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OF THE
WORLD,
UNITE

THE MILITANT



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Communist League And A. W. P. Move To Form New Party

Both Organizations Declare Desire To Hasten Union of Forces

(See Editorial on Page 4)
Decisive steps were taken in the past week by the National Committee of the Communist League and the Provisional Organization Committee of the American Workers Party for the fusion of the two organizations and the launching of a new revolutionary political party at an early date.

Following protracted negotiations and discussions between the two committees, and the publication of a revised draft program of the A.W.P., the National Committee of the League, through Arne Swaback, Secretary, addressed a letter to the Provisional Organization Committee of the A.W.P. which was meeting with an active workers' conference of the latter organization at Pittsburgh over the week-end. In this letter the N. C. of the League asked the A.W.P. to take a positive position on the question of uniting the forces of the two organizations without delay, and expressed the opinion that "the basis for fusion into one united party becomes increasingly substantial, the fusion itself more possible and desirable, and awaits essentially a definite expression of opinion by you which would facilitate the necessary political and organizational preparations for unity."

Prior to the receipt of this letter the active workers' conference of the A. W. P. had devoted an entire day to a consideration of the question and had also come to the conclusion that immediate fusion of the two organizations is desirable and necessary. Thereupon, A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Provisional Organization Committee of the A.W.P., sent the following letter to the National Committee of the League:

"Dear Comrades:

"Your communication dated September 7 reached us at our meeting at Valencia, Pa., on Monday, September 10. On the previous day we had completed an exhaustive analysis of the same problem of unity of the revolutionary forces in this country with which your letter deals. Since we had reached the same conclusion about the need for definite steps to achieve organic unity if possible, we were deeply gratified to receive your letter.

"A more detailed communication dealing with the questions of program, etc., embodying the result of our P.O.C. decisions, is now being prepared and will be in your hands in the course of a few days."

A general membership meeting of the New York branches of the Communist League, held last Sunday at the headquarters, after an all day discussion of the question of fusion, led by Max Shachtman as reporter for the National Committee, voted unanimously to endorse the course followed by the N. C. in the negotiations and expressed a firm will to proceed with the unification and the launching of the new Party as soon as possible.

In informal discussions between representatives of both committees, which followed the exchange of letters, it was agreed that the negotiations, which hitherto have been devoted entirely to general discussions of program questions, shall now be put on a concrete basis and that an attempt be made to come to agreement on all questions involved in the problem of fusion, political and organizational, point by point, with the object of preparing the basis for unification in the shortest possible time. The surging movement of the working masses of the country and the burning need of a revolutionary party that would be able to aid this movement to find a conscious direction on the path of the class struggle will undoubtedly exert a powerful influence on both organizations to remove all unnecessary obstacles and push in the direction of a speedy unification which will make the launching of the new party possible.

Leading representatives of both organizations have expressed the desire to proceed with the negotiations from this point of view. The merger of the League and the A.W.P., by itself, would provide a considerable membership and the framework of a national organization, as well as a strong nucleus for a new revolutionary youth movement. Both organizations have recorded substantial gains in membership during the past year and have also extended their influence by effective participation in the class struggle in various fields—Minneapolis, Toledo, Unemployment work, etc.

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MILL WORKERS SLAIN BY GUARDS; GOVERNOR RAISES «RED» SCARE

The Truth About the Morro Fire

The burning of the Morro Castle, with the ensuing tremendous loss of life, is more than a major disaster of the sea, it is a working class issue.

Who is responsible for the tragedy? Who is usually responsible for such tragedies?

Contemptible efforts have been made, a scoundrelly plot is afoot, to shift this blame to "labor agitators". A "Red Scare" has been started in the reactionary press, and broadcast over the radio.

The Ward Line, backed by Havana's brutal police chief have charged Cuban Communists with starting the fire aboard the Morro Castle as an act of sabotage and terrorism. Their proof they keep darkly to themselves.

Railroading Testimony Wanted

If such "proof" could be established; that is to say, if a satisfactory frame-up could be concocted, the Ward Line and officers of the Morro Castle would be relieved of criminal responsibility, and the company would be saved millions of dollars in claims.

Moreover, a crushing blow could be delivered to organized labor at sea and on the waterfront. A new pretext would be afforded for fresh terror against radicals in Cuba and the United States. Labor leaders could be further hounded, jailed and murdered, and the bosses be free to enforce their starvation wages with an air of virtue.

The temptation is too great, the opportunity too inviting for the bosses to overlook. A frame-up will be attempted; it is already being planned.

George I. Alagna, third assistant radio operator on the Morro Castle, and one of the outstanding heroes of the disaster, who stuck to his post to the end, who saved the life of the chief operator and many others, who behaved throughout with extraordinary coolness and courage, is being held on bail that he cannot raise, as a "material witness".

Amidst the cowardice and indecision that prevailed on the quarterdeck, his conduct shines like a beacon light. Yet he, and he alone among the officers, is brought before the Board of Inquiry handcuffed like a common criminal.

Alagna's Crime
For Alagna, understand you, is a "labor agitator". He was guilty of trying to organize the men aboard ship in protest against rotten food and worse labor conditions. He was on the Captain's blacklist. No other evidence is offered, no other evidence is needed, to keep him in jail.

Other circumstances make it imperative to review the story of the disaster, as so far revealed. Ef-

forts are being made to whitewash the owners and officers of the Morro Castle, and to blame the crew for the tremendous loss of life. This last, by the way, has become one of the established traditions of the sea. The officers are heroes, the crew has to be driven at gunpoint to perform its duty. Remember the Vestris!

Here, however, are the unchallenged facts.

The Morro Castle caught afire off the New Jersey coast, about six miles out at sea from Asbury Park, 20 miles south of Scotland Light, on the return trip from Havana. The time was variously reported, in conflicting testimony, at 12:25, 1:30, 2:45 and 3 A.M. A light gale was blowing, with increasing intensity, the sea was running high. The fire spread with extraordinary rapidity, according to the officers, who set the time of the blaze far ahead of the time reported by numerous passengers and members of the crew. By 3:45 the entire superstructure was a mass of flames.

Passengers amidship were trapped. Some managed to make their way through the smoke-filled corridors to gain the decks. A few wriggled through the small port-holes into the open sea, exchanging death by drowning for death by fire. Others were trapped like rats in their staterooms and burned to death.

Officers and crew were driven to the forecastle for refuge. Others found temporary safety in the stern. But amidships was a roaring furnace.

Delay in S.O.S.

Captain Willmott, the master, had died of a heart-attack a few hours before the fire started. The first mate, Warm, was in charge.

There was a criminal delay in the sending of S.O.S. signals. The first CQ (standby) signal was sent at 3:15 and a second at 3:18 A.M. According to the chief radio operator, he did not receive an order to send an S.O.S. until 3:30, by which time flames were eating into the operator's cabin, and his radio set was practically out of commission.

There was similar delay in the order to lower lifeboats. When they were finally lowered, they were manned almost entirely by the crew.

In all, 136 lives or more were lost, passengers and crew. The survivors made their way to shore in the six lifeboats that were lowered, or were picked up in the water by boats belatedly speeding to the rescue. A few swam the six miles to shore with the aid of life preservers.

When dawn broke the once proud liner, the boast of the Ward Line (an advertisement in the New York Times, set up too late to be withdrawn, appeared the day after the disaster, advertising with bitter irony, "Travel with Speed and Safety on the Morro Castle") lay a smouldering hulk off the Convention Hall pier at Asbury Park, towed in and beached by a Coast Guard vessel. Huddled together on the forecastle were Acting Captain Warm, who remained true to the traditions of saving salvage money for his owners (a ship that is entirely abandoned belongs to whoever picks it up), and a few of the more simply heroic members of the crew.

A Damning Indictment

These are unchallenged facts. Other facts stand out as clearly, and constitute a most damning indictment against the owners and officers of the Morro Castle.

The much advertised special fire-fighting apparatus on the Morro Castle was a myth. It was nonexistent or did not function. The blaze was fought with ordinary fire hose and fire extinguishers. No automatic new-fangled chemicals or gases operated, or were used, to dampen the blaze. The structure of the ship, with luxurious but highly inflammable hangings, with

(Continued on Page 4)

Two strikers murdered, scores injured, National Guards in wild retreat before the infuriated pickets, a "red" scare raised by the Governor of Rhode Island and an appeal for Federal troops is the balance sheet of the second week of the textile strike.

The ranks are firm, however. The hosiery workers, 10,000 strong, have walked out in sympathy with their brothers in the cotton, silk and woolen industries. New mills are closing and the picket lines are keeping those factory gates already closed from opening.

While "twist-the-facts" Sloan continues to make his optimistic statements that more and more mills are beginning operations with scab labor, the state officials serving the textile barons have been forced to call upon the National Guard in five States to protect the right of scabbary.

But the National Guard, just as the deputies and the thugs, have proved inadequate to cope with the strike. The battleground, shifting from the Carolinas to Rhode Island, has shown the undying heroism of the mill workers.

In the teeth of gas and bullets the strikers advanced, ripping up tombstones for ammunition and routing the guards or seriously demoralizing them in the battles of Saylesville and Woonsocket. They will be written on the pages of American labor history and their martyrs will forever be enshrined in the hearts of the working class.

Such spirit, courage and heroism, cannot be broken by the troops. The thousands of Guardsmen, some of them mill workers and others fresh out of high school, are frightened or demoralized. One incident in Rhode Island, the arrest of two strikers by a Captain Strong because they called him "boy scout", speaks volumes for this fact.

But if the National Guard met with an unexpected reception at the hands of the strikers, the Rhode Island Governor got the shock of his life. So much so that he immediately set up the holler for Federal troops. "There is a Communist uprising in Rhode Island and not a textile strike."

What constitutes a strike according to this marionette of the mill owners is a folded arms demonstration in which the workers lie supinely on their backs while scabs and gunmen trample all over them. If the strikers seize whatever weapons are at hand to defend themselves, that is a "Communist uprising."

Shall R. I. Follow Frisco?
"We must put the Communists down here!" says Mr. Green, all in a rage, "as they were put down in San Francisco when the longshoremen went on strike. There must be a distinction between the legitimate actions of the real strikers and the riotous acts of the Communist agitators."

How is this distinction made? Orders to Guardsmen to fire point blank into picket lines. No questions are asked as to who is a striker and who is a red because for the textile barons every worker who dares demand a better life in this world is a "Ted" and a "Bolshevik".

So the governor proposed two methods to deal with the insurrection (read: textile strike): Appeal to Roosevelt through the state legislature to bring the army to Woonsocket and the other strike-bound points and get an appropriation of \$100,000 to arm 1,000 war veterans for use against the workers.

Arrangements were all completed to march 1,500 Federal troops in from New York to "overawe" the strikers. Roosevelt, according to Green, gave his assent. But the Rhode Island Democrats balked, the whole plan was a little too raw and politically dangerous for them. The Guards would do, they thought.

War Veterans Or Thugs?
On the other hand, the R. I. legislature voted the \$100,000 appropriation to arm "world war veterans" as auxiliary police. Any gangster from New York or Chicago, any pool room hoodlum—for that matter anyone willing to accept pay breaking the strike—will now become a "world war veteran".

Unable to get the legislature to issue the call for federal troops, Green now "rescinds" his appeal but continues to rave about Communist plotters, dynamite, and deporting "alien reds". The stage is being set for a frame up which can only be facilitated by such cowardly and treacherous statements as that of a New England U.T.W. organizer, Silvin. The latter places the blame for the riots on the

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Strike Ranks Firm; New Mills Close in the North and South

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Arms Inquiry Is Too Hot for State Dep't

Stop the heat! That's the order from Secretary of State Hull and Secretary of Commerce Rogers as they gagged the arms inquiry in Washington.

Protests from foreign governments, kings, princes, dictators and mere government hirelings of the arms ring is the reason given by the state department for putting the quietus on many of the exposures of the inquiry.

Not that embarrassment might be caused other governments but the stink of the entanglements of American munition makers with anyone they can make money from—there is the motive for the gagging of the state department.

Five telegrams from the Du Pont company to agents in a "certain South American country" were suppressed because "it might result in danger to life and property."

No need to be a clairvoyant to know what was in those telegrams. The investigation thus far has given us a general view of the "internationalism" of the munition makers. Impartiality is their slogan. If Bolivia and Paraguay tear each other to pieces in a bloody war don't discriminate. Sell to both of them. And if there are any stubborn people, the old "Palm greasing" method will do the trick.

No matter if Bolivian soldiers shoot Paraguayans with Du Pont's powder. No matter if Paraguayan troops murder Bolivian infantry with Du Pont's shells. Business is business.

The question is, however, not the (Continued on Page 4)

Deputize the Strikers? Who Owns This Country, Anyway!

"No God damned son of a bitch of a strike leader is going to tell us how to use the troops and the deputies."

This was the reply that the bosses and the local police gave to the proposal of Francis J. Gorman, that the members of the United Textile Workers be "deputized" by the various authorities for the enforcement of the "law".

With a militancy not seen for many years in a strike of such wide scope the workers have been closing mill after mill. The reply of the bosses and their henchmen who hold public office has been a militia mobilization from the coast of Maine to the Gulf of Mexico. Hired thugs have been given badges and declared to be "officers of the law". Great bands of strike-breakers have been deputized and armed, and American Legion groups have been secured to help break the strike. Over ten men have been killed already, nine of whom have been strikers. Most of them were deliberately shot by the hired thugs, many even shot in the back.

"It Is Unheard of"
It was in the midst of this reign of terror that Gorman came forward with his proposal for the

deputizing of the strikers. He received the only reply that the capitalist class could give. Refusal, laughter and abuse.

The New York Times editorial writers literally foam at the mouth in discussing the proposal. The strikers are compared to "burglars and murderers". Their entire wrath is loosed against the flying squadrons that have been so effective in closing many of the mills. "As for the proposal to let the strikers picket and safeguard mill property, it is too grotesque for discussion."

Breaking forth in a sarcastic tone the editorial continues: "The lawful officers of the law are to be superseded by representatives of breakers of the law. These are to enforce against them the higher law, the law that transcends the statute books, 'law' made by strikers for strikers."

Whose "Law and Order"

"Law and order must be preserved." How often has this cry come from the lips of a frightened bourgeoisie. Here we see what "law and order" is referred to. The "law" of the capitalist class, the "order" of the hired thug and the

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INDIAN SUMMER FESTIVAL

The International Workers School has completed its plans for an Indian Summer Festival and Dance. The winter courses of the school begin the 15th of October and it is the purpose of this affair to bring together those who will take advantage of the excellent courses this season. We are arranging for an exciting and entertaining program, which will include a well known dance orchestra. The complete program will be announced in a future edition of the Militant. Remember the time and place! Irving Plaza, 15th St. and Irving Place. Saturday evening, October 27th.

R. I. Solons Save Roosevelt From Sending Federal Troops

Only political considerations on the part of the Rhode Island Legislature saved Roosevelt from an acid test of whether he would employ Federal troops as strike-breakers in the textile strike.

According to press reports, the order to "stand by" was given the garrisons in various parts of New York and New England. Troops in New York, fully equipped with death-dealing paraphernalia were prepared to leave at a moment's notice for a "surprise attack" to overwhelm the Rhode Island strikers.

Governor Green—who must have broken a couple of blood vessels searching for Communists under his bed—had a telephone conversation with the grinning messiah in Washington pleading with him to Hyde Park, said to Green that he was getting in touch with Washington "to make all preparations to respond to any call the state might make in this emergency."

The stage was all set for an expedition of the army into New England to crush the strike ranks. Green hollered for it. Roosevelt gave his assent. But the Rhode Island democrats dissented. Their

constituents are in Woonsocket. And while they voted \$100,000 for a pretorian guard, they desisted in calling for the Federal troops.

But Roosevelt . . . who has been regarded by most workers as the man who held out the helping hand to labor with his famous section 7-a was ready to put the Rhode Island strike to the sword.

What becomes of all his vaunted friendliness to the working man? Time was when he could claim that the deputy sheriffs, or the police, or the National Guard over whom he had no jurisdiction were murdering workers and smashing strikes.

Now he took a stand. There is no escape. Hoover deployed the troops against the ragged army of bonusers and that put the finishing touches on his reputation with American labor. Roosevelt offered to use the army against the Rhode Island strikers. The legislature saved him for the moment, but other occasions will arise and he has already indicated what he will do.

Let the American workers learn the truth of this incident and that will help to polish off Mr. Roosevelt forever in their eyes.

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James P. Cannon The Message of Minneapolis Irving Plaza
(Just returned from a 2-month stay in Minneapolis) A Report and Analysis of the Great Strike - Sunday Sept., 16th - 9 p.m. 15th Street & Irving Place Admission 15c

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Dern, the National Guard and the Workers

Secretary of War Dern is worried and he speaks right out for everyone to hear. The popularity of the army is being impaired by the increasing use of the National Guard in strikes. Dern thinks that the National Guard is being called to murder strikers that the local police or company gunmen could attend to themselves.

Nazi Gems

Hitler:—"The Nazi regime will endure for 1,000 years!" Alfred Rosenberg:—"Hitler is the greatest political impulse for 150 years and also the most potent stimulus for art and culture."

Mussolini and the Stork

Mussolini has a plan for raising cannon fodder. Here it is as reported to the N. Y. Times: Fire all women workers and put men in their places. Home life and starvation encourage women to marry. Give the jobs to the men. Work makes for virility in men, and the bachelor tax encourages marriage.

Tears from a Crocodile

Mr. Sloan of the Textile Manufacturers: "I am deeply distressed that blood was shed in Georgia. These sad events make it plain, the forces unleashed by the strike leaders are now out of control." So by calling a strike the strike leaders become responsible for the unleashing of the army of strike breaking thugs.

The Workers Bookstore

To place a young communist in the workers' bookstore in Chicago, apparently dooms him to Trotskyism. At least so it seems to Sam Hammersmark, as one after another of his valued assistants goes "renegade".

The Munitions Inquiry

The munition companies opposed a Senate inquiry on the high patriotic grounds that such an inquiry might divulge military secrets and so weaken the country. The inquiry shows that all Uncle Sam's arms and munitions, naval and military were on display like a street peddler's fruit in any country from Bolivia to Japan.

The American Legion

To those workers who wonder how the American Legion and the vigilantes got that way, the following War Department figures may be of interest. Of those who were drafted into the army during the war—24 percent were illiterate and 10 percent morons.

Strike Statistics a la T.U.U.L.

Figures issued by the "Pen and Anvil" show the growing strength of the T.U.U.L. unions. In one day of last week 50 percent of all strikes were called by the T.U.U.L. and 50 percent by the A. F. of L. Figures show that two (2) strikes were called—one (1) by the A. F. of L. involving 500,000 textile workers and one (1) by the T.U.U.L. While the A. F. of L. strike is still on the T.U.U.L. strike, due to its splendid leadership is settled. This strike involved two (2) workers and was settled when recognition of the Revolutionary Union was granted. The boss is a member of the I.W.O.

Embarrassing Questions

A supporter of the I.L.D. in Boston sent the following letter to the national office of that organization:

Boston, Mass. Sept. 9, 1934 International Labor Defense 80 East 11th Street N. Y. C. Comrades,

I read on an orange-colored "Scottsboro-Herndon-Thaelmann Application Card", given me at the Scottsboro-Herndon meeting in Boston last night, that the I.L.D. organizes for mass struggle against capitalist class justice in all its forms.

Is not one form of capitalist class justice the hounding of Trotsky by the French Government? Have you been organizing for mass struggle against this form of capitalist class justice?

Your card says also that the I. L. D. "fights for the right of political asylum" is not Trotsky denied by the U. S. Government the right of political asylum, and is not this denial another form of capitalist class justice? Are you therefore fighting for Trotsky's right of political asylum?

Your card further states that the I.L.D. "utilizes the entire labor press . . . for the mobilization of mass support for its program," and its program, as stated above, includes "struggle against capitalist class justice in all its forms" and "for the right of political asylum".

I believe that you are not in these instances living up to what your card claims. Why not? Surely capitalism likes to divide and rule, and is particularly pleased when its enemies do not defend each other as against the common foe.

I believe I have a right to an answer from you. I have many times contributed through the I.L. D. such sums and efforts as I could. I enclose 30c more for the Scottsboro-Herndon campaign, and a 3c stamp for your reply.

Meeting to Defy Nazis in Yorkville

In the past six months the Nazis in Yorkville have been doing things pretty much as they please. Although their only show of force thus far has been the singing of the Horst Wessel song in beer gardens and strutting around in their Brown shirted uniforms, the working class organizations have not yet dared to lift their heads openly in a concentrated effort to get rid of them.

Some time ago LaGuardia closed 86th Street to political meetings because the Nazis broke up working class street meetings. Now the Democrats and Fusionists are allowed to hold meetings while working class organizations are discriminated against. The Stalinists, while boasting of "forging ahead in the fight against Fascism", have confined the talk of fighting the Nazis to their own United Front (League Against War and Fascism) and petitions to the Mayor to open 86th Street.

The Harlem Branch of the S.Y.L. and Circles 6 and 9 (Yorkville and Har. em) of the Y.P.S.L., realizing that only by a united effort could they ward off the Nazis and rid Yorkville of their poisonous propaganda, have formed a United Front Committee against Fascism in Yorkville.

The first joint outdoor street meeting to be held by the United Committee will take place on Monday, Sept. 17th on 85th Street & 3rd Ave. at 8 P.M. All workers are urged to attend.

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EDITORIAL BOARD

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ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILITANTS—ONE CENT PER COPY.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Salem, Lawrence Workers Confused

Salem, Mass., Sept. 10.—In the Pequot Mills in this town the loomfixers, numbering about a hundred, were the only ones to answer the strike call of the U. T. W.

Although the rest of the workers voted unanimously not to strike, some 20 have quit in sympathy. Because the loomfixers struck solidly, half the looms are not working. At first the bosses had three scabs, including the son of the local Sheriff, but they failed to show up this week, and all the bosses are trying to become loomfixers. They can't do the job, however, and the second shift is shut down entirely.

McMahon Responsible

If the weavers and other workers struck the whole mill would shut down. The reason they have not done so, however, is not that they love their bosses or "their" country, but because of the treatment they have received from the U.T.W. Last year there was a strike here, but MacMahon "out-lawed" it, and stopped the payment of strike benefits from the money paid in by these workers in dues. All but the loomfixers joined a new union called the Independent Sheet Metal Workers Union, which finally negotiated a settlement.

The Independent is headed by one Levesque, who uses this background to keep the workers divided, while he hollers for police to "protect" the Independents.

No flying squads have visited Salem, and the picket captain declares that the Salem workers are "not interested" in Lawrence.

Lawrence Suffers from Old Wounds

In Lawrence the situation is worse. This city, the scene of many militant strikes in the past has, until the past few days been as silent as a tomb. The reason for this is that Lawrence has been a concentration point for the Stalinists. One strike a few years ago was actually led, while it lasted, by the Stalinists Edith Berkman, Bill Murdock and Pat Devine.

The Middle Class Backing of Sinclair

San Francisco, Aug. 31.—A semi-Social Democratic bloc was formed within the California Democratic party (hence the national party as well) when Upton Sinclair, erstwhile Utopian Socialist, won the Democratic nomination for Governor of California in the primary election of August 28. He polled approximately 407,710 votes as compared to 268,720 cast for his closest opponent, the war-time propagandist, George Creel. The acting governor, strike-breaking Frank Merriam, won the Republican nomination with approximately 339,500 votes.

Sinclair, in addition to freeing Tom Mooney, proposes to establish state land colonies for the unemployed; acquire idle factories for the unemployed to work; issue scrip for the wages and products of this cooperative system; repeal the present sales tax; increase the income tax; increase the inheritance tax; increase taxes on public utility corporations; exempt from taxation all small homes and ranches assessed at less than \$3,000; add additional taxes on unimproved land; pension the aged, the blind and disabled, and widows.

The reformist nature of this program is evident. The basic contradictions between capital and labor are unresolved. There arises furthermore the new contradiction of unemployed workers producing cheap goods competitively in competition with goods produced for profit by exploited labor.

The social elements that nominated Sinclair in the primary election are the type common to Social Democracy: a number of the marginal middle-class such as independent grocers, shoe makers, cigar makers, and small farmers—in fact, almost all those elements that compete with chain stores, trusts, or corporations; the intellectuals supporting Sinclair were mainly teachers and ministers; finally, not a few trade unionists and unemployed supported the EPIC plan.

Hoover vs. Roosevelt

Herbert Hoover delivered a broadside at the Recovery program of the Roosevelt administration in a series of articles appearing in the reactionary Saturday Evening Post. These articles are excerpts from a book to be published this month. Under the slogan of "The Challenge to Liberty", Hoover defends the sanctity of private capitalist property.

Around a few half truths and a series of bourgeois catch phrases about liberty and justice Hoover has built up a structure of lies and misstatements. Breaking the silence maintained since his defeat, the statements of the former President represent more than merely a battle of the "outs" against the "ins". The attack is not only an attempt of the conservative Hoover wing of the Republican party to assert its leadership in the present stage of flux and confusion, in preparation for political realignment.

It is also the platform for the struggle of a powerful contending group of American imperialists who were swept out of office in the Roosevelt landslide and replaced by another group of imperialists.

"Tories" Still Alive The role of the American "Tories" is not over just because the "liberalism" of the Roosevelt administration has become so predominant. This struggle within the camp of the capitalist class, in its ebb and flow, reflects the veering of the ruling class with the changing class relations, and class pressures both internally and internationally.

The rapid spread of Fascism in Europe and its effect upon world conditions is a challenge to the parliamentary form of bourgeois rule that cannot be ignored by any group of American capitalist politicians. In this case both the conservative and progressive wing of capitalist politicians can continue their prattle about "liberty".

Hoover does not take his cue from the American Stalinists who say the New Deal is leading toward Fascism and already is partly Fascist. No, Hoover says the present government policy of "National Regeneration" is leading toward Socialism. Of course both views are wrong because the economic system in its present decay stage has the earmarks of both. A decisive question for the working class is to know how to gain the fruits of its own pressure upon the capitalist class, and not allow any group of capitalist rulers, either in the name of Socialism or Fascism to snatch the fruit of its growing might and pressure from its hands.

Half-Truths Hoover is correct when he says, "Not only in the United States but throughout the world, the whole philosophy of individual liberty (bourgeois individual liberty—H. O.) is under attack. He is also correct when he refers to the NRA, without naming it, and says, "All this is, in fact, the greatest legal mechanism ever devised for squeezing the small competitor out of action, easily and by the majesty of the law." However, Darrow, speak-

ing for the middle class, said the same thing much more elegantly. Likewise when he says, "The first step of economic regeneration is a vast centralization of the power in the Executive." He is also correct. Naturally none of these truths are explained, or developed to their logical conclusion, because as such they could not be used as ammunition against the Democrats but rather, they would be an indictment against all forms of capitalist rule and all kinds of bourgeois politicians, and against the capitalist system as a whole.

In a blast against the monetary policy of the Roosevelt administration, Hoover has the nerve to draw the following correct conclusion about the shift from policy holder to stockholder. "Thus the rich become richer, and the poor poorer." This is bait for political saps to vote Republican—who will "defend" the poor.

Facts vs. Conclusions But these economic facts, pointed out by Hoover's group, against the Roosevelt group in the inner struggle of the imperialists for power and wealth, contradicts his conclusions. This man, whom the yellow press praises so highly for his economic education and ability, turns out to be the worst kind of vulgar economist. If it is true, as Hoover says, that under the New Deal, concentration of wealth and centralization of government continues, that the rich are getting richer, and the poor poorer, that smaller units of production are being squeezed out under the code set-up, that the "Managed currency" is to enable the Government to change from time to time the purchasing power of the currency for all commodities, wages salaries and incomes. This means that prices can be sent upward and real wages downward with the greatest of ease any time their ruling class so desires once the straightjacket of the monetary policy and the NRA is secured around the working class.

These economic facts that Hoover points out run counter to his whole thesis and conclusions—that the present government policies are leading toward socialism and that the government has already taken certain steps along the path of socialism.

The "Liberty" Racket At least Hoover's economics is not as vulgar as the economics of many Socialists, who see Socialism in the New Deal, or the Stalinists who see Fascism in it. Hoover is not serious in his charge that the Government policies are socialistic. This is bait for conservative support within both parties. Hoover is serious about liberty, but not the kind of liberty he speaks about in his article. Such prattle about liberty, abstract pure liberty, is merely the age-old propaganda to catch the uninitiated. Bourgeois liberty in its most favorable form means complete freedom to exploit labor power and natural resources with the least possible amount of government regulations. Whole pages are devoted to abstract talk

Hooliganism Again

The Pittsburgh branches of the Communist League and the Spartacus Youth have distributed the following leaflet:

TO ALL WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATIONS! You will recall that in San Francisco groups of Vigilantes were organized by the ruling class to smash working class meetings and their homes.

A similar incident happened very recently in Pittsburgh. Hit-erite methods were used by the Communist Party (Stalinists) in beating up one of our 19-year old members Friday evening, August 31, for distributing leaflets advertising a meeting of the Spartacus Youth League.

On the following evening when the Spartacus Youth League attempted to proceed with their meeting a group of Stalinists, numbering approximately forty people, came into the meeting hall, provoked and gave us an ultimatum that a certain member of the Communist League of America and a certain sympathizer will never be permitted to speak before any working class organization as long as the Communist Party exists in Pittsburgh.

We wish to stress the fact that in miniature from this is an exact reproduction of the Madison Square Garden affair.

We call on all workers' organizations to condemn such tactics as REACTIONARY in the labor movement.

The Communist League of America and the Pittsburgh Branch of the Spartacus Youth League will hold a meeting in the near future where the prohibited speakers will appear. We urge all workers to attend and defend this meeting. You will be notified through a separate leaflet as to the time and place of this meeting.

We believe that only the working class can put an end to this hooliganism in the labor movement. —Communist League of America —Spartacus Youth League Pittsburgh Branch

Letters to the Editor

We are now undertaking a fundamental change in the character of the Militant. From a theoretical organ dealing primarily with intra-party matters and the clarification of principles we are trying to transform it into a popular working class political weekly. Our purpose is to fill a great need in this country—a Marxian newspaper, understandable to every worker, that tells the truth about events as they occur, that fights the capitalist system and all its agents in the trade unions and elsewhere and that answers the problems of the labor movement. We would welcome suggestions, comments or criticisms from our readers or from workers they hear talking about the Militant. We believe that such letters are the best barometer of whether we are on the right track or not. Below is a letter received from Parkersburg, W. Va.

The bundle order of one hundred Militants have been received and have already been distributed to the strikers. The seeds of Marxism have been sown on virgin soil; at least one met with no resistance while passing the Militant to them. The workers were not only well pleased with their article on the strike, but they also read the other accounts with much interest.

—JON DANE. SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILITANTS—ONE CENT PER COPY.

What Hoover is not able to realize is that he is a partner of the New Deal. It was the Hoover Commission, under his administration that brought in a lengthy, voluminous report in economic and social trends in America. This Commission pointed out many facts, showing both the weak spots and the breakdown in the system. That was valuable bourgeois economic research. The Roosevelt administration is merely trying to patch up these holes in the economic structure of American capitalism that the Hoover Commission pointed out. The whole difference revolves around the ways and means to patch up the capitalist system and to keep America on top of the heap of decaying world capitalism. Hoover thinks his conservative capitalist method is superior to the Roosevelt progressive method of saving capitalism. Roosevelt is at least clever enough to throw crumbs to the workers every time he dishes out big portions to the capitalist class. Hoover didn't have this technique.

The inner capitalist struggle of American imperialism for control of the state machinery is becoming sharper. The Libert League of Smith and his big financier backers, and the Herbert Hoover "Challenge to Liberty" are merely the opening guns in the struggle of these groups for the spoils of exploitation and the possible booty of imperialist wars.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Competition for "Forgotten Man"

Hoover is against "national regeneration" and for "liberty". He is opposed to code restrictions on business and for "real competition". He wants the government to get out of business and stop penalizing "thrift". In fact, he almost speaks for the "forgotten man". Roosevelt beat him to that clever sales talk.

MARCH OF EVENTS

The State and the NRA

Even the most casual study of the NRA and the philosophy back of it cannot help revealing that the forces at work in the capitalist system pushing it along the road to state capitalism, are independent, by and large, of the volitions of those compelled to submit to these forces. Thus the "philosophy (or ideology) of the New Deal finds itself continually and apologetically at variance with the reality, with the needs of capitalism in crisis that thrust upon the state greater and greater tasks that previously were the care of "private initiative".

Itchberg, reporting on the present status of the NRA, disclaims any desire to do precisely what he is doing: "The very thing that we in the administration are trying to do is get away from the superstate. We are trying to decentralize problems by balancing forces. We are letting private initiative handle things." If private initiative (private property) could have handled things then there would have been no NRA. The NRA is the preliminary form that state development has taken in America on the road of the transformation of this superstructure in accordance with the requirements of imperialist capitalism. It is worth noting that Richberg (as also Twiggell in the quiz he had to undergo before his appointment as Assistant Secretary) makes the sharpest distinction between the NRA and planned economy. The New Deal "is taking us to a balanced rather than a planned economy. . . . When you talk planned economy, you may think of a system of which people are told what to produce and how. You can't effect this without entering the field of socialism." How he proposes to create a system of "permanent prosperity" without planning Richberg blandly ignores. He thinks of the problem as involving merely the maintaining of a balance between industry and agriculture (as though this were possible under capitalism).

Owen D. Young and the Farmer

Owen D. Young also wants a balance maintained between industry and agriculture. But he is opposed to the NRA and becomes the firm champion—does this industrial-banker-capitalist, head of one of America's greatest monopolist trusts—of freedom for the farmer, freedom, that is, to support capitalism. The farmers, says he, hold freedom of action sacred and will not tolerate coercion in the use of the land they own (!) their own. The farmer accepts no man as his boss, resents discipline of the factory whistle, specified hours of work, ect. We hope that all the wage slaves exploited by the Youngs take due note of the great admiration, of this boss for those who resent the capitalist factory discipline. Young is engaged here in building up the myth of the "free" American farmer (most of whom are already in the tenant and farm proletariat class, the rest so heavily mortgaged by the banker Youngs that they are rapidly falling into that class). Young would like to drive a wedge between the farmers and the workers, to keep them separated, to set one against the other—in order to divide and rule. He gives the usual lip service to the fraud of having the government "arrange" its national economy so that there is a just economic balance between the price which the farmer gets for what he sells and the price which the farmer pays for what he buys. As though it is not the very nature of the system of capitalism itself to render this impossible by its piling up profits on the cost of raw materials bought from the farmer and the labor power of the worker.

Monopoly Capitalism Crushes the Farmer

Young is one of the foremost proponents of the system of monopoly capitalism that reaches out for complete control of the market and establishes by its grip on the market not only the price of its products but the prices paid for the raw materials. The individual farmer is utterly helpless, just as is the individual worker, in the face of monopoly capitalism. But this does not stop Young, tongue in cheek, from calling on the government to help the farmer "negatively" by preventing the taking of unfair advantage through artificial price control, through credit discrimination, and through artificial market manipulation and market speculation. O. D. Young is typical of that class of financier and stock manipulator who attempts to pose as a captain of industry and therefore "alleged" with the farmer against the speculators and grasping bankers. But the farmer is not taken in by this pose. He knows that monopoly capitalism is the root of all evil and the hard economic facts that disinherit him from the land, that convert him steadily into tenant farmer or farm worker, are too close at hand for the farmer to be hoodwinked by sweet words that celebrate his vanished freedom. The farmer is becoming increasingly aware of the game of the capitalists to set him against his natural ally, the city worker.

—JACK WEBER.

QUESTION BOX

S. P. "MILITANT", N. Y.— Question: If foreign intervention is excluded, how can the possibility of a counter-revolutionary overthrow in the Soviet Union be spoken of, since there is no class upon which the reaction could base such an overthrow?

Answer: If your premise were correct, there would be some basis for your conclusion. The peasantry, however, remains as the class upon which the counter-revolution can draw.

The moujik is no idealist. He thinks in terms of the hard, material things of life: grain, shoes, cotton cloth, pots and pans, etc. Just so long as the Soviet regime provides him, in return for his grain, with as many, or more city-made products as he could obtain in the open market, he will continue to support the Workers' Dictatorship.

Without, therefore, wishing to re-establish capitalism, the peasantry under these circumstances will naturally become the ally of reaction.

It is incorrect, particularly at this point, to abstract from foreign intervention. Usually this is thought of in the pure military sense, and it is forgotten that in the economic field it goes on continually. Because the industrial development of the imperialist countries is superior to that of the Soviet Union, which is tied economically to the world market, a constant intervention is taking place, which weakens the possibility of the Workers' State in overcoming the gap between what is taken from the peasant and what is given to him.

Unless the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries are able to give timely aid to the Soviet Union, this process may prove to be fatal, particularly since armed intervention stands ready to back up its more powerfully economic ally.

C. W. K., New Haven—

Sorry, but there is no short cut to economics any more than to geometry, and your editor knows of no books where you can find such a simplified explanation of the mechanics of inflation as you request. The following, however, may help you if you are faced with the necessity of explaining this phenomenon to workers with limited economic knowledge.

Because of the limited development of commerce and finance practically all of the business in the middle ages was transacted through the medium of gold or silver coin. Since the carrying of the coin was both expensive and dangerous, many merchants found it expedient to form institutions in which the metal coin could be deposited, and upon which you could issue certificates, to use for making payments. The receiver of such a certificate, knowing that he could get the metal on demand, fully accepted it at its face value. If, however, he wished to make a purchase or payment, he would merely pass it on to the next merchant, and in this way certificates equal in value to that required for the normal transaction of business would remain in circulation.

Assume that 100,000 pounds (by weight) of gold had been deposited in such a central warehouse by various merchants and that 100,000 pound-notes had been issued to them as receipts, which were then put into circulation. If each note should change hands on the average of four times a day, the daily business transacted would have a value equal to 400,000 pounds of gold.

Under these circumstances no inflation could have occurred, regardless of what happened to business conditions. At the worst all the gold in the vaults would have found its way back into private hoards. However, as long as the rate of turnover of money remained as above, no more than 400,000 pounds of business could have been transacted daily, the same as if the gold itself had been used instead of notes.

If the daily average of business increased to 800,000 pounds of gold in value, the deposit institutions could safely go into the lending business and issue an additional 100,000 pound-notes, confident that the 200,000 pound notes would continue to circulate even though there was only 100,000 pounds of gold in the vaults.

If, because of a crisis, the average daily value of business fell back to 400,000 pounds of gold, 100,000 pound notes would turn up at the institutions demanding gold. If all the gold were permitted to be withdrawn, there would be none left as a basis for the rest of the notes in circulation, and these, upon discovery of this fact, would soon become practically worthless, except for other assets which the institutions might possess. This would be tantamount to a complete inflation.

(The result would have been the same if for some reason or other, the institution had issued 200,000 pound notes while the total value of business remained at 400,000 pounds of gold, requiring only 100,000 pound certificates for circulation.)

The institution might, however, keep the inflation partial, a so-called "deflation". Upon becoming aware of the situation it might have announced that henceforth each pound note was to be redeemable only in a half pound of gold. The 200,000 pound notes would then have a value of 100,000 pounds of gold and would remain in circulation since this much would be required for daily business. (This, essentially, is what Roosevelt did by means of the 60 cents dollar.)

In most cases, today, such gold notes, or currency are issued by either a banking institution backed by the state power, or by the latter directly, and the process is more complicated by the banking system through which many of the payments made are balanced against each other, eliminating even the need of paper currency. Otherwise there is no essential difference between an inflation as we understand it today and the illustration cited above.

Off the Press: August Number of

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Manifesto of the Workers Party of Canada

(Ed. Note: The Manifesto printed here is taken from the Vanguard, organ of the Workers' Party of Canada, formerly the Left Opposition.)

Humanity stands at the crossroads. Fascism points to the most barbarous exploitation of man by man, perpetuates the cleavage of society into classes, and prepares another imperialistic blood-bath. Communism liberates the forces of production, erases the standard of life, and realizes the international solidarity of the race. Which alternative is to prevail, the class struggle will decide.

World Crisis of Capitalist Decay

Driven by profit-lust and inexorable laws of the market, the capitalist system of private ownership of the means of production and exploitation of wage-labor, was once in the van of social progress. Superior economic efficiency shattered the bonds of feudalism, organized the national state, and created the international division of labor. Under the banner of the rights of man and popular sovereignty, and in a series of wars and insurrections, the bourgeoisie successfully fired the imagination of the masses, mobilizing them to end the privileges of the former regime of priest, landlord and noble.

But Capitalism has reached an unendurable state of decay. Private property and the national frontiers can no longer confine the tremendous productive powers of a world economy. The "free competition" of small capitals have given way to the international competition of gigantic monopolies desperately battling for a shrinking world market. The struggle for colonies and spheres of influence to which to export surplus commodities and capital resulted in twenty million killed and maimed in the imperialist war, leaving a deadly legacy of sharper antagonisms and more monstrous militarism. The world war and the treaties, the necessary consequences of capitalist development, marked a turning point, the breaking up of the foundations.

The world economic crisis of the past five years was no longer the normal business cycle of pre-war boom and depression but the symptom of the crisis of capitalism itself. By the close of 1933 more than a third of the world's trade had disappeared; the gold standard, once the barometer of capitalist stability, had been replaced by wild zig-zags of paper currency and inflation. The increasing misery of the masses was attested by colossal armies of unemployed. The concessions, in the shape of wages, hours and conditions, which capitalism in its prime had yielded to the mass pressure, and which formed the social basis of reformism, were withdrawn. The bitter tooth-and-fang struggle for markets drives capitalism to launch an offensive for the reduction of the living standards of the workers to the barest minimum of subsistence.

The Menace of Fascism

Under these circumstances, Finance-Capital finds the "normal" methods of parliamentarism no longer suffice to keep the mounting class antagonisms and the deepening social crisis in control. The State has always been the organ of the possessing classes to hold the exploited classes in subjection; a general democracy in the sense of social equality, for both exploiter and exploited, is impossible. The mask of bourgeois democracy concealed the essence of capitalist rule. But parliamentary democracy, fraudulent though it be, had developed in the struggle against feudalism; its limited democratic civil liberties afford the most favorable ground for the rise of working class organization. Aiming at the unhampered exploitation of the working class, Finance-Capital unleashes fascism, the most savage despotic method of capitalist dictatorship to smash all the institutions of proletarian democracy, trade unions, parties and press. Fascism is the regime of the sabre, the bludgeon and concentration camp.

As its pawn to crush both bourgeois monopoly and the working class, Finance-Capital uses the petty-bourgeois (middle classes) which the monopolies have themselves ruined by mass production and distribution, by inflation and deflation. The social crisis, undermining their former social superiority over the worker, has thrown the small business man, professional man, and farmer off their balance. Where there is no sufficiently powerful revolutionary party to place itself at the head of the nation the middle classes are drawn into the net-work of anti-semitic, nationalist and anti-foreign-born demagogues, and are fed with the illusion of an "authoritarian" state which will subject the great capitalists to the interests of the small property-owners. But once the subsidized Fascist movement has triumphed, Finance Capital turns on its petty bourgeois allies, dispelling their illusions under the iron heel of bureaucratic police and military dictatorship.

The natural ally and leader of the middle classes is its partner in social misery, the proletariat. The middle classes must be brought to understand that the way out of the crisis does not lie in the return to more primitive economic forms, in projects of monetary reform or dif-

fused stock ownership under conditions of capitalist concentration and control. The small farmer ground down by Mortgage Capital, loaded with debt and threatened with foreclosure must realize that all the Pools, Marketing Acts, and "freer credit" are unavailing against the technical revolution in agriculture and the domination of finance capital which bring about the chronic agrarian crisis. The solution of the basic problems of the middle class is the same as the solution of the crisis for the working class, the socialization of land, industry, and credit. The only way to abolish overproduction, "under-consumption", and to pass on the gains of technical efficiency in the form of ever rising standards of living and culture is to replace the anarchy of the capitalist

market by purposive social planning and control. The Conquest of Political Power The means of this fundamental change in the property relations are revolutionary mass action and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The workers can and must utilize the ballot and parliamentarism for propaganda, agitation and mobilization of the masses. But no feature of the social-democratic program has proved more completely bankrupt than the idea of the painless transition from capitalism to socialism by means of piece-meal parliamentary social reforms. The Workers' Party does not reject reforms; they can be used to consolidate the positions of the workers in the struggle. But reforms must come as the by-product of class-struggle and not as alleged,

instalments of socialism. The Labor Cabinets of Great Britain and the Social Democratic Governments of Germany, both reformist and constitutionalist, by their treacherous collaboration with the capitalist state machine shamefully betrayed the workers, and paved the way for fascism. The workers cannot use this capitalist machinery with its civil service, police, military and courts to establish the socialist order. The workers must first break the old and then set up the new, the Soviet State, to protect socialism from sabotage and counter-revolution. The Soviet State is a dictatorship against all those seeking to restore the old order; for the masses it is the widest possible basis of real democracy. As the economic socialization destroys the process of social class divisions in society, the State itself, the product of class antagonisms, will vanish, leaving a society ordered not by compulsion but by administration based on voluntary labor and self discipline.

Defence of the Soviet Union

As the first country of the proletarian dictatorship the Soviet Union is a source of inspiration to the working class of the world; its collapse or destruction would unleash a terrific wave of world reaction. The October Revolution of 1917, under Bolshevik leadership, was the product not only of the internal antagonisms within the country but of the break-down of capitalist imperialism at its weakest link; it was the prelude to the international revolution. The victory of socialism in a predominantly agrarian country was based on the union of the workers and the peasantry but could be finally assured only by the support of the social revolution in some of the advanced countries. Between the directly antagonistic systems of socialism and capitalism there could be no enduring collaboration or peace.

But Leninism, the strategy of world revolution as the basic policy of the U.S.S.R., has been replaced by Stalinism, the policy of "socialism in one country", of national self-sufficiency. Under the pressure of petty-bourgeois elements, the defeats of the revolutionary movement abroad, and the capitalist encirclement, the proletarian dictatorship has been undermined by the canker of bureaucratism. The centrist apparatus, crowned by the personal regime of Stalin, usurped the positions of power, stifling all workers' democracy in the Soviets, the trade unions and the Party. The Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition, loyal to the program of world or permanent revolution, was exiled or driven underground as "Trotskyism". Economic policy zig-zagged wildly between a course of pro-kulak opportunism and the adventurism of "liquidating classes in five years."

The Comintern has become a pacifist frontier guard. Security of the U.S.S.R. is sought not in a powerful revolutionary movement but in non-aggression pacts, alignment with an imperialist bloc and projected adherence to the League of Nations.

The problems of the U.S.S.R. affect the destiny of the international proletariat at every turn. The attitude of the Workers' Party has nothing in common with the sentimental or platonic "sympathies" of the liberals or pacifists. The Workers' Party stands for the unconditional defence of the Soviet Union by the active struggle for the overthrow of capitalism in all countries, which means the building of revolutionary mass parties and a Fourth International, independent of the stranglehold of Stalinism. The Soviet Union is threatened by military intervention; an equally grave menace is the degeneration of the proletarian dictatorship under the Stalinist regime.

The idea that industrialization and collectivization lead automatically to socialism is false. Without the communist party which is the will and the consciousness of the working class and which has been strangled by the bureaucracy, the Soviet Power could succumb at the first shock of a crisis. The Workers' Party will aid the Bolshevik-Leninists of the U.S.S.R. in their struggle to cleanse the dictatorship of the elements of degeneration. For the unconditional defence of the Soviet Union! Against Stalinism!

(Continued in Next Issue)

Economic Conditions Behind Textile Strike

Sprawling and scattered from Maine to South Carolina—as far West as Mississippi, the textile industry ranks with steel, mining, railroads and autos, one of the super-industries of the country. Unlike some of its giant brothers, it has been in a state of crisis, not for a few years, but for more than a decade. Along with the great mills in England it has since the war been at the center of the international crisis in textiles. This crisis has had the same fundamental earmarks of the general crisis of capitalist industry: over-expansion of productive capacity, and overproduction (underconsumption) of goods.

During the war the industry expanded to meet government demands, seventy-five percent of production going for military purposes. After the owners had participated in cutting the melon of war profits, they found on their hands excessive plant capacity. Then came the depression of '21 to which this condition importantly contributed. Despite all of these signs of serious illness, the industry plunged into another orgy of expansion. The competition was—the "best man" would win. The result, consequently, throughout the '20's an average of two million spindles in the cotton section alone were continuously idle.

Crisis Intensified

Speed-up, stretch-out, and improvement of machinery have accelerated this condition. The struggle of cotton and wool against silk and rayon, capricious fashions, waste and anarchic methods of distribution have added color to this pretty picture. The struggle of this drunken monster with the textile lords of Lancashire and Tokyo, for the foreign markets, is one of the forces behind Roosevelt's naval building campaign. The whole world is overproduced. The markets won't go around. Profits dwindle, unemployment increases, the home market shrinks. The textile employer alternates between cutting wages and consulting his war department.

For several years a merger movement has been growing, a movement aptly supplemented by cartelization in line with the provisions of the NRA. The bosses are organized.

Altogether there are more than a million workers in the textile industry. They comprise one-eighth of the manufacturing workers in the country, a greater number than in any other single industry. And the wages of these workers are the lowest in any manufacturing industry except tobacco. In 1927 for example, a relatively good year, wages in cotton mills were more than 37% below the average earnings for workers in all manufacturing industries in the country. In wool they were 10% lower. Under the codes they remained the lowest, with differentials bringing even lower scales in the South.

Squeezing the Workers

The textile employers, as a result of the declining market, take up the slack of reduced profits by every maneuver known to capitalist industry. Machinery is perfected; workers are unceremoniously fired; the stretch-out squeezes the last ounce of the workers' energy. Along with the lowest wages the textile workers suffer the worst working conditions in the country. The result has been a long and bitter struggle for the right to unionize, for shorter hours and higher wages, and for better working conditions, especially with regard to the stretch-out.

Methods and devices for increasing speed in order to secure greater production for the worker are now common in every industry. In textiles the speed-up has gone so far that the nervous strain upon the workers has gone beyond the limits of physical toleration. While the number of spindles has been increasing, the number of workers has been decreasing. The aim of the mill owners has been to lower costs and raise profits. If you want to make five thousand a year, once advised the American Wool and Cotton Reporter, addressing new overseers, prove that you are worth it. "Prove it by cutting down costs, by doubling up the machinery per operative and saving wages."

"Labor Specialization"

The movement to reduce labor costs and dependence upon the skilled workers, has progressed with increasing severity for many years. Employers' organizations meet regularly to formulate practical methods of speeding up production. "Labor specialization" has become a profession, such efficiency experts being hired to do nothing but travel from mill to mill showing employers how to "extend" labor.

There is probably no other industry where this problem is attacked more energetically and deliberately. Today the bosses are getting back whatever gains were made by the lowest paid workers under the codes. Patents for new textile machines bear evidence of the continuous replacement of workers by machinery and the production of more pounds of goods per operative. Work becomes increasingly specialized and standardized. Old workers find it hard to follow the pace. Young workers are brought in and burned up.

The workers in a mill which has hired the services of these "industrial engineering" corporations suddenly find themselves being watched by strange men with stop-watches in their hands. These men will talk to no one nor will they answer any questions. They merely watch every motion of the workers, making notes on everything that happens.

The "Stretch Out"

These men calculate every movement of the workers. If the worker takes a drink of water, visits the lavatory, has to wait for material, speaks to a fellow worker for a few minutes, it is timed and noted by the stop-watch man. The latter then retires and calculates the number of seconds that the worker has used in stopping to breathe, in going for a drink of water or to the rest room. More work is then given him on the bases of the time study: The time is divided into three main divisions: (1) Amount used in skilled work. (2) Amount in semi-skilled. (3) Amount in non-skilled. The workers are then divided into these groups, a varying wage is paid, and each group is then driven to greater and greater speed. This is the stretch out. The looms per worker increase; the wages for most of the workers go down; production increases; total payrolls decrease.

Resistance to the stretch-out, to low wages and long hours, has made the textile industry, next to mining, the most active battle ground in the class struggle in America. The battles of these workers with company gunmen, police and troops has made the earliest, the most continuous and some of the most glorious of militant American labor traditions.

History of Unions

Cotton workers first organized in 1838 into the National Cotton Mule Spinners Association. Locals and federations of other crafts in the industry followed. The first strikes broke out in Fall River and New Bedford, time honored spots in textile history. Cotton workers were in the International Labor Union (1878) and later conducted several big strikes under the banner of the Knights of Labor. In 1891 the National Union of Textile Workers was organized in Lowell. It continued—later under the name of International Union of the Textile Workers—till 1901, when it merged with some of its own secessionists, to form the United Textile Workers of America.

Many strikes were held by the National Union and by the United, though not many of the great ones were sanctioned by the top leaders. Like most labor skates the bureaucracy of the United cared more about a large treasury than the low wages of the workers. The very place-names of these strikes bring the memory of heroic struggles: Lawrence (1912); Manchester (1918); Lowell (1918); Passaic (1919); Lawrence (1919); Utica (1919); Charlotte (1921); New England (1922); Willimantic (1925); Passaic (1926); New Bedford (1928); Marion (1929); Gastonia (1929); Danville (1930); Elizabethtown (1930); Patterson (1931); Patterson (1933).

WORLD OF LABOR

PUERTO RICAN COMMUNISTS REBEL AGAINST STALINISM

From a bourgeois press report we learn that at a general meeting held in San Juan, Puerto Rico, the Communist party membership voted overwhelmingly for a break with the Third International and the establishment of the Independent Communist Party of Puerto Rico. It was categorically affirmed that the Puerto Rican Communists will take no orders henceforth from Stalin's International but will attempt to build a party and work out a program in accordance with the dictates of their own judgment. After heated discussion and airing of opinions, but four party members withdrew from the organization in protest against the decisions arrived at by the majority.

We know nothing more of this case than the simple facts as given above. The very fact, however, that a small, newly formed party, has at the present time broken with Stalinism, is in itself very significant. It is indicative of a general trend developing in several Latin American countries, where more breaks of a similar nature are certainly not out of the question. The break with the Third International at this time may be considered a progressive step on the part of these comrades. We may even venture to guess the reasons for this step on their part. Since the adoption of the Litvinoff pledge, the Stalinists have sacrificed the Cuban revolution to the cause of Soviet international relations, by giving the order "Hands off imperialist property" to the Cuban C. P. Our surmise is that some similar order may have been given to the Puerto Rican party, which was entirely too big for the comrades to swallow.

If, as appears likely, this break with Stalinism embraces the entire party of "our insular possession" and not only the San Juan section, if it is the result of a fight at the top, we can then feel certain that of the pressure of the membership and not of a faction fight at the top, we can then feel certain that the Puerto Rican comrades will find their way towards the Fourth International and will not fall into a "national-communist" morass.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST SENTENCED

Neunkirchen Echo, social democratic paper in the Saar, publishes the news on Aug. 27 that Wilhelm Doerter, 36-year-old leader of the International Communists in Frankfurt am Main, Germany, has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Hitler's court martial, emphatically called the First Senate of the Peoples Court, clapped this stiff sentence on the militant for "having prepared high treason" and "leading in the organization of an illegal party". The frequency of these imprisonments and the infrequency of news concerning them should warn every class spirited worker that the terror in Germany has far from subsided. International solidarity with the victims of Fascism—today as much as ever—is one of the paramount duties of the revolutionary and labor movement.

SAAR WORKERS BEGIN ACTIVE RESISTANCE TO FASCISM

Despite the pulverizing features placed on the united front by Stalinist and reformist officials, the first signposts of fighting opposition to the Fascist bands are appearing in the Saar. In Saarbrueken an armed fascist band gathered in front of a workers' printing shop with destructive intent. The workers in the locality were notified and hundreds immediately appeared and put the murderous vandals to flight. Similarly in Zinnertal, the workers routed a Fascist gang.

Once the united front breaks out of the halter of meetings, parades and oratory and takes the road of action—the organization of an armed workers' militia—the Fascist refuse will crumble like paper before the impact of its mighty power.

COSTA RICAN BANANA WORKERS STRIKE

Incomplete and vague news reports inform us of the resumption of the general strike of workers on the Atlantic coast of Costa Rica. Following their return to work under a favorable settlement with the government, under which the most important demands of the union were granted, the United Fruit Company immediately commenced a series of violations of the agreement. Any recognition of the Fruit company would be a denial of the latter's rights of the workers by the slave driving United whole past, and would serve as an incentive to organization for all of the plantation workers of the Caribbean area. The imperialists well know that a favorable settlement of the Costa Rican strike will lay the basis for a wave of organization and struggles in the fruit, sugar, tobacco and coffee plantations of all Central America, Colombia and the West Indies. This is why, in spite of being forced to make concessions in the first strike, no time is being lost in an attempt to wipe out the gains of the workers.

The government and the United Fruit company are attempting to smash the strike by every means, and the situation on the plantations approaches one of civil war, while the whole industry continues to be tied up.

THE ADVANCE OF FASCISM IN SPAIN

On September 9 Gil Robles, chief of the Catholic fascist party, "Popular Agrarian Action", delivered himself of a load of demagoguery at a national fascist rally held at Covadonga, scene of the final defeat and expulsion of the Arabs from Spain. About 8,000 fascists participated in the demonstration, which would undoubtedly have been much larger had it not been for the militant action of the workers, who were able through general strikes in many cities, and acts of sabotage on the railroads and highways, to prevent the arrival of many more.

Gil Robles has since declared that certain of his statements in the speech at Covadonga were misinterpreted and exaggerated. He now claims that by "demanding power" for his party, he only referred to fascist participation in the new government that will be formed within a few days. After an interim of participation in a coalition government with other rightist parties, the fascists will be prepared to play their highest cards, in a direct bid for power.

Meanwhile the general movement for the Workers Alliance continues although with varying degrees of success. In Badajoz province the official Communist Party participates with the Communist Left, Socialist party and various trade union organizations in a provincial Workers Alliance. On a national scale, however, the Stalinists continue in their ultimatum demand for a "united front" with the Socialist Party to the exclusion of the minority groups and the unions. The Socialists, pressed by their own left wing, insist on a broad united front within the Workers Alliance. Although they are sabotaging the creation of this organization on a national scale, a favorable decision by the anarcho-syndicalist controlled C.N.T. would force them to take immediate steps for a national Workers Alliance.

The existing Workers Alliances in Asturias, Leon and Madrid are functioning very poorly. Only in Catalonia, Valencia and Badajoz, is the organization of working class unity functioning effectively. Throughout Spain it is the minority groups, the Communist Left and the Syndicalist Libertarians who are in the vanguard of the struggle for the Workers Alliance.

PIONEER NOTES

The Pioneer Book Shop, 102 East 11th Street, New York City has been appointed sole agent for books published by the Pioneer Publishers.

The Pioneer Publishers will henceforth be devoted exclusively to the publication of new books.

All future orders for books should be sent to the Pioneer Book Shop. The Branches must settle their old accounts with the Pioneer Publishers immediately. All information regarding outstanding accounts should be addressed to the Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th Street.

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EDITORIAL

For the New Party - For the Fusion of the League and the A. W. P.!

THE most important political news of the day is the report about the decisive steps taken during the past week to facilitate and hasten the fusion of the American Workers' Party and the Communist League.

This news is of paramount importance because it spells definite progress toward the forging of the sharpest and most indispensable weapon of the working class—a revolutionary party. By itself, the merger of these two organizations, of entirely different origins but moving toward the same goal, would signify the actual beginning of the new party and make its formal proclamation possible.

Armed with the program of Marxism the new political center thus created would speedily attract the scattered revolutionary militants as a magnet attracts steel particles. The adherence of thousands of awakening workers could be expected. The expanded political organization would be in a position to connect itself with the stormy movement of the working masses and give that movement a conscious direction.

The native militancy of the American workers, surpassed by none, as our labor history shows, and again brilliantly demonstrated in the present strike wave—in Toledo, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Kohler, the textile fields—would be fused, through such a vanguard party, with that decisive element which has been lacking in all the past periods of labor resurgence: scientific doctrine, political clarity, leadership. It has been the lack of precisely this element, which only a Marxist party can supply, that condemned the insurgent labor movements of the past to futility and defeat. Lacking a class theory of its own, which can come into the labor movement in no other way than through the Marxist party, the American workers, with all their militancy and capacity for sacrifice, fell victim to all kinds of quackery and treason and landed in a blind alley every time.

Capitalism itself creates the conditions for the elemental movement of the workers, as the far flung general strike of the textile workers proves once again. But the Marxist party, which alone can shape and guide this elemental movement to the goal of emancipation, must be made by the deliberate work of the conscious vanguard. Since such a party does not exist today—and experience on a national and international scale testify to this bitter fact—it must be created anew. This is the first and foremost task of all revolutionaries.

Every serious step in this direction is important. The progress that has been recorded in the past week toward the fusion of the two most important groups standing outside the poisoned swamps of Stalinism and Social Democracy, and dedicated to the aim of building a new party and a new international, cannot fail to inspire all revolutionary workers with enthusiasm and hope as it inspires us. It opens up the prospect of saving time in the execution of our great historic task, and time is a weighty factor now. Events move with lightning speed. We must move with them.

On an international scale the political organizations of the working class have suffered a collapse no less devastating, and no less irremediable, than that of 1914. Germany and Austria tell the story of the bankruptcy of the Second and Third Internationals in letters of fire.

During the five years of the crisis we have witnessed the paralyzing influence of this international debacle on the American movement. Even after five years of the crisis, during which the insoluble contradictions of the capitalist system did their best to prepare the soil for revolutionary political development, the great strike movement of the awakening workers, with a few exceptions such as Minneapolis, is controlled and throttled by the old reactionary leadership. A real challenge to this leadership, which represents the influence of the exploiters in the labor movement, has not yet been made for the simple reason that there was no force able to offer the challenge and make the challenge good.

For that, and for all that logically follows after, a party is needed. An International is needed.

Revolutionary internationalism is the heart and core of the system of ideas which binds us together and unites us indissolubly with our comrades in other countries. This conception, which is expressed in the struggle for the Fourth International, animates and guides us in every phase of activity in our own country, whether it be the holding of a public meeting, the organization of a strike, or participation in the formation of a new party.

We have said many times, and we underscore it here once more, that the organization of an American party cannot be separated in any way from the struggle to form a new international, but on the contrary is an inseparable part of that struggle. The new party will be able to solve the national problems and find its way into the mass movement of the American workers only if it approaches them from the international point of view; the new party can become a national power only on the condition that the banner it raises is the banner of internationalism.

This is the cardinal lesson of all the great events of our time; this is the wisdom of the great teachers. This unshakable conviction has entered into the marrow of our bones. Whatever we do and wherever we go, it goes with us. We seek for allies and co-workers first of all among those who hold similar views.

The decision of the active workers' conference of the A.W.P. in favor of hastening the fusion and the joint launching of the new party coincided with a similar decision of the New York membership meeting of the League. These actions gave expression to the fact that the two organizations have drawn closer together in the course of practical cooperation in various fields of activity and comradely discussion devoted to the clarification of questions of the program.

It appears to us that the revised draft program of the A.W.P. formulates a position on the question of the new international that is nearer to our viewpoint than the formulation of the first draft. We, on our part, venture to say that the work of the League in the Minneapolis strikes has helped to convince the members of the A.W.P. that we also are able to "speak American"; that our internationalism is not an abstraction but a guide to action on the national field. Joint work of the two organizations in practical work, limited though it has been, has demonstrated in practice an ability to work out a common policy and to cooperate loyally in advancing it. These are all factors which have strengthened the will for organic unity and the hope that it may be expedited.

Our National Committee has not yet had the time and opportunity to make a critical analysis of the revised draft program of the A.W.P. Progress has undoubtedly been made toward working out a common standpoint on some of the most important questions. Further discussion and clarification will yet be needed to assure a firm principled basis for the unification. Other obstacles may arise. But it is our firm conviction that all difficulties standing in the way can be overcome if there is a determined will to overcome them, if there is an understanding, on both sides, of the overshadowing importance of finding a common path and launching the new party without the needless loss of a single day. All our efforts will be directed to this end. —JAMES P. CANNON.

WAR AND FOURTH INTERN'L

In Russian
A Russian edition of this pamphlet will soon be off the press and available for all who speak the language. Watch the Militant for further announcements on this extraordinary pamphlet.

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Strike Ranks Firm New Mills Close

(Continued from Page 1)

"Reds", urges the local unions to weed out the "Communists" immediately and offer cooperation to the National Guard in pursuit of the "aliens". Bosses and strikebreaking governors thrive on such statements.

In the South, late reports coming through tell of National Guardsmen bayonetting five strikers and using tear gas to disperse a picket line of 500 at Burlington, North Carolina.

Everywhere National Guards are brought into action against the strike which started with the naive statements of union officials that this was not a "strike against the government".

Certainly, it is not. The strike is not against the government, but the government is clearly against the strike.

Who Owns this Country

(Continued from Page 1)

national guard bayonet.

Today, more and more does the worker begin to see that the law of the state is for the boss class, that the militia of the government is the weapon of the boss class in breaking strikes and preventing picketing. Today, the worker no longer fears or respects the forces of the bosses' "law and order". Today we hear the workers shouting on the picket lines, "Get the Militia!"

The trend the recent strike wave has taken will have no small part in making the workers of the country see that a gulf as wide as the ocean separates them from the bosses. Every major strike has brought out the national guard, the state militia. In fighting the troops, far more than by merely fighting the hired deputized thugs, are the workers beginning to see that behind the government stands the mill owner, the steamship company or the millionaire trucker.

The trend the recent strike wave is bringing from the text books down to the very factory that all important lesson for the working class: this is a class government, one that is run by the capitalists against the workers. The request of Gorman for a strikers police has been received with the only reply that the bosses could give. "We rule this country, we own the mills, we control the police, we command the militia."

But the bayonet and the bullet are mighty teachers. The day is not far off when the working class will arise as one man, trained in the streets of Toledo, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Gastonia, Saylesville, and shant with one voice, "The lawful officers of the law are to be superseded by strikers' committees. This day we shall enforce a higher law, a 'law' of strikers made by strikers and for strikers."

According to Duranty's dispatch in the New York Times, "Radek hailed the abolition of RAPP last year as the beginning of a new era of comradely cooperation between the Russian Communist Party and the non-party intellectuals. So far as relations with the writers of the rest of the world were concerned, the majority of the best writers, faced by a choice between fascism and liberalism, were choosing liberalism. (A few months ago, the New Masses, Daily Worker, etc., were assuring us that almost all of them were choosing Communism.) Therefore, Radek went on to say, they should be encouraged (to do what? defend the democratic state against the Fascists? But this was Trotskyism?) and regarded as friends (of the Soviet Union at a distance or the proletarian revolution at home?), even though they are far from pure socialism. (Is Radek referring to the "pure socialism" of Wels, Bauer, Vanderveelde and Company or the impure "socialism in one country" of Stalin?) In short, he declared that in the struggle the world was now witnessing between progress and reaction, any fighter on the side of progress (!) was in

The Stalinists Turn to the Right In the Sphere of Literature

I. Radek Orders Right-About-Face

After its disastrous ultra-leftist course of the past few years, the Comintern is making an abrupt, and equally disastrous, swing toward the right. The united front "from below" has been abandoned for non-aggression pacts with the "Social-Fascist" leaders of the Second International. The "Social-Fascist" theory itself is being put into cold storage. The dual Red trade unions are either being dismantled, severing connections with the parent international of Red trade unions, or being merged with the reformist unions. Behind a barrage of radical bluster, the ultra-leftist policies of yesterday are being replaced by a totally new and opposite set of rightist policies, which can only prepare the Stalinist party for fresh capitulations tomorrow to the trade union reformists, the imperialist agents, and Social-Democratic betrayers on the order of the period from 1923 to 1925.

In the light of this new orientation toward the right, Joseph Freeman's article in the September 11 issue of the party-controlled New Masses has more significance than its title, "Ivory Towers, White and Red", or its place of publication, indicates. Particularly, since it appears so soon after Radek's speech to the Soviet All-Union Congress of Writers on "Contemporary World Literature and the Problems of Proletarian Art", which laid down the new Stalinist line toward the fellow-travellers.

"Fighters for Progress"

Freeman is the C. P. spokesman to the intellectuals in this country, occupying a parallel position to that of Radek on the incomparably lower level of the American party. He announces the new policy toward fellow-travellers in an altogether different manner and medium. He has no national platform from which he can lay down the party line to the assembled representatives of the intellectuals and issue the latest commandments of the bureaucracy. He must be more circumspect and cautious. Consequently, he chooses a peripheral party organ in which to make the announcement and encloses it in a wrapping of historical reminiscences about the old and new Masses, of apologies for the unproductiveness of the party intellectuals, and praises for the practical labors of the Old Bolsheviks among the intellectuals. The whole article is couched in the form of a reply to certain complaints and criticisms voiced against the Stalinist critics by the novelist, Albert Halper.

After winding our way through various bypaths, we finally come to the core of the article in the third section, called "Old Solutions and New Problems". Here is the news. "The most significant change

a sense an ally of the U.S.S.R."

(Emphasis ours.)

Here we have the essence of the new turn in all its nakedness. The "Social-Fascist" enemies of yesterday are the allies and bosom companions of today, in cultural as well as in the political and trade union fields. They are, like the Anglo-French imperialist bloc of the League of Nations, fighters on the side of progress against reaction, and, "in a sense", allies of the U.S.S.R. But, in what sense, for what purposes, under what conditions, and for how long, Radek fails to inform us. Duranty records the protest of certain Left Communists against this extension of the united front to "all fighters on the side of progress" without making any distinction between "true proletarian writers" and "bourgeois or semi-bourgeois writers." After making membership in the Rapp and a complete acceptance of the Stalinist line elsewhere and throughout the world, the political prerequisite for cooperation with the intellectuals, the Stalinist now demands nothing more than expressions of sympathy for the Soviet Union and the C. P. program, no matter how insincere and empty they may be. Duranty, sagely concludes his dispatch with the remark that both Radek and the Kremlin realize that "the day of undiluted propaganda" has passed. And truly, Radek's vague formulation of the new policy toward sympathetic intellectuals contains not a tincture of Marxism.

2. Carte Blanche to Communists

Freeman is the C. P. spokesman to the intellectuals in this country, occupying a parallel position to that of Radek on the incomparably lower level of the American party. He announces the new policy toward fellow-travellers in an altogether different manner and medium. He has no national platform from which he can lay down the party line to the assembled representatives of the intellectuals and issue the latest commandments of the bureaucracy. He must be more circumspect and cautious. Consequently, he chooses a peripheral party organ in which to make the announcement and encloses it in a wrapping of historical reminiscences about the old and new Masses, of apologies for the unproductiveness of the party intellectuals, and praises for the practical labors of the Old Bolsheviks among the intellectuals. The whole article is couched in the form of a reply to certain complaints and criticisms voiced against the Stalinist critics by the novelist, Albert Halper.

After winding our way through various bypaths, we finally come to the core of the article in the third section, called "Old Solutions and New Problems". Here is the news. "The most significant change

of recent months in our literary movement is that it has abandoned its sectarian attitude. As recently as last year, it was easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a 'fence-sitter' to appear in the pages of the Communist press. The 'line' was jealously guarded. Now the opposite is true. Anyone has only to declare himself a 'fence-sitter' and he is embraced with open arms; our press is his and he can say anything he likes, however remote it is from revolutionary thought." (Emphasis ours.)

Could anyone wish for a clearer, more candid, and bare-faced statement of the new Stalinist policy vis-a-vis the intellectuals? Here is an open invitation to all the chronic vacillators to stay fixed in their present positions, to all the false, fair-weather friends of the Soviet Union to express their sympathy with the aims of Communism without assuming any responsibility or practical work in the revolutionary movement, to all the journalistic adventurers, literary careerists, and Stalinist liberals to make use of the party press for their private purposes. Are we about to see birth of a brood of Stalinist Mugwumps among the intellectual "fence-sitters", divided, wavering personalities with their mugs on one side of the fence and their "wumps" on the other? Hail to the new Stalinist comrade-in-arms, Mr. Facing-Both-Ways!

After letting the cat out of the bag, we must credit Freeman with trying to cover up his tracks. He immediately attempts to modify this shameless surrender to a "liberal" policy (in more senses than one) by asserting that it must be accompanied by an extensive Communist education of the fence-sitting fellow-travellers. A few paragraphs later, he nullifies this by making certain unnamed newcomers among the party critics (not by any means the self-sacrificing Old Guard among the intellectuals that he leads) "take the RAPP" for having been too severe with the "timid fence-sitters" in the past.

Freeman concludes with a ringing call to the fellow-travellers for "mutual criticism that is severe, just, objective, free of the stultifying traditions of the bohemian cliques, directed not by personal spleen but by a high regard for the aspirations and efforts of the movement as a whole, and by a revolutionary understanding of the world which Communism seeks to transform." This somewhat belated invitation should be welcomed by the 25 intellectuals who signed the protest against the party's actions in the Madison Square Garden affair, which the Daily Worker attempted to answer but refused to print and whose challenge to debate on the issue of the united

front was ignored by the editors of the New Masses! What can such intellectuals think of a party which heaps the filthiest abuse upon them for daring to question the Stalinist policy—and then adopts their recommendations a few months later? How sincerely can such a party ask for "severe, just, and objective mutual criticism"?

3. The Peculiar Mode of the Announcement

Why has the Stalinist party chosen this particular method of announcing the new turn to the right? The answer lies in the social composition and bureaucratic character of the American party. The American C. P. has, like all its international counterparts, a completely bureaucratic head, and, in addition, a petty-bourgeois body and a small proletarian tail. As a result, an increasingly greater amount of the party's activities take place on the cultural, intellectual, and professional fronts. The bureaucratic character of its top leadership demands that the party line and leadership be considered correct and unquestionable yesterday, today and forever. To announce openly a complete right about face on the political and trade union field would ruin this carefully fostered reputation for papal infallibility.

Therefore, instead of making a direct announcement of the change to their followers among the working class, or in the official party press, it is less dangerous to release the news to the fellow travellers in an apparently casual, unrelated, and non-political article published in a peripheral journal. And who can do the job better than that Artful Dodger among the left-wing intellectuals, Joseph Freeman?

"The old ivory towers are down," he proclaims, "so are the red ivory towers which sectarianism built. Revolutionary literature and criticism are now out in the open world of living America." Can he possibly mean to imply that, so far as the fellow-travellers are concerned, revolutionary literature and criticism are now out? —R. M.

Vicious Paterson Injunction

(Continued from Page 1)

run into the hundreds and never a peep out of the judiciary.

Moreover, look at the conditions of the Paterson dye workers. They speak mountains in testimony as to how punctiliously the bosses have cut under the agreement.

Place the injunction on the side of the other weapons of the bosses in the class war and you'll get a clear picture of what the Paterson slave decree means.

The textile workers are too militant to be cowed by deputies or school boy National Guards. Woonsocket, Gastonia and Saylesville showed that.

"Why not try to scare them by a judges order", the bosses are thinking, "tell them we'll put them all behind bars if they dare strike."

It won't work, Messrs. dye-house bosses! You can't put 20,000 fighting workers in the cooler.

Your gunmen couldn't stop the strike with all their bullets and gas and neither will your injunction!

Arms Inquiry too Hot for State Dep't

(Continued from Page 1)

morality or immorality of Du Pont's business but whether the "impartial", "international" arms ring will lose money if the odor of the investigation gets too obnoxious.

Remember the outcry in the press about the rape of China by Japan! Well, that was only for public consumption. All this time the Du Ponts were selling a secret hydrogen process to Japan and bribing Chinese generals in order to sell them munitions.

The proposal to sell the hydrogen process by the Du Ponts to Mitsui was made known to the State Department it developed in the investigation.

Here is another reason for the gagging of the disclosures. The State Department is knee-deep, no doubt, in all the so-called scandals of the munitions makers. Unquestionably its hands are dripping with the blood of workers on the soil of a half dozen foreign countries.

"Too warm?" The state department has burned its hands and wants the heat turned off!

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The Truth About the Morro Castle Fire

(Continued from Page 1)

wooden, elaborately carved fixtures, permitted a rapid spread of the fire once it started. Far from being the fire-proof floating castle it was advertised to be, the Morro Castle was a fire-trap.

The officers of the Morro Castle appeared more intent on saving salvage money than in preserving the safety of passengers or crew. While Acting Captain Warns was engrossed in the problem of putting out the fire, and of beaching without towing charge, passengers and crew were alike neglected, to make their way to safety as best they could.

Fire Alarm Unheard

If the fire alarm was sounded, none of the passengers who have so far reported to the press or the inquiry board could remember being awakened by it. Either it rung weakly, or not at all. (One of the crew reported it rang, but he thought it was an alarm clock.) No one remembers hearing an order to lower the boats, which swung a half hour from the davits, flush with the deck—waiting for what? No one appears to have organized the crew to awaken passengers, to guide them to the boats, to see that they were provided with life preservers. The officers were too busy fighting the fire to bother with S.O.S. or life-saving.

Taking them on their own word, a half hour elapsed before the S.O.S. was sent, or before the boats were lowered, without orders and without passengers. For the latter the crew is blamed. With what reason?

The chief indictment against the crew is that the lifeboats that were lowered contained few or no passengers. The implication is that the crew speeded away, pulling for shore without attempting to rescue passengers on deck, or already foundering in the water around the ship. Let us consider the circumstances.

By all evidence, the fire had already swept the amidships beyond hope of reaching anyone entrapped there before the boats were lowered. Most of the passengers had already leaped overboard out of hysteria, or because they were otherwise helplessly trapped. There is no record that any were denied

admittance into the life saving boats either from deck or in water. The boats, as a matter of fact, pulled for shore half empty.

But once the boats were in the water, surely the crew might have rowed around in an effort to save those struggling in the water. But consider again. It was a pitch black night save for the light furnished by the blazing ship. Rain was falling, adding further to the darkness and obscurity, and the high waves rendered it further difficult to see or distinguish floating objects. Most of the people in the water had drifted far from the ship. And where were the officers to give directions to the oarsmen, to lead in the rescue work?

Aid for All

Under these circumstances, the crew pulled for shore. There is not a single testimony to the effect that those in the water were seen by the crew, cried for help, and were denied admittance into the boats. Each survivor testified to the contrary, that he drifted or swam in darkness and isolation until he was picked up by rescue boats or made his way unaided to shore. Such passengers as did make their way to the rescue boats had no difficulty in entering, and were rowed safely to land.

The fault then lay in the organization, or lack of organization of rescue work by the officers. Was it not their duty to see that the passengers were put into the boats, before all else, and rowed out of danger? Has anyone testified that there was any effort on their part to do so? No, a few of the crew, on their individual responsibility, went to the aid of the passengers, broke into the cabins with axes, led the passengers to deck. But for the most part, the crew was as helpless and as undirected as the passengers.

There remains the charge of incendiary origin of the blaze, and the half-veiled insinuations against Alagna, the radio operator, labor organizer.

Where Did It Start?

Where did the fire originate? Apparently in the library, a strange place to be selected by a "wild-eyed, bomb-throwing agitator", supposedly a member of the crew. A strange place, too, for a dock laborer to gain admittance. And

we select one significant circumstance out of the many that have arisen during the investigation. Newspaper men visited the Oriente, sister ship of the Morro Castle, when she docked. The Oriente is constructed exactly like the Morro Castle. It contains a closet in the library where there was a closet on the sister ship. From this point on the Morro Castle the fire is believed to have originated.

It was at once suspected that this closet might have contained inflammatory materials, cleaning fluids or the like. But when the reporters opened the closet of the Oriente, it was not only bare, but there was strong odor of soap, as if it had been thoroughly scrubbed before the inspection. It had not been emptied and scrubbed without reason. Of that we may be sure. Here, perhaps, lies the real clue to the mystery, the cause of the rapid spread of the blaze—if, indeed, it spread as rapidly as the officers would like us to believe.

Rogers' Testimony

As for the dark hints about Alagna. The testimony at this point of Chief Operator Rogers: "There was a strike on board of the radio personnel. Alagna and the third officer, Barrow at that time, went down to the officers' mess and tried to instigate a riot by making up a petition that the food on the Morro Castle was very poor, and when the officers and other licensed men down there refused to sign it, Alagna and Barrow called them a bunch of yellow dogs."

Q. "How do you know?"
A. "Captain Willmott told me the whole story before his death. The whole thing culminated in New York when the radio officers called a strike for better living quarters and more wages, waiting for the last minute before the Morro Castle signed before they abandoned the ship. It was held up a couple of hours."

"It was a mail ship and there was quite a lot of excitement about them holding up the crack Ward liner. Finally a special agreement with the three men on the Morro Castle was signed by the company and they went back to work."
"Then, when Mr. Barrow got drunk in Havana, he was dis-

charged in New York. The Radio-marine Corporation sent me aboard because they expected the other two radio officers would be fired."

Follows Rogers' admissions that Alagna gave him no trouble. Nevertheless, after several peaceful trips the Captain called him (Rogers) aside, to talk to him "man to man". The upshot of this conversation was that Rogers learned that Alagna was a dangerous agitator and was to be fired when the ship reached port.

All this was disclosed only when Alagna gave a story to the press, charging (and Rogers substantiated this story) that he had visited the bridge to try to get an O.K. on a S.O.S. order, and had been unable to obtain it. Alagna returned to the radio cabin following his fruitless mission, stuck, with the chief operator to the last, pulled him unconscious out of the blazing fire trap, and led him to safety on the forecastle.

The scurvy attempts to implicate this man in the blame for the Morro Castle disaster will not succeed. His conduct has been too exemplary. But meanwhile, the workers must raise his bail. It is criminal that he should be held in custody while the craven and trembling tools of the bosses are free.

And a real investigation must be conducted into the blaze on the Morro Castle, and into the responsibility of the shipowners for the terrific loss of life.

These questions, that will not be asked by the Board of Inquiry, are questions to which workers must force an answer:

What are the wages paid by the Ward Line to its seamen, and what are the working conditions aboard Ward Line ships? How many A.B. seamen were among the crew?

Why, in the light of what actually happened, was the Ward Line permitted to advertise its vessel as fire proof? What is the truth about the much advertised safety devices?

What instructions does the Ward Line issue to its chief officers as to salvage and the sending of S.O.S. signals?

Why is the Ward Line permitted to control the testimony of officers and crew, and why is Alagna, who would not fall into line, being held like a criminal? Why was his bail raised from \$1,000 to \$3,000 following disclosures that he had tried to organize labor aboard the Morro Castle?