the upstart Hitler and permitted him to come to power, it was not because of any love for plebeian fascism. The German Junkers swung to fascism in order to save their big landed estates, directly threatened in the course of events by the efforts to solve the agrarian crisis. The barons thus allied themselves with the industrial magnates and the powerful bankers in their mutual effort to save the system of private property.

After Hitler, Thaelmann! And this in short order too. Let Hitler come to power, said Stalin, and then we will follow. With far more justification the Junker-monarchists said, "Let Hitler come to power—and then, after he has used the petty-bourgeois masses to crush the democracy, to wipe out all workers' organizations and political parties, we shall crush him in turn and restore the Kaiser." And with that contingency ever in view, von Hindenburg, temporary regent for the monarchy, saw to it that the forms of "legality" would be preserved by maintaining a majority of the cabinet of dictators as his henchmen. Just as the big financiers needed Hitler (leader of the petty bourgeoisie) to uproot all the elements of proletarian revolution, so the Junkers needed Hitler to act as the bridge for their restoration to the special status of state bureaucracy.

Fascism Losing Its Social Base From the start it was quite evident that the petty bourgeois base of fascism could not endure. The followers of Hitler, misled by catchwords and demagoguery, were bound to become rapidly disillusioned. As the social basis on which the Nazis rose to power, gave way and began to disappear, it was also clear that the fascist rulers would be transformed into an ever narrowing bureaucracy, dependent on the police and the military. Von Papen now begins to put to the test the extent of this inevitable process. He is exploring, like a true militarist, the depth of depletion of the reserves of fascism. By drawing the sword and attempting a blow at Goebbels, one wing of Hitler resting on the petty bourgeoisie, von Papen aims to isolate Hitler so that he may be more readily dealt with tomorrow. True the Junkers yielded up till now; true they disbanded (or pretended to do so) their own forces, the Stahlhelm. But the process now begins to reverse itself and Hitler, up till now the mediator in disputes between the opposing wings of the ruling bureaucracy, will have to move closer under the clutches of the monarchists, even while he attempts to renounce them, for he cannot afford now an open breach with these dangerous allies. The former Kaiser, thanking Hitler publicly for his achievements for the reaction, rejoices that events begin to move in his direction. Von Papen, criticizing the Nazis openly for their "excesses", gives expression simultaneously to the hopes of the monarchists: "In my opinion", he said, "the German state will at some future date find its crowning glory in a chief of state who once for all is removed from the political fight of demagoguery and from clashes among economic and vocational interests."

The big bourgeoisie, always alarmed at the possible outcome of civil war, having gained their ends through a dictatorship, are anxious to bring about "law and order" as soon as possible after a victory. The demagoguery of fascism,aping socialist phrases to win the tradesmen and the professional classes, never pleased big business. Nor does the attempt by fascism to establish the corporate state appeal to bankers and industrialists. They prefer an alliance, at the earliest possible moment, with a more stable ruling caste. That power in Germany has been traditionally the landed barons, the Junkers. The time for a change may not yet be ripe. Here we merely indicate a trend that is clearly to be seen. The dictatorship of the plebeian fascists, resting on the petty bourgeoisie, tends to become transformed into a military dictatorship. As Engels says: "It seems a law of historical development that the bourgeoisie can in no European country get hold of political power—at least for any length of time—in the same exclusive way in which the feudal aristocracy kept hold of it during the Middle Ages." We are witnessing the workings of this law.

—J. WEBER.



# Stalinist Record in the Cuban Revolution

(Continued from last issue)

The Stalinists, foreseeing that a serious attempt to seize power, might precipitate intervention by the armed forces of the United States, came to the conclusion, at the same time that they prepared the "insurrection", that it was necessary to make efforts to avert intervention. Their ideas on this subject were first advanced in this country by Sinani in the December, 1933 *Communist*. With the idea in abstracto, we have no disagreement. What is required, however, is an examination to see whether the methods proposed do not compromise the principled position of the revolution. The seizure of power by the workers anywhere on the face of the earth today will be answered by world imperialism with political and economic support of the overthrown capitalists and, if the world and domestic situations permit, attempts at armed suppression of the revolution. Russian and Siberian soil is fertilized with the blood and bones of thousands of workers who gave up their lives in defense of the Russian Revolution in the great civil war. As soon as the Spanish workers and peasants overthrew Alfonso and established the republic British warships rushed to Spanish waters. When the Austrian workers fought the Heimwehr on the barricades Italy and Czechoslovakia massed troops on the frontiers.

**Necessity of Tactical Maneuvers**  
Realistic revolutionaries must take this danger into account in their program and prepare to meet it. The vital aspect of resistance to intervention in addition to the fight on domestic soil is the extension of the struggle to the soil of the imperialist country. Demonstrations, protest strikes, a broad mass movement in sympathy with the proletarian revolution abroad on the domestic soil of the attacking imperialists and in its vulnerable foreign markets, colonies, mandates, protectorates, can force a halt in the aggression, until the rest of the movement catches up with the outpost sufficiently to make its protest count. In the case of Cuba, upon which is centered the eyes of the millions of Latin American workers oppressed by the same imperialist power, the United States, the Cuban proletarian state will appeal to them for support and call on them to follow the example of the Cuban workers.

Now let us see how it stands with the Stalinists with respect to Cuba. According to Sinani (December 1933, *Communist*)—"the Communist Party of Cuba considers it advisable for the workers' and peasants' government, if it should be formed, to enter into negotiations with the government of the U.S.A. on the conditions of nationalization of big foreign property, while not abandoning this nationalization, i. e., it allows the possibility of buying out this property. . . . the Communist Party of Cuba allows the possibility of retaining American ownership to some extent in the form of concessions, as to the conditions on which the property will be bought out (amount, forms and date of payment, etc.) negotiations will have to be carried out between the future revolutionary government of Cuba and the government of the United States." (Our emphasis.)

It is clear from the underscored parts that the sense of this passage defines a MANEUVERING policy of the Communist Party AFTER it has state power. It is the more understandable when it is remembered that this was written, as the text itself clearly states, in the middle of September, that is, a short time before the Communist Party OSTENSIBLY had the perspective of seizing power.

**A Retreat in Face of Imperialists**  
One thing is certain: had the workers seized power in Cuba at that or any other time in the period since the overthrow of Machado, they would have faced the problem of armed intervention by the United States. Or if they seize it in the future before we seize it here the Cuban workers will face that problem either from the U.S. or some other imperialist power. In that situation it would be entirely correct to draw the superior power into protracted negotiations over treaties, settlements, concessions, etc. while might and main were being expended to arouse the workers of Latin America and the United States to come to the assistance of the Cuban workers' state. And, depending upon the situation and the relation of forces to grant concessions would be entirely correct and unavoidable. The alternatives would be voluntary surrender or armed struggle. Sinani's explanation defines the limits of the concessions to be made: they proposed to make concessions up to the point of nationalization which they proposed to retain. Should this method fall the Communist Party, says Sinani, would ". . . organize a real nationwide armed resistance to the interventionists."

All of this is correct. If we spend so much time on this point it is not to heap praise on the Stalinists but in the interest of speaking out what is and of making our position clear. We have nothing in common with those ultra-leftists who regard any concession as a betrayal of the revolution and of Marxism. Were we the party in Cuba that is how we would present the question to the masses. Intransigence in principle does not preclude but makes necessary flexibility in tactics; the ability to maneuver within the framework of firmly established Marxist principles, that is the essence of Leninist strategy. The road of the ultra-leftists leads to sectarianism. Sinani's position as we have given it above, we repeat is correct. If the matter rested there, if that were all that were involved, we might conclude that the Stalinists had learned from the events of August and were beginning to steer a revolutionary course. But that was not the case. The idea of averting intervention as formulated by the Stalinists has two aspects: the policy of maneuvering AFTER the seizure of power—which we have already discussed; and the policy of capitulating to American imperialism and the policy of NOT SEIZING POWER.

In response to the call of a large section of the working class of Palestine, there has been formed in this country a Committee for Jewish-Arab Labor Solidarity in Palestine with the purpose of helping to forge a united front of the Jewish and Arab working masses. The blood in which Palestine was drenched last October, 1933 showed with tragic clarity how acutely such solidarity is needed. Nor was this the first time that blood flowed in Palestine as a result of the imperialist policy of the British government setting up an artificial wall of distrust and separation between the Jewish and Arab masses. The distrust between the two peoples is stimulated, on the one hand, by the Arab reactionary forces, and, on the other, by the Jewish capitalists, true to the old imperialist maxim of divide and rule. One section of the population of Palestine is incited against the other and vicious jingo sentiments are spread among the masses of both peoples, expressed in the fascism of the Revisionist Brown Shirts among the Jews and the fascist Shabbab organization among the Arabs.

A grave error is being committed by the Histadruth (the Jewish trade union organization in Palestine) which bars Arab workers from its unions. Such a policy only widens the chasm between the Jewish and Arab workers and pours oil on the flames of national hatred kindled by the imperialists. It also helps the British mandatory power to cover up its shameful prohibition of Jewish workers immigration and to disguise its persecution of the immigrants under the cloak of pretended "friendship" for the Arab masses.

**Who Are the Owners of Cuba?**  
In China the Stalinists tried in vain and with disastrous consequences to make fundamental distinctions between the native bourgeoisie and the foreign imperialists and attached themselves as a tail to the former. In Cuba they repeat the same treachery but they want to direct their blows against the native bourgeoisie and lie down before the imperialists. Who are the Cuban ruling classes? What is their role in Cuban economy and society? Under the oppressive heel of American imperialism Cuban capitalism had been unable to develop its own finance capitalist class. Almost the entire banking of the island is done by three American and one Canadian bank and their branches. The railroads, sugar plantations, telephone, electric, gas and ice industries, mines, docks shipping, street cars, buses, building and other construction; every large and important industry is owned by American capital or leased by it. A small share is in the hands of British capital. The Cuban capitalists have minor shares. They are the vice-presidents of American firms. They wait on the pleasure and orders of the Chase National and the National City Bank. They beg favors from the House of Morgan and the Royal Bank of Canada. They are perhaps the most helpless and least important bourgeoisie in the world. To conduct a revolutionary struggle against them and not against the American interests is first of all a total impossibility, and secondly, its pronouncement is a plain statement of capitulation.

**Surrendering the Struggle**  
When the C. P. says it considers it inadvisable to seize American enterprises it says that it will not touch EIGHTY PERCENT OF THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE COUNTRY. Let us consider the sugar industry. Almost ninety percent of it is in the hands of American capital. Hundreds of thousands of acres of plantations are owned outright by American capital. Hundreds of thousands more are leased by it through banking arrangements which give it virtual ownership. On these vast expanses, the largest of their kind in the capitalist world, live whole cities and their working class populations. For work and bread, for light and gas and ice they are dependent on the equipment of the plantations. If the workers are not to seize these plantations when the general situation demands it and other workers are seizing the isolated plantations owned by Cuban capital it means that they can conduct no struggle at all.

—T. STAMM.  
(Continued in next issue)

If the number on your wrapper is **229** 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 and we will continue you on the mailing list.

# Appeal For Jewish-Arab Workers Solidarity

To the Working Class of America:

In response to the call of a large section of the working class of Palestine, there has been formed in this country a Committee for Jewish-Arab Labor Solidarity in Palestine with the purpose of helping to forge a united front of the Jewish and Arab working masses. The blood in which Palestine was drenched last October, 1933 showed with tragic clarity how acutely such solidarity is needed. Nor was this the first time that blood flowed in Palestine as a result of the imperialist policy of the British government setting up an artificial wall of distrust and separation between the Jewish and Arab masses. The distrust between the two peoples is stimulated, on the one hand, by the Arab reactionary forces, and, on the other, by the Jewish capitalists, true to the old imperialist maxim of divide and rule. One section of the population of Palestine is incited against the other and vicious jingo sentiments are spread among the masses of both peoples, expressed in the fascism of the Revisionist Brown Shirts among the Jews and the fascist Shabbab organization among the Arabs.

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The Committee of Jewish Arab Labor Solidarity is our answer to this call. We appeal to the workers of America! Help us to spread this movement far and wide! Form such committees in your localities! Have your unions call upon the Histadruth to admit Arab workers on a plane of equality! Help collect a labor solidarity fund to set up workers clubs and a labor press in Palestine and to establish broad educational activities among the Jewish and Arab masses. Help strengthen the first attempts of the Arab masses to organize themselves under a militant leadership. Help fight the jingo trickery of British imperialism and Jewish-Arab reaction.

Fellow workers! You can not remain indifferent to the bloody games being played in Palestine. In the great chain of world imperialism forged in the vres of violence and oppression, Palestine is by no means an insignificant link. Uniting three continents, Europe, Asia and Africa, it holds a significant key position in the great world struggle between imperialism and the forces of labor emancipation. The stronger the position of the working class in that country, the firmer and mightier the labor front, the harder will be the way of the oppressor in winning the upper hand in this struggle.

In Palestine itself this is being appreciated by ever greater masses of Jewish and Arab workers alike. The success of the strike of the Arab textile workers in Midjalia, organized by the Left Poale Zion, the recent Southern conference of Arab workers, the growth of the Borochov opposition in the Histadruth, the establishment of the organization "Labor Solidarity" in the face of the ban of the British government, the attempts of the Arab fellahin to organization point to the stormy awakening of the Jewish and Arab working masses. They call to us for support and this call we must answer.

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For international Labor Solidarity!  
M. Alper, Chairman of Friends of Labor Palestine; Louis Berg; P. L. Goldman, Secretary of New York City Committee, Jewish Workers Party Left Poale Zion; Elsie Gluck; Irving Dryer, Managing Editor "Pharmacist Journal"; Chas. A. Zimmerman, Secretary Manager, Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.; M. Levitt, Secretary Jewish Bureau, Communist League of America; B. Lipschutz, Jewish Bureau Communist Party (Opposition); George P. Miles, Managing Editor "Workers Age"; M. Miskowsky; Herbert Sokol; Sidney Hook; Arne Swaback, National Secretary Communist League of America; Elliott E. Cohen; V. F. Calverton, Editor "Modern Monthly"; J. P. Cannon, Editor "Militant"; B. Sherman, Secretary Jewish Workers Party Left Poale Zion.  
Committee for Jewish-Arab Workers Solidarity in Palestine  
B. Sherman, Secretary  
New York Union Square Hotel, New York, N. Y.

# A Visit to Tom Mooney at San Quentin

I walked down the Embarcadero on the way to the Ferry. The Embarcadero, at noon, was filled with striking longshoremen and sailors, standing along the curbs; the strike was now in its fifth week, and there were cops on horses and riot trucks everywhere, and scareheads in the papers; none of this however frightened the now embattled longshoremen. I took the Ferry. Out in the Bay—under the fog that is always either rising or falling—it was falling now, but I could see the ships at anchor, ships from all corners of the earth, idle and unmoving, quiet. These charlats of commerce were doomed to stay on unloaded day after day, under the numerous fogs that would come. We passed Alcatraz, the U. S. Military prison, a dreary island under a blanket of frozen air; sentinels were walking the Romanlike roads laced from beneath with straight falling cliffs shooting down into the Golden Gate.

Then I disembarked and I took a train and I passed through the beautiful brown hills and hillocks and valleys of California, to San Rafael, and then on a worn-out bus to San Quentin. Going up to the Administration Building I passed the Fire Department where Schmidt, a comrade of Mooney, works. In the fields by the sides of the road were prisoners hoeing and digging, and above well the glistening high parapets and more sentinels walking.

**Entering the Prison**  
Everything is grey from the uniforms to the human feelings in the eyes of the prisoners, the water blue—as it is—even takes on that color, and the iron-grey of the high and massive prison walls—wherein days and nights and months—are just impressions with a pencil on a soiled calendar. Prisons are prisons and the human mould is frail within their stone.

Mr. Holohan—the Warden of San Quentin—is evidently of the younger school, the latest of the bourgeois Republicans having indulged his social fancy on Mr. Lawes' journalistic sorrows. He has a quick smile and you thank him for he well let you see Tom Mooney with the flash and scribble of his signature on your letter of introduction, and now you are free to see the International symbol of the class struggle. You thank him and rush off across the street to the captain of the Guard, where you make your request again and sign your name to a slip of DON'TS instructing you how to behave and how not to act as a visitor. Again you are thankful for their social exercises, this time you go into a near-by waiting-room and you sit, looking at the silver cups won by prisoners in athletic feats.

**The Class Fighter Inseparable From the Movement**  
Tom Mooney was in a white jacket, signifying the sanitation of the kitchen. He works six hours a day peeling vegetables, rising at 4:30 A.M. for the long hours of the friendless sea and the wind; and the click of rifles on the parapets; and the heavy monotony of peeling vegetables and cleaning the kitchen. His face is full and yet drawn; he smiles and you feel so happy to see him smile. His hand

is firm, his eyes are clear—the revolutionary glint engages his face. He talks to you in a hurried fashion; time is short—perhaps an hour and he wants to say so much. The whole world of the working class is his concern; he talks so that almost everyone in the large visitors room—can hear him. His message is not a personal one, it is International! from the dread of Fascism in Germany, to Fascism in America. The Communist Party and the International have botched up everything despite the mass party and the following in Germany; they have not learned the tactical strategy of the united front. Like the Mooney Congress where the Party carried on its own will—incapable of learning anything of the need of the united working-class front, and then the unwillingness of the Socialist Party to act in the Congress. "Fascism is the last stand of a maddened bourgeoisie", he says, "and it will come here, as elsewhere, unless we stop it, and if not—then a world calamity will occur," WAR! out of which perhaps with guns, the armed workers will know what use to make of them. "I am not sorry," he said, "nor do I lament about what I have done, despite the 15 years of imprisonment." His face, like his words and his eyes are firm bastions of struggle.

**Mooney's Spirit is in the Class Struggle**  
He receives the Militant and other papers and magazines. Many times however, the Militant does not come to his cell. Some articles fail to pass the red pencil of the warden. He wants to know about Trotsky; whether he is still in France, and could I see if it is possible to have Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution" sent to him, if it does not go through, it will go to the Moulder's Defense Committee. He is vitally interested in the Longshoremen's strike on the Coast and the impending steel strike in Pennsylvania. He asks me to see that a wire is sent to Pittsburgh congratulating the steel workers and urging them to fight. Newspaper men and lawyers have played their part in his 15 years of imprisonment—and for both as a class he has nothing but disdain, emphasizing his attitude with generous proletarian contempt.

"The strike wave will bring on a wave of reaction, and California is no slouch in its inauguration." The official party does a lot, they move about but they are hopeless; five years of depression and they have not grown—they have not infiltrated either into the unions or onto the political scene. He remembers when he rode on the Red Special with Debs, 25 years ago, at that time the Socialist Party had 100,000 members—and today with the crisis as a means of growing, they too—like the official C. P.—have retrogressed. "But still if I were out now I would try to unite the revolutionary movement." I say to him that it can only be done on a Marxist platform, and he smiles broadly. He condemns the official C. P. for what took place at Madison Square Garden, and is genuinely pleasantly surprised that John Dos Passos signed the document printed in the New Masses condemning the party.

Mooney says the ranks and file unions will grow in the country, witness the Longshoremen's strike, Toledo and Minneapolis, and the opportunity exists to canalize it deeper, and into a broader protest against the Johnsons (Code administrator) and the NRA, now that the NRA is practically discredited in the eyes of the workers.

**Unshakable Faith in His Class**  
An hour has almost past—the guard says I must go. We stand up together and firmly shake each other's hands, and smile strongly, our revolutionary instincts and understanding in our grasp. "Greetings to Cannon" he had said before. He remembered him. Cannon visited him in 1927. I say "Good-bye Tom, and not for long" and he is smiling. He will go back to peeling vegetables and after 6 P. M. when these grey walls of horror are locked and their gates slide and all the prisoners are in their cells for the night, he is going to sleep, he is very tired and will not be able to do any of his correspondence tonight. As I walk out, the large gates sound their closing feeling, they are being shut up on the large penal vise of the bourgeoisie.

I go back across the Bay on the Ferry. The ships in the Bay are now like ghosts and so are the brown hills, no longer brown but as grey as the deep fog. The Embarcadero is still filled with longshoremen and sailors, their faces are moulded by the news in the papers: "Settlement possible." There is no settlement in the class struggle, only partial victories, temporary gains, and only by the destruction of the bourgeois rule is there victory. Till then—we will have more Mooneys, and many comrades in jail: The class struggle goes on and Mooney is with us!

—HARRY ROSS  
San Francisco, Cal.  
June 13, 1934

# No Time To Lose Big Tasks Ahead

Minneapolis, Toledo, California strikes showed that the workers are ready to fight for their rights. The Steel, Automobile and Textile industries are like volcanoes about to erupt. We must be prepared to enter the coming struggles as a militant force, applying the experiences and lessons of Minneapolis.

**We Must STRENGTHEN OUR PRESS. BUILD OUR ORGANIZATION. SEND ORGANIZERS INTO THE FIELD.**  
STABILIZE THE MILITANT. Help raise the necessary funds. Get a book of ten coupons for One Dollar. Sell them among friends and sympathizers of our movement. Support the **Organization-Press Campaign** 50% to The Militant—50% for the Communist League of America. 126 East 16th Street New York City

# After the Bulgarian Fascist Coup d'Etat

If the three and a half million Bulgarian peasants owning between them a couple of thousand steel plows, lived anywhere in Asia, or South America, the "little Europe", which still considers itself the "world", might hardly have any interest in their fate. But they are rooted in that sore spot of Europe—called the Balkans from which more than once the flames of war have spread; and Europe has every reason to understand the events in those lands which, with their "single industry" and military-dictatorships not unlike South America, are the measure of the barbarism to which the rest of Europe ever more rapidly adapts itself.

The events preceding the coup d'etat itself are simple enough and for the Balkans nothing new. On the 17th of May, the "parliamentary" government of Muschanov resigned; on the 18th of May the troops occupied all the important points and the "King"; that bloodstained degenerate and "skirt chaser" appointed as Ministers Kimon Georgiev and a few other officers of the united "Zveno". The parliament was dissolved. No one as yet knows what the "internal politics" were. But that the ministry in contrast to its predecessors will reconcile itself with the "hereditary enemy" Yugoslavia, and recognize the Soviet Union, is common knowledge—it will be the first step on the part of the government. Monsieur Barthou has shown the Nazi salesman Goering that it is not so easy to reckon without France as the host.

The fascist press rejoiced over the triumph of the "dictatorial principle"; the democrats bewailed the opposite. Both showed a not very extensive acquaintance with what is called "democracy" in the Balkans. Sections of the masses in the Balkans have ruled before through a peasant dictatorship. What we call democracy never existed and towards the end was implemented in the police elections of Joel Bratiannu, Pashtich, Venzelos, and even Maschanov. The Balkans were freed by Christian Europe from the horrible but simple slavery of the Turkish landowners, only to sink into a much bitterer, more refined and abysmal serfdom of the German, English, French, Italian and American banks. The interests of the banks could only be protected through the uniformed swagger of the army; for the bourgeoisie are much too weak and insignificant and the masses, to weak to conquer, are, none the less rebellious. The banks oppressed the countries of "single industries" (Bulgaria—tobacco), throttled the industrial development, and, for example, involved Bulgaria before 1914 in three wars.

Today, what exists in Bulgaria is as little fascism as there ever was democracy. By the all too frequent use of "blanket terms" the explanation of a concrete event is confused rather than clarified. The driving forces are different from those in Germany and Italy and consequently the corresponding forms change. After the war Bulgaria lived under the "democratic dictatorship" of the peasant leader Stambulsky who sought through a foreign policy under French domination to obtain a free hand at home for his petty-bourgeois agricultural reforms—meagre in range—whose profits were diminished by the participation of commerce and the banks, and led to the organization of the dissatisfied city petty-bourgeois, the defeated army, and the unfortunate 300,000 Macedonians into a minority movement under the "Zvenos" party. From its inception, some described it as fascist although it lacked very essential characteristics of fascism. (The city petty-bourgeois and the lumpen proletariat remained under the leadership of the army and bourgeoisie; only nationalist, no "socialist", demagogues).

Thanks to the incredible stupidity of the Communist Party which had the whole working class and twenty-five percent of the votes, the minority movement through a putsch on June 9, 1923, seized power. At the leadership of the putsch stood Professor Tsankov, who was before the war a co-worker of the "Neue Zeit" and that "world leader" who was just recalled as ambassador from Rome. The peasant party and its leadership were slaughtered; the cities remained quiet; and the Communist Party, under the leadership of Dimitroff and Korolov, proceeded from the viewpoint that it was merely a struggle between two bourgeois factions. The C. P. "poo-pooed" the spontaneous uprisings in Plevna, etc. Thanks to that in September of the same year it was driven into illegality from which it has never emerged. The traders came into their own, and the foreign policy was orientated toward Italy. Tsankov was replaced in 1928 by Ljaptscheff, not so much because the murder of twenty thousand people during his regime had aroused god-fearing Europe, but rather because England found it necessary to separate itself from the adventurous policy of

Italy in the Balkans, especially in Macedonia, and to take matters into its own hands. Tsankov had reopened parliament with a decree that forbade "discounteous" parties; displeasing deputies were shot. His retreat, like Ljaptscheff's in 1931, was effected in a "parliamentary manner". Muschanov's government was also parliamentary; it replaced Tsankov's united "Zgavor" with a coalition government of the peasant parties. Its foreign policy was less constrained. Its "democracy" did not hinder it in its suppression of the workers party—a Communist electioneering party whose membership was as large as its actual capacity for deeds in face of the military action of June 24, 1933. One observes that the rotation from "democracy" to dictatorship is more variegated than in independent countries where the army is of limited importance.

The coup d'etat is hardly proof of the thesis that international democratic countries worry much about democracy for their vassals. Georgiev is the third dictator along with Pilsudski and Shchikovitch who can thank the Third Republic for his existence.

People who still measure the strength of a party by the number of its votes are astonished that there was no opposition. The Communist Party as well as the peasant party commanded large electoral support. But in the case of both the electoral support indicated merely traditional sympathy. The Bulgarian peasant party since 1923 confirmed the experience of every peasant war: 'the peasantry in itself is incapable of leading its struggles. The Communist Party never recovered from the blows and defeats of 1923 and 1925. The young bureaucrats, who replaced the old bankrupts, were not more capable but merely more stupid. The Bulgarian section of the Third International, despite its heroic past, was not spared the fate of its brother-sections. In the general break-up, from the first, the army remained the only force capable of ruling, and it set up its dictatorship on the 18th of May.

The coup d'etat is a stage in the great duel between France and Germany for the Balkans. Had Germany answered the Balkan pact, initiated by France, with an approach to Yugoslavia, even promising a part of Carinthia after the coordination of Austria, and flirted with Bulgaria and France would even up what Goering's trip—and not only it—had hard-heartedly broken down—he had such a pretty "comitadjis" uniform in his traveling bag!—by a putsch in Sofia.

Now the Balkans appear united under the leadership of France. Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, hand in hand; the Macedonian problem on the verge of its solution. Ah, if that were so easy! It is much easier for a Balkan government to change its color. One should not forget that the sum, which Bulgaria's entry into the World War cost, is very well known and that the majority of the heroes of May 18 over eleven years ago "putsched" for an opposite orientation.

To solve the Macedonian question. A few guerrilla leaders who plunder and kill are not enough. For that the unfortunate 300,000 whom the Yugoslavs on the basis of a "peace treaty" drove from their homes and land to Bulgaria—and the pauperized whom they made the prey of every putsch—must be aroused from their hovels and helped to their land, for that not only the Greek and Yugoslavian yoke in Macedonia must be smashed, but the peasant economy, which cannot be helped through divisions, must be collectivized on a higher basis; in short, everything must be done which before the proletarian seizure of power, the torn Balkan states neither will nor can do.

This new attempt at Balkan unity is no sign of peace but an alarm signal of the coming war.  
—E. T., in Unser Wort

**Chicago Debate**  
Spartacus Youth League vs. Young Peoples Socialist League.  
Subject Resolved that the organization of a Fourth International is indispensable to the victory of the World Working Class over Fascism.  
Affirmative Nathan Gould and Albert Glotzer (Members National Committee S.Y.L.)  
Negative Arthur MacDowell (National Chairman Y.P.S.L.) and John Riener.  
Chairman Ralph Chaplin—Editor Industrial Worker.  
Friday, June 29th, 1934 at 7:45 P.M. National Socialist Institute 3322 W. Douglas Blvd. Admission 15c.  
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# Fight to Oust Wolinsky

(Continued from Page 1)

friend than Wolinsky. The workers will pay very dearly if they allow Wolinsky and the present leadership to go through with their conspiracy.

The Chicago pocketbook workers local union withdrew from the International Pocketbook Workers Union in New York. They declared that as long as Wolinsky is in the union, they will have nothing to do with the New York organization. Wolinsky called on Sam Lederman, manager of the Chicago local and told him to remain in New York for a few weeks. He wanted to send one of his henchmen, Lubliner to Chicago, in order to line up the Chicago local for Wolinsky. Of course Sam Lederman immediately went back to Chicago and declared he will continue the fight against Wolinsky.

## What Must Be Done Now

What is necessary at present is that the united opposition groups should carry on the struggle with more vigor against the "fraternal" club administration and Wolinsky. We must demand a union meeting. At the membership meeting we must renew the fight for a new conference committee. A conference committee to be elected of the most intelligent and militant workers. We must fight to mobilize the workers for a strike for the following demands:

1. For the 30-hour week to relieve the unemployed situation.
2. For an increase in wages to the 1929 scale.
3. For unemployment insurance to be paid by the employers under the control of the union.
4. Abolition of the impartial machinery which is an agency for the bosses and a club against the workers.
5. Settlements out of town to be made only if the workers' wages are gradually raised to the New York level.

The administration is maneuvering with the code authorities in Washington. Nothing will be accomplished from Washington. Only through a struggle against the bosses and the Wolinsky gang, can the pocketbook workers come out victorious of the present situation.

## Wolinsky Gang Breaks Union Meeting

The meeting of the New York Pocketbook workers at Stuyvesant High School held this week was broken up by the Wolinsky gang when they found that the united front of all progressive elements were present in force.

The meeting was called to hear a report of the Joint Council and Conference Committee on the negotiations with the bosses. They reported that the conference with employers had been broken off by the bosses who refused to consider any demands of the union. Instead of proposing steps in preparation for strike struggle to win the union demands, the Joint Council proposed that the wages, hours and conditions of work be left to the mercy of some "impartial" fact-finding commission.

This capitulation to the bosses was opposed by speakers of the "United Anti-Wolinsky Committee" who urged the members to vote down this betrayal of their interests by the bosses' tool, Wolinsky, and to carry on the fight for their demands in the way in which workers had ever won anything—that is by struggle. Matlin of the Socialist League and Diamond of the Rank and File spoke strongly against the fact-finding committee and received loud applause from the membership. Wolinsky, who was received with jeers, forgot all about his previous demagogic speeches on hours and wages, and spoke on the delights of "fact-finding". Stein, manager in name only, echoed the words of his master Wolinsky, and Hershfield wagged his tail in support. Black, a rank and file worker, pointed out that the Business Agent Wise and Secretary Treasurer Goldman paraded around from shop to shop urging the bosses to attend the Association meeting and to oppose a lockout. Whether the bosses agreed or not will be found out later. Sam Fisher, despite all efforts to get the floor, was shouted down by the chairman, Czar Kilman. Many others were trying to get the floor when discussion was closed. As the vote was about to be taken, slugs of the Wolinsky gang precipitated a fight and the meeting broke up in a general disorder. The situation is now squarely up to the United Anti-Wolinsky Committee. The time for statements is passed, action is demanded. It is now necessary that other forces should be called in. Every group in the union and every rank and file progressive must be drawn into the fight. A meeting of Pocketbook Makers should be called by the United Committee with representatives of all Labor Papers present. Representatives of other unions should be invited and every real union force in the labor movement mobilized to drive this bosses' tool, Wolinsky, out of the union, and drive the corrupt administration which even the *Forward* says it can't stomach, out of office. In this fight the Militant will do its part for unionism and against the bosses' paid agent, Wolinsky.

—N.D.F.

# The Strike Wave and The Role of the NRA

The NRA promised the people social peace, class harmony and prosperity. But after one year of the Blue Eagles' rule, we witness a spiral wave of strike struggles that threaten to shake America out of its old way of thinking and make it realize that a "new day" is here for capital and labor. It is not a new day of class peace as promised by Roosevelt. It heralds a period of intensified antagonisms in the camp of the exploiting classes and between capital and labor.

At present a new strike wave is spreading throughout the nation. Most of the struggles are for the elementary right of union organization and union recognition, but they all include a struggle for higher pay and a decrease in hours. Everywhere workers are becoming disappointed with the NRA, especially since the Roosevelt Auto Settlement interpretation of collective bargaining.

The "Tory" of American politics tells us that the strike waves are due to the NRA. But this is far from the truth. The labor unrest and the impotence of the union question today is a phenomena that can be traced to more fundamental sources, which in turn place the NRA as a capitalist stop-gap for the powerful upsurge of the working class.

## NRA in the First Strike Wave

The first strike wave swept the country at the very beginning of the NRA and was dramatized by the Pennsylvania mine strikes and the Paterson silk strike. The NRA revealed itself in this situation, along with the A. F. of L. labor leaders, as a force in the defense of capital, against the workers, attempting, at every opportunity, to corral them into class collaboration machinery and to blunt their class weapons, thereby compelling the workers to return to work at the bosses' terms.

The second strike wave, which threatened to rock the very foundation of American capitalism, was checked at first by the sell-out of the Auto workers by Green and Company under the Roosevelt-NRA plan. This was a decided set-back for organized labor. But no sooner had the bosses said "all's well", then local strikes in the auto industry upset all the plans. Other strikes in the basic industries followed in quick order and are now sweeping the country. All indications are that a new upsurge of greater scope is now in the making.

## The Capitalist Plans

The capitalist class foresaw the developing strike struggles and prepared in advance to meet the situation. For this purpose the NRA was adopted by their government. Although the NRA serves a broader purpose than as a class collaboration machinery to hold in check the class struggle, this, nevertheless, is one of its basic features. The capitalists realized that the conservative A. F. of L. base was too narrow to cope with the new situation. The A. F. of L. was losing its economic base, as a natural process of the crisis. The workers of the basic industries were outside of the A. F. of L., the unskilled workers were ignored and the labor fakers showed no inclination to organize them. The vast majority of the American workers were unorganized.

## Aim of the New Deal

The labor provisions under the New Deal, through the NRA section dealing with this, were designed to extend this base of class collaboration machinery. At the same time it was the aim to involve the existing A. F. of L. leaders in order to reach the millions of unorganized and unskilled.

A review of the strike struggles reported and analyzed in the columns of the Militant will convince one that the whole NRA labor machinery and its intervention in labor disputes, locally and nationally, has been to confuse and disorganize the workers and finally hand down decisions against them. Its first task is to prevent strikes. If this cannot be accomplished it continues its treacherous role with the labor fakers and the bosses. Even reports of strike struggles in the leading bourgeois papers cannot hide these facts. Every intervention of the Labor Boards and every settlement of strikes stands out in bold relief as an attempt to betray and defeat the working class. This, together with the open betrayal of the A. F. of L. leaders, is pushing the strike struggles to the left.

## Recovery For the Farmer

(Continued from Page 1)

cerned. Farmers also began to find themselves confronted with what the bourgeois writers refer to as "consumers resistance" and began to shift heavily from "controlled" to "uncontrolled" crops, and Congress was compelled to add to the subsidized list beef, dairy, cattle, peanuts, rye, barley, flax and sorghum. Getting rid of the "surplus" in farm products required more than a reduction in acreage.

Hence, while millions of working class kids starved, the producers in the dairy business in conjunction with the "brain trust" of the officialdom of the "second American Revolution" brought up \$30,000,000 worth of milk and butter, destroyed it, and suggested that milk cows would have to be killed as a preventive for the accumulation of future surpluses.

## Agricultural Production to be Forced Backward

But Chester C. Davis, Farm Administrator, worked the old brain overtime and found a happy solution. He said that butter fat reduction could be achieved by changes in feeding practices rather than in slaughter. The name Davis will go down in history. Hence the farmer is asked to unlearn in a few months all that it took him fifty years to learn: plant and animal breeding, the use of machinery and a scientific fertilization and cultivation of the soil rotation practices, etc.

The interests of capitalism have shifted toward a different development in agriculture. It was once deemed wise to spend millions to teach the farmer the scientific technique of farming, in a word, to make him a more efficient producer. Today production in farming as elsewhere must be retarded and the farmers are asked to the slip-shot, unscientific methods of a bygone day. Such is the price of "recovery" under capitalism.

—G. ROBERTS.

## The Present Task

More independent action on the one hand and outlaw strikes within the conservative unions on the other, indicate in which direction things are heading. This calls for an intensification of the work within the conservative unions in order to widen the gap between the rank and file and the fake leaders and, at the same time, to provide independent action outside of the A. F. of L., where such action becomes necessary.

The best way to retard this left wing development and help bolster up the labor fakers, and enable them again to save their faces, is to proceed to form a "new federation of labor" without the proper basis for it. This is the plan of the Stalinists to replace the Trade Union Unity League. Such a federation, controlled by the Stalinists, will play the same role today, on a larger scale, than the T. U. U. L. played when it was formed. It will retard the development of a genuine left wing movement in the conservative unions and also interfere with the building of independent industrial unions. The building of independent industrial unions is directly connected with a live active left wing in the conservative unions which can give the proper support to the new unions and at the same time stay the hand of the labor fakers.

## Results of the New Deal

The codes adopted so far are a disgrace to organized labor. They must be wiped out if labor is to benefit. The closed shop is outlawed. The open shop is legalized. The company unions are legalized. Minimum hours are entirely too long. Minimum wages are entirely too low for a living standard. With the legalizing of certain low minimum wage levels, combined with the different forms of inflation and price increase, the real wages of the workers have been reduced. Unless a more powerful strike wave develops, the real wage will be reduced further. Strikes are already outlawed. At any time deemed necessary the full force of the state power against the workers can be set in motion. An increase in brutal police and military repression of strikes is already evident.

The NRA class collaboration machinery and the A. F. of L. fakers' betrayals will not be sufficient to stop the rising tide of labor struggles in America. The vitality and class action of the American workers will sweep them aside. Great historic battles are ahead. Let us sharpen our class weapons.

—HUGO OEHLER.

## Steel Workers Union Retreats

(Continued from Page 1)

ening effect. At the same time, however, the union lacked actual preparation for a serious contest such as a struggle with the powerful steel trust of necessity would be. A contest of this character would first of all require that the membership have confidence in the union and in its ability to protect their interests. To build up such a confidence a militant leadership, constantly alert, giving constant attention to training and development of understanding of organization, its objectives and its discipline is indispensable. A policy that is militant through and through is required. The Amalgamated union has neither such a leadership nor such a policy.

The creation of the rank and file committee at the previous convention of the union, the demands advanced by this committee, and the straight-forward manner in which they were presented was undoubtedly a progressive move and registered an advance for the union. It was a great change compared to what had existed before. A lifeless union ruled by a corrupt, incompetent bureaucracy had begun to take on new life. But it stopped short. The leadership has again become practically completely identified with the reactionary machine of Mike Tighe and his lieutenants.

## Steel Workers Should Not be Deceived

An enormous reservoir of strength exists amongst the hundreds of thousands of steel workers and can be drawn upon for the creation of a powerful union. To become a factor, to become an authentic spokesman of the workers, and to become a real fighting instrument, the union must be able to show to the membership that it dares to meet the enemy face to face in the field of battle. And in this respect the retreat also has its serious dangers. Many steel workers will perhaps turn away from the union in disgust.

If we are to accept the Stalinist claims union workers are now leaving the ranks of the Amalgamated Association and joining the T. U. U. L. Such a turn of events could only prove disastrous for the steel workers. The T. U. U. L. union in these recent developments could nowhere assert itself as a union. It could only follow as a tail-end, repeating the demands made by the Amalgamated Association, adding no demands of its own, and it could at no time make a pretense of ability to enforce these demands or even make a serious fight for them.

It does not have the possibilities to attain to such a position because it is based essentially upon a policy of splitting away elements individually from the unions having the mass basis. It can therefore function only as a disruptive force, hampering the developments of the building of a real union in the steel industry.

## The Battle Remains Inevitable

What will the Amalgamated Association do next? It has presented its demands to President Roosevelt who turned the whole matter over to the Secretary of Labor. There it will get a hearing. It will possibly get a board as proposed. But that cannot mean any gain at all to the workers. The experiences of the automobile industry and the infamous settlement accomplished there is what it meant to the workers. The essential issues remain. First of all amongst them are union recognition. In no case can that be expected to be granted voluntarily by the steel trust. Only the force of the thousands of steel workers, firmly welded together in a compact union conscious of its position, of its great task, and conscious of the great reserve strength at its disposal can accomplish that. This means a battle of titanic proportions, a battle for which the union under any conditions must prepare. One important step in this direction is for the steel workers to have no illusions whatever that anything can be won for them except what they are able to take through the power of their own organization.

—A. S.

## ORGANIZATION-PRESS CAMPAIGN

The coupon books for our organization and press fund have been in the mails a week. A few returns came in during the past few days.

Kansas City Branch was the first to answer the call. They paid for two books received by individual members, and asked for more books. Charlotte Shechet of the Boston branch remitted for her book, and also asked for more books. Manhattan Branch, New York City, collected for 8 books at its last meeting and turned in the proceeds, deducting the 20% discount for the branch organization work, according to previous arrangements.

## RECEIPTS

- 1. A Matteson, Kansas City \$2.00
- 2. Dr. M. Altire, Brooklyn 1.00
- 3. C. Shechet, Boston 1.00
- 4. Manhattan Branch 6.40
- 5. A Friend, Youngstown 1.00
- 6. A Sympathizer, Chicago 2.00
- 7. S. Feinstein, Phila. 1.00

The Chicago sympathizer writes: "I will not be able to sell the book of coupons sent me and shall therefore make an individual donation instead." Enclosed \$2.

# Penalty of Wrong Trade Union Policy

The recent strike wave has demonstrated in the most forceful manner the complete isolation of the Stalinists from the main stream of the American labor movement. In the most outstanding struggles such as Minneapolis and Toledo they played no role whatever, in others, the extent of the influence they have attained has also marked the extent of the obstacles in the way of trade union advance.

Their suicidal trade union policy, as well as their general political line, is the best guarantee that they can play no role (in a progressive sense) in the labor movement.

Not being organically a part of the mass unions, they lost all perspectives. So that when the A. F. of L., in convention, came out for a 30-hour week without reduction in pay and for unemployment insurance (as opposed to the Stalinist "revolutionary" advocacy of a 35-hour week), they immediately saw an attempt to "divert the struggle of the masses" (Resolution of the 16th C. C. plenum).

## Presenting a False Position

The Seventh National Convention of the C. P. stated that: "It has been a mistake on our part that we did not sooner clearly analyze and characterize the open fascism of the A. F. of L." This complete ignorance of the nature of fascism has led the party to the position where they consider it their first duty to destroy the "fascist A. F. of L. unions".

This thesis the Stalinists clung to since 1928 during which time the A. F. of L. bureaucrats could proceed unchallenged to entrench themselves still further in the mass trade unions, increasing their prestige and grip on the workers, while the "third period" philosophers were hibernating within their fortress of paper unions, evolving still more grotesque theses to plague the labor movement. Unable to get a foothold in the mass organizations of the workers and being completely disoriented by their sterile trade union policy, their action consisted solely in trying to discredit and disrupt the A. F. of L. unions.

John Williamson, writing in the *Daily Worker* for June 6th, gives some striking examples of the results of this "revolutionary" trade union policy of Stalinism:

## "Leaders" Fail to Advance With Workers

"The majority of these strikes (referring to the recent strike wave) were led by the A. F. of L. (What?! The fascist unions?) Only a few (!? Which ones, pray?) by the revolutionary unions. It would be pretentious to say that the agitation and work of the Party and T. U. U. L. was one of the main forces responsible for stimulation and starting the strike wave." Well, well, so it was the "company" A. F. of L. unions that started the strike wave and not the "revolutionary" T. U. U. L. unions. Is it any wonder then that the workers gravitate to the A. F. of L. rather than to the "revolutionary" trade unions? And here Williamson describes how these sterling revolutionists functioned (*Daily Worker*, June 6th):

1. "In Cleveland while there are Party members in at least 20 A. F. of L. locals, there was not a single functioning fraction or real opposition group functioning."

2. "In some locals individual Communists had influence, but no broad opposition groups were organized, because it was argued that this would orientate the members to staying within the A. F. of L. and "our objective must be to take them out as quickly as possible."

## The Rival Unions Labeled "The Opposition"

3. "Experiences in the methods of organizing A. F. of L. opposition groups brought out sharply the confusion. In Akron where we had heard much about opposition work, an examination brought out that 'the opposition' was a mere handful of workers close to the party who were brought to the Party headquarters or Unemployed Council headquarters for a meeting. The person who was the self-appointed spokesman was the Party Section Organizer, not a rubber worker or a union member. The leaflets issued by the 'opposition' were written by the Party Section Organizer—were mimeographed by him and in the Party office."

4. "But why blame only the comrades in the sections, when only two months ago the then T. U. U. L. secretary in Cleveland rented a headquarters for the T. U. U. L. and began labelling one room as the official headquarters of the Rank and File Opposition Center in the A. F. of L.?"

5. "Only a couple of days before the calling of the Fisher Body strike, the comrades inside the A. F. of L. union wanted to print and then actually printed leaflets for the holding of a mass meeting in the name of the Auto Workers Union. These specific comrades should have had as their main concern the workers in the A. F. of L. union, who two days later were to call such a tremendous strike, with our comrades at that moment not sensitive to the moods of the workers

# Hooliganism In Harlem

The Stalinists of Harlem are no worse and no better than the Stalinists of Brownsville. Harlem has been called the national concentration center of the official Party. During the last two weeks they have shown that they are fully capable of carrying out the concentration duty. They might not be masters in smashing the Fascists, but for that they make up with all the greater militancy in disrupting the meetings of other working class organizations.

On Tuesday, June 19, some of our Harlem comrades distributed leaflets to workers attending a party at the New Star Casino. After about 15 minutes, Sassi, Harlem Section Organizer of the Communist Party rushed out excitedly toward our comrades. Beecher, Barry, Visconti and Cockran, all of whom have been recently expelled from the party and the Y.C.L., these comrades greeted him cordially with a leaflet. Sassi walked up in a fit, pulled the leaflets out of Beecher's hands and tore them up. "Now I believe in democracy," he exclaimed, "but—you'd better move on."

Our comrades stood their ground. Cohen, the educational director of the Harlem party section then grabbed the leaflets out of a girl comrade's hands and an attack by the Stalinists followed. Half of the Harlem section leaders rushed out at our comrades, who were outnumbered by ten to one, and thus showed their "bravery". Cochran, coming in to defend the comrades, was viciously clipped in the eye by one of the picked Stalinist ushers. Several other of our comrades were hurt in the melee.

Thus did the gallant party leaders demonstrate the superiority of their leaders and the correctness of their party line. The fascists are misled workers who must be won over to Communism. But the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyites" are class-enemies who must be destroyed.

On Sunday, June 10th at about midnight the headquarters of the Communist League of America, Harlem Branch was smashed open. Windows were broken, doors pushed, in and all the literature and newspapers strewn over the floor. We did not actually see who broke into the headquarters but from past performances and all indications we are led to believe that a Stalinist wrecking-crew did the job.

The highest ambition of the Communist party leaders is to be able to emulate the methods of the fascists.—But that will play directly into the hands of the latter. Every worker must realize that democracy in the labor movement is of greatest importance at this time and that this Stalinist hooliganism plays into the hands of reaction.

## CANNON LECTURE ON THE MINNEAPOLIS STRIKE

A crowd of 500 New York workers cheered J. P. Cannon again and again as he spoke on the preparation, the militancy, and the settlement of the Minneapolis Truck Drivers Strike at the Irving Plaza Hall last Sunday night. The careful preparation for the strike, the detailed instructions for pickets worked out in advance, and the military precision with which the strike machinery functioned, was dealt with by Comrade Cannon and listened to with rapt attention by the audience. Reading from a copy of the agreement Cannon tore to shreds the slanderous attacks of the Stalinists on the strike leaders as betrayers and the settlement as a sell-out.

He challenged the Stalinists to show a single case in the entire country, out of all the hundreds of strikes which the *Daily Worker* reports them to have led, where a strike from start to finish was conducted as well as the Minneapolis strike—or to show one case where a better or even as good a settlement was made.

The intense interest of the audience was shown by the many questions asked by members and supporters of all groups and tendencies. "What was the role of the C. P.?" "Are the strike leaders known in Minneapolis as Communists?" "How can a Communist say that Governor Olson was undecided whether to use the National Guard or not?" "Why do you attack the Communist Party?"

"Why do you propose to allow Local 574 to remain in the A. F. of L.?" and many other questions. One worker said that when the *Daily Worker* attacked the strike leaders as betrayers he believed the very opposite. Comrade Cannon answered all questions to the satisfaction of the audience and finished with an appeal for support of the Communist League and for the building of a new Communist Party that will give the entire American working class the same militant and intelligent leadership that was given the truck drivers in Minneapolis. Numerous requests were made that a pamphlet on trade union strategy and tactics be written by Comrade Cannon to be based on his report on the Minneapolis strike. Thus ended one of the most successful and enthusiastic meetings ever conducted by the Communist League in New York.

—A. W. PAUL

# Protest N.Y. City Police Terror

After stalling for more than a month since a joint complaint was made by the Socialist Party, the Communist League and the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, Police Commissioner O'Ryan of New York has at last been compelled to open hearings into the brutal slugging of anti-Nazi workers which occurred in the West Side Court on May 17. That outbreak of police viciousness is part of the reign of terror loosed against workers by La Guardia's city administration as a means of putting over relief-cuts.

O'Ryan stalled until the charges against the police multiplied and the liberal *Evening Post* attacked O'Ryan in order to save La Guardia's reputation with liberal and labor elements. Reluctantly, O'Ryan ordered an investigation. The method of investigation, however, is the usual one: star-chamber proceedings, where the plaintiffs have no counsel, reporters are barred, and cops whose thuggery has been so successful as to bring them to the top of the force are set to catch lesser thugs!

On June 21 Deputy Inspector Schelling held a hearing. Testimony, was given by victims of police attacks, including several young Socialists, a League member and a non-political worker. Eye-witnesses also were present to testify. The delegation was led by A. J. Gerber, Socialist City Secretary, and Herbert Solow, Secretary of the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

At the outset of the hearing, Solow read into the record a protest against the Department's stalling tactics. But the witnesses barely began to give testimony, when Deputy Inspector Schelling stated that since most charges are against plainclothesmen, the delegation had come to the wrong place. The fact is, however, that Schelling himself sent for the delegation and that the original letter of complaint made it clear that dicks were involved. This was just another means of stalling.

In a statement to reporters at the end of the hearing, Solow said: "It is quite clear that the rulers of the police force have not and are not behaving as though they wanted to find out who some of these sluggers are. If we expect to get anywhere with this, we'll have to keep fighting. After marching into office at the head of a Jewish anti-Nazi parade, O'Ryan has brought his own terrorism to New York. Every workers' organization, every enemy of reaction should join in a fight to oust this organizer of brutality against workers. As for La Guardia, it is time to smoke him out too. It is useful that the New York *Evening Post* is printing some of the facts about police brutality, but when it denies the Mayor's responsibility it defends one who shares guilt equally with O'Ryan."

—A. W. PAUL