

UNITE

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<u>
HEMILITANT</u>

# New Trends In the Trade **Union Movement**

There is an unmistakable trend actions of this powerful opposition in the trade unions today which delegation culminated in the conforeshadows the tempestuous de-vention adopting the following provelopments to come. It is shown in gram:

its boldest outline in the steel work- 1. Immediate presentation of deers' union and came particularly to mands to the Steel Companies for the fore at the recent convention. Union Recognition and a substan-The rank and file delegates deliv- tial wage increase.

2. To give a ten day ultimatum ered some severe blows to the president, old "Grandmother" Tighe, to the trust, with preparations for and rode rough shod, breaking down a general strike if the demands are all the fences he had so carefully not granted. built up. The trend is shown in For good measure the delegates

the newly constituted federal un-decided to set up a special convenions organized in several of the tion committee to be in charge of mass production industries where the "offensive action". This drew a struggle is beginning for a status of industrial unionism. It was shown in the automobile workers situation, where at one time Collins had to wield his gavel heavily to prevent a representative delegate conference from taking strike action for union recognition. Yes, also, the change of front of the railroad union executives in actually presenting demands to the carriers, re-

the workers.

Leaders Under Fire

sense the quickening tempo. Some ingly about 70 members and symthe impact and fear themselves rid- ters of the Italian Spartacus Working the whirlwind. Others are try-lers League on May Day, formed a ing to adjust at least their language line and marched to the starting to the pressure from the workers. point of the demonstration in Union All of them are endeavoring with Park, headed by the red flag and might and main to hold back and to keep the movement within safe channels behind Roosevelt and the New Deal.

Coshochton, Ohio, were he used to in front of us. Suddenly, while we started. teach Sunday school, released a May were waiting to start, a Stalinist Day forecast in which he says: "Labor believes that notwithstand- Youth Club member and tore down ing this refusal a concentrated drive the banner of the Spartacus Youth should be made to compel, through League. He did not however escape the use of forceful methods if nec-unpunished and that discouraged essary, an immediate reduction in the Stalinists from trying a second the hours of labor. There is no time at that point. other remedy available."

Of course, he has said that be fore. We do not harbor any illu-cordon of Stalinists and joined the sions that he, or any of the others main body of the parade. Everyare becoming militant. Not at all. Grant Park where the demonstra-But the truth is that they all find tion was to wind up. There, took themselves confronting new condi-place a most dastardly attack upon tions.

New Forces in the Unions

youth who were delivered to the Hitler police by the Dutch Gov-(Continued on page 4) ernment.



# Stalinists Celebrate May Day by Hooligan Attack on International Communists in Parade

Chicago.—The Stalinist-controlled The "Leader" of the Hooligans flects the pressure upon them from May Day demonstration being the The leader of the gang, character-

only one held in Chicago, the stically enough, was Jack Spiegel. League decided to participate in it, The high-priced labor leaders in spite of the two rebuffs. Accorddisappearing, and leaving his followers at the mercy of the police machine guns. The same hero was under appropriate banners.

A Hooligan Attack As soon as we took our places in Bill Green, who is still a deacon mediately tried to isolate us from

> In Grant Park, he again distinghooligan jumped upon a Spartacus uished himself by performing the function of an agent provacateur who starts a fight in order to give

the police a chance to intervene And yet he is no mere rank and filer of the C. P .--- quite the contrary, he is a leader of one of the When the demonstration finally

sections of the party. Before the demonstration was in exalted positions of leadership, thing went well until we reached the victims of a cowardly attack, Communists.

Thus, May Day has come and us by an organized gang of Stalin- gone in the city that gave birth to

ists. New forces in large numbers are Grant Park was full of police and martyrs gave teir lives fighting for coming into the unions. They are detectives. They stood about in the 8-hour day and the right to free mainly proletarians from mass pro- large groups everywhere. Sudden- speech by labor. May Day, 1934, duction and hasic industries They only provided the Stalinists with

Young Socialists and Spartacus Youth Sponsor United Front

BULLETIN

against war and Fascism and for

the release of the four German

New York City-The youth con-|for the defense of the four deported ference initiated by the Spartacus German youth on April 7th, neither The National Committee of the Youth Clubs and the Young Peoples organization sent delegates or re-Spartacus Youth Clubs and the socialist League in this city for a plied to the invitation. The S.Y.C.s National Committee of the Young demonstration on May 30th against made a motion that the incoming Peoples Socialist League have war and Fascism, for the release of executive committee of the Conferagreed to sponsor local united the four deported German youth, ence propose to the Stalinist confront movements for May 30th in and to protest the beatings and ar-ference of May 13th a joint comrest of Yipsels on last May 30th by mittee for the preparation of a city, lays a mighty power. Not a ration of the people, we have a Philadelphia, Chicago, Kansas City and Los Angeles. The demthe American Legionaries, unani- common demonstration on May 30th onstrations on that day will be

> erence of the Youth Section of the jectives. League Against War and Fascism **Yipsel Amendment** Stalinist controlled) for common The Yipsels introduced an amend

action on that day. The objectives ment which stated that the condiof the conference were broadened tions for the united front with the to include a protest against the Stalinists are: 1) their, support of naval maneuveurs in New York City the struggle for the freedom of the on May 31st and in solidarity with four deported German youth, and the persecuted Cuban students. 2) the repudiation by the Y.C.L. of

These decisions were adopted af-ter thorough discussions in which izations which signed the protest PocketbookUnion all the representatives partook. The petition on the four German youth

organizations attending, in addition sponsored by the Non-Partisan Lao the sponsoring groups, were the bor Defense Committee. The sec-Student League for Industrial De- ond section of the amendment was mocracy, the Youth Committee sharply criticized by the delegates manager of the union, and a part- been enrolled. They have not mere-Against Fascism (Socialist), the of the S.Y.C.s as an ultimatum ner in the firm of M. White and Co. by joined the union. With the lead-This loathsome creature has built Vanguard Jrs., the youth group of which would be a serious obstacle up quite a reputation for himself the Communist League of Struggle, in the road toward a genuine unit-back into the union at a general Organization Committee they have bý leading a group of C. P. members the Young Communist Léague (Op- ed front. After a heated discussion membership meeting, Tuesday, May grouped themselves along seven of them are already hit squarely by pathizers gathered at the headquar-and sympathizers into a police trap position), and Pioneer Youth. The and a recess for consultation, the Stuyvesant High School. main lines, according to type of in Melrose Park three years ago, National Student League had two Yipsels withdrew their amendment This was done through a coup d'etat job, and have set up committees to observers present.

**Discussion at the Conference** consider the Y.C.L.'s acceptance of ministration. The NSLers launched into an at- our proposal for the united front one of the leaders of the Stalinist tack on the conference as planning as an implicit repudiation of the mob that attempted to break up a rival demonstration to that of I.L.D. slanders. The Spartacus del-Comrade Swabeck's meeting last the Young Communist League's Na- egates made a statement welcoming tions with the manufacturers for a ers set themselves to serious tasks. November. At that time he also tional Youth Day. They proposed this action and adding that it also new agreement in place of the old The monumental detail work turned the 9th division, the Stalinists im- gave a demonstration of his great that the conference dissolve and the would draw the same conclusion if courage by being the first to run constituent organizations attend the the Stalinist youth accept our proin the Baptist church of his native the main body by placing a cordon downstairs as soon as the fight Stalinist youth conference of May posals.

13th. The Lovestoneites-Y. C. L. The original motion for common, (O) .- sharply criticized the Yipsels action with the May 13th Conferand Spartacus Youth for "the fac-lence was accepted unanimously. tional way in which the conference An executive committee consisting was organized". of one representative from each of

The delegates of the Spartacus the organizations present was con-Youth Clubs, Manny Garrett and stituted. The Conference elected Joe Carter, replied to both the Ben Fischer of the Yipsels and NSLers and the Lovestoneites by Manny Garrett of the Spartacus stating that their organization had Youth Clubs as chairman and seceen and was in favor of common retary respectively of the executive supporters of the Wolinsky gang. action of all radical youth groups. committee.

over, the Left Poale Zion were also It was pointed out that both the This is a big step toward real Young Communist League and the united front of the youth. The re- group, led off the fight against the the data' 'it can't be done!" Today being mistaken for International National Student League had been action of the Stalinists is yet to be Joint Council recommendation by a invited to the national conference seen.



proved.

ison Square, and has been since

The most significant happening on

May Day, the big "lift" in both

demonstrations, was the greeting

the League marchers received from

the militant Socialist youth. As the

League group, carrying revolution-

arv banners and shouting revolu-

tionary slogans, marched past the

speakers' stand in Madison Square,

there was general applause. But

the young Socialists, massed in uni-

form around the stand, raised

clenched fists in greeting, and the

It was a vote of confidence in hon-

Square rang with their call:

Long live the United Front!

442 against.

# Minneapolis Union **Prepares** ForAction

Three Thousand Transport Workers Organize Forces to Fight For Demands

Minneapolis-In the hands of the and important strata of workers men who drive the trucks and vans, who store, preserve and warehouse the delivery equipment of a modern the food that constitutes the daily whit less important or powerful are group of workers whose social imnously decided to approach the con- along the lines of the accepted ob- the men who transport and serve portance is enormous.

the gasoline and oil which makes That these workers, in the gasothis vast industry a living thing. line stations and in the warehouses, Taken together with that numerous on the Market, in the paper trade,



in the food stores as well as the helpers and drivers of the trucks in Wolinsky Gang the various lines, have now realized the strategic position they hold is

Workers Flock to Union

During the past several weeks The notorious Wolinsky who was these workers have streamed, by the forced out of the Pocket-book Mak- hundreds, into General Drivers Uners' Union in 1925 while he was ion No. 574. More than 3,000 have at the same time, has been ushered ership of a capable and experienced with the statement that they will that was staged by the present ad carry on the detail work. These rank and file committees have func-At this meeting the Joint Council tioned with whirlwind speed. They of the union was supposed to bring have acted with the dispatch evia report on the pending negotia- dent everywhere when serious workone expiring in June. Instead, the out, the research work accom-

whole meeting was confined to the plished, under severly adverse con-Wolinsky issue. The Joint Council ditions, the precise schedules drawn report was confined to one point up, the manifold demands formulatpresented to the membership: the ed in conjunction with the continuelection of the Conference Commit-lous organization campaign carried on at ALL times, will stand as a tee to meet with the bosses. **Reactionary Elements** 

monument to the union loyalty and sincerity of the workers who have The Conference Committee, as taken the lead.

recommended by the Joint Council, And, by the same token, they will consisted in its entirety of the most also stand as an accomplishment reactionary elements in the union, that gives the sharp and proper an-David Meyer, a Socialist and one swer to the contented labor officialof the leaders of the Progressive dom who sat back in their chairs motion to reject it. After Meyer, largest and by far the most impor-Block and Rothman of the rank and tant union in the city. It numbers May-Day—the greatest May Day appeals of the Stalinist press, was in the history of New York City—attracted no working-class groups while the Wolinsky supporters spoke

representing its lowest layers.

skilled crafts. Concessions could be lums. wrung from the employers for this privileged section on the basis of and on a low standard of living. These concessions became the breedthe instruments to keep the rest of 100% walkout. these union officials.

the Stalinist gang made its atlook upon the unions as instruments tack, tearing down banners and another opportunity to reveal themlook upon the unions as instruments tack, tearing down banners and another opportunity to reveal them-of struggle and as means of pro-slugging right and left. In the brief selves as a reactionary force in the by the two huge demonstrations-Madison Square. tecting their interest. They mean space that the fight lasted, our com- labor movement. But May Day, to use them for this purpose. They rades gave a good account of them- 1934, also disclosed something new, other at Union Square rark, the bring forward the basic interest of selves but quickly withdrew at the something of vital importance. to the class as a whole, themselves sight of the police rushing to inter- the workers of Chicago—the crysvene. Had the police planted their talization and growth of a group of mere-

We are no longer in the condi-agent provocateurs in the Stalinist International Communists-small in tions of the past where the most ranks to furnish them with an ex-size as yet, but determined in its powerful unions concerned them- cuse to intervene and break up the effort to build the forces for a new, marched in the two demonstrations selves almost purely with the in-demonstration, they could not have genuinely revolutionary party that terests of privileged sections of done better than the Stalinist hood- will lead the workers to victory.

May Day Labor Conference, and the and united action. other called by the "United Front" ---SATIR. conference of the Stalinists. The lines of march ran parallel, circling

keeping the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled without organization Dental Mechanics Strike at Baltimore the center of Manhattan, and never met. Both parades were orderly and disciplined; each raised separ-

Baltimore-The first strike of the broken off several times, with the ately and challengingly—as if they were rival slogans-the call for a ing ground for bribery, graft and dental mechanics ever to take place bosses refusing to come to terms. corruption amongst the officials. in Baltimore was called on April 12, The men held solid and, although united front against Fascism. The Communist League of Amer-The exclusive craft unions became 1934. The response was almost **a** entirely inexperienced and with **a** very small treasury at their com- ica marched with the Socialists, the working class in subjection. Before many days had passed the mand, continued the strike for fif- trade unions, and other organiza-Now new problems begin to face local bosses were reinforced by the teen days. At that time the danger tions in a united front that excluded

national organization of the bosses. that work was leaving the city, per- only the Stalinist organization and The convention of the Amalgam- This turned the strike into far haps never to return, and the im- lits sympathizers - to Madison ated Association of Iron Steel and more than an event of only local possibility to get relief brought Square. It marched under its own banners, it had its own speakers, it Tin Workers is a good example of importance. The National Associa-about the necessity for a comprothese new problems. The union has tion of the bosses was determined mise. The union voted on a second introduced revolutionary slogans. It witnessed a considerable influx of to stop the spread of the union agreement and unanimously agreed gained thereby in prestige among new members, rising from practi- which had already brought about to it. the workers; it proved thereby that

cally nothing to what, in the vari-agreements in New York and Philous estimates, range between a adelphia.

membership of 50,000 and 100,000. Labor Board Steps In Its president. Mike Tighe, counted Early in the days of the strike, marks a distinct step forward. demonstration was a typical Stal- lest revolutionaries. It was a chal-

friends amongst the owners of the bor Board. It is quite clear that (through firing, indefinite layoff, and theologians. It was a united alike, who are splitting the working the struggle. The Progressive group from the decisions that come this was done because the union etc.) without dealing with the com- front of Browder, Minor and Hath-

**Partial Victory for Union** 

That agreement, while by no

means getting the original demands.

Hence, the new fury of the Stal- groups and all the progressive ele- upon the workers' organizations. It **Rank and File Revolts** had by this time become a recog- mittee elected by the membership away with such "non-party" ele-To his consternation at the con- nized force in the industry. The to represent them in any grievance ments as William Patterson, of the inist attacks upon the League; the ments to save the union. The rule can be made strong by an alert and vention the rank and file delegates Labor Boards had shown no such against the boss. Other gains, such "non-partisan" I.L.D., and Jack Daily Worker post-May Day editor- of Wolinsky means a reign of terbegan to take charge. First they interest in New York or Philadel- as an almost universal 10% in-Stachel, of the "non-partisan" T.U. ial: "These are not oppositions to ror against the best elements in the FIGHTING policy. overruled his ideas, that delegates phia in the attempts of the union crease, etc. were won. coming from local lodges who had to call to task the violaters of the what is most important is that rallied the Stalinist controlled ingclass to be destroyed." The all the democratic rights of the wince the union occupy a not paid their per capita tax be miserable code brought forth by the the strike, under the guidance of unions, Stalinist-controlled "mass" Stalinists fear and hate the growing members. It means, in a word, the strategic position in industry. They cause of unemployment due to black-listing of union members should not solve brought total by the back of and its pro-listing of union members should not solve brought total by the back of and its pro-listing of union members should not solve brought total by the back of and bac convention from the disgrace of group and interfered with the plans lesson of their need for organiza- full strength of the official Party. ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILIimperative for the mobilization of polis, is one of central importance. TANTS-ONE CENT PER COPY. the workers for the coming struggle Far too little aid, to say nothing of listening to "puddler" Jim Davis of the union to approach the bosses tion. That lesson is the surest But that is all. (the senator from Pennsylvania) individually. guarantee of a strong union for the To this Stalinist "united front", to improve their conditions. and forced him off the floor. The Negotiations were opened up and future. despite the tricky and emotional JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE. -A POCKET-BOOK MAKER.

it was prepared to support in action

its own doctrine of a united front.

The Union Square parade and

More



Who is just returning from a two and a half months tour from coast to coast, studying conditions first hand. He will deal particularly with the ferment among the American workers and the sentiment for a New Party and a Fourth International.

Friday, May 18th, 1934 - 8 p.m. **IRVING PLAZA HALL** 15th St. and Irving Place

platform men etc.—in short, those is not too long past for discussion not already under the Staliinst one after another. workers who are daily connected The administration as a whole with the machinery of street transclimaxed its manoeuvers to usher in The alternative, therefore, was Wolinsky with a letter from Wol portation and delivery.

Coal Yard Workers in Vanguard rejected by the League as no alter- insky which they read to the mem-That the coal yard workers are members of this union needs menthe Socialists and trade unions-tended that he wants no paid job tion only for the benefit of those social reformist groups, it is true, in the union, that he merely wished than 150,000 workers but containing thousands of work- to offer his services as an adviser in workers who do not live in Minneaers headed leftwards, and quickly the present difficult situation and polis. For the benefit of workers -the one under the auspices of the responsive to appeals for militant in the negotiations. The manager in other sections we make a note. of the union himself, in a demago- The present sweeping campaign of This, the League holds, was a gic speech, said nothing in opposi- organization was planned and true united front tactic. This was tion to Wolinsky, keeping in mind launched by the coal yard workers, a correct revolutionary policy. Its his own hide when Wolinsky is these same loyal workers are again giving the best they have to the strength was demonstrated at Mad-back in the union. union. It goes without saying that

When the composition of the Conthey have been reinforced by a verference Committee came before the itable army of eager and militant membership for a vote, the adminworkers from all of the other secistration tellers counted 616 votes tions. These new workers not only in their favor and 359 against. The next move was a motion to give the supplement the older and more ex-Conference Committee full power to perienced workers, but take responsible posts and leading roles in make Wolinsky its legal adviser. the general work. After a heated discussion, this mo-

The agitation and organizational tion too was voted, the Administrawork spreads out, in the hands of tion counting a victory for itself. The vote according to the announce- these willing workers, with more ment was 572 for this proposal, and and more efficiency and, for the bosses, with terrifying speed.

Role of Labor Board

**Progressive Forces Divided** The Labor Boards, when they act While both the Progressive group and the Rank and File group fought at all, shuffle back and forth beagainst Wolinsky's return to the tween the bosses' and the workers' leadership of the union-and this spokesmen. They stand between, is what his "advisory" capacity will they talk of 'peaceful' settlements. and always relied upon his good a representative of the National La-friends amongst the owners of the bor Board. It is quite clear that (through firing, indefinite layoff, and theologians. It was a united alike, who are splitting the working the united for the owners of the bor Board. It is quite clear that the usual firing indefinite layoff, and theologians. It was a united alike, who are splitting the working the united for the owners of the bor Board. It is quite clear that the usual firing indefinite layoff, and theologians. It was a united alike, who are splitting the working the united for the owners of the bor Board. It is quite clear that the usual firing indefinite layoff, and theologians. It was a united alike who are splitting the working the united for the owners of the bor Board.

consideration, has been given to

(Continued on Page 4)



Not the workers, but the imperial- of the harvest means that tens of er. Failure to seize it will mean, jor part of the parade to Union Davenport, Ia.---Comrade Shacht-Square, and the organized trade un- man's meeting in Davenport was a ist-bourgeois reaction ousted Grau thousands of workers will again be not the step-by-step reaction of ion movement which dominated the huge success in spite of the vicious and replaced his vacillating regime thrown out of the process of pro- Mendieta, but the bloody heel of Madison Square parade, we chose drive the Stalinites made to prevent with the black puppet act of Men- duction with no prospect whatever military dictatorship.

it from being held. The Unity Cen-dieta-Batista. Mendieta was far of working again until the late fall Whether the workers will be able As for "class enemies to be de-ter Hall which we had engaged and from the bourgeoisie's ideal of a of the year! The convocation of to maintain power is another quesstroyed" we have heard that before paid for a month in advance of the "strong man to deal with the situa- the Constituent Assembly has been tion. No one can give an answe

tion", that is put down the workers postponed untl some time before the to that question now. That depends reformist and other working class but a few days before Comrade with blood and iron. He began by end of the year, the exact date has on many things; principally on the to take hold among our members, organizations against Fascism. We Shachtman's meeting through the returning the electric company not been set. And the liberties of world situation. If we are to as-friends and sympathizers. During plant to its owners and sending the workers and their organizations sume the victorious sweep of Fas- the month of March a total of \$39

soldiers to force them to work. The have been curtailed. workers responded with a hunger Perspective of Struggles working class for the INTERNA- days were spent looking for a hall. strike. Other workers threatened to

The approach of the end of the come out in sympathy. Mendieta harvest raises the perspective of decreed all strikes illegal in the further struggles by the workers. Browders, so much the worse for ting out of leaflets and other ad-light, water, telephone, telegraph Already there are signs of the comvertising, notifying comrades and and other services. The workers responded by calling strikes for the

realigion is the opium of the Both local papers refused to give on the third of February Mendieta row ther will be the stage on the third of February Mendieta row ther will be the stage of the Unit. New York's churches will give an notice that the meeting was cancel- by the return of the electric plant cial tone to the music of the class

idea of the miserable opium dished led at their hall. When the Stalin- and the strike 'might contribute to struggle. Strikes are again beginning to plague the government. We

Advance of Reaction But there was no party to give bean speed and fury these storms ternal situation in the United proposed "Rogation Days" as a sub- inites phoned one of our comrades leadership to the workers and the come up. Mendieta hopes to lull the States. The great wave of strikes stitute for farm relief. "The drud- calling her vile names, telling her favorable moment passed. Step by storm by a few "reforms" which which are impending in this coungery of American farm life would that if we went through with the step the reaction has advanced with settle nothing and by the extradi- try will not be without its effect be relieved by processions going meeting they would bring forces the harvest driving the workers at tion and trial of Machado!

**Democrate Demands** 

and praying for a fruitful season bring this on ourselves by expound- securing their organizations. Thus struggles take? Will they confine in weakening the imperialist colos-

ing Trotsky theories in this city. the Havana Federation of Labor themselves to the demands for the sus. But there is no mistaking the But the comrades went right on which was under the joint influence improvement of conditions, the rumbling of the volcano which may "Real freedom is the ability to move with their preparations for the meet- of anarcho-syndicalists and the shortening of hours, increases in burst with tremendous shocks to without hindrance in our proper ing, also calling on friends and sym- Bolshevik-Leninists passed over to wages, the discharge of an offensive capitalist terrain. Will they develspheres". (The worker free to move pathizers to help defend their meet the side of the latter and was illeg-police official? Or will they take op in a revolutionary direction?

Militant should try hard to distri- over wider sections of these opwithin the sphere of his wage-slav- ing. I n spite of the sabotage of the alized by Mendieta. Other organ- place under political slogans? Will Will we succeed in arousing the but of the Manifesto 50 copies will pressed masses. Faced with this be sent postpaid for 25c. Order danger the bourgeoisie must resort ery, and the boss free to roam the Stalinites and the local press we izations too have suffered a like the workers demand nationalization workers of Latin America? On the and control That depends on whe- answer to that question which will St., N. Y. C. Rev. J. Herbert McConnell: "A The meeting was just started But the question is not yet set- ther the workers assimilate the les- be given in the fire of the class

# THE MILITANT

ployed, members and former mem

PLEDGE FUND

The pledge fund idea is beginning

Get your pledge card today.

We are not printing the names

—A RAIL.

Entered as a second class mail conducted by the Post. the vision of the crucified Saviour. plea of unemployed, but when that the bourgeoisie is two parts the guard capable of helping them learn. swer to the question of whether the matter November 28, 1928, at the der the act of March 3, 1879. Published Weekly by the Communist League of America 126 East 16th Street, New York, N.Y. Phone: Grammercy 5.9524 Vol. VII, No 19, (Whole No. 223) SATURDAY, MAY 12, 1934 EDITORIAL BOARD

> Arne Swabeck Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year 75c for six months.

Bundie rates one cont per on

bers, of the Railroad Brotherhoods. Nazi candidates was to be voided, large majorities in various localities, as reported by the National Zeitung of Essen, voted against the Nazis.

for anybody other than the listed

But the ballots are merely voided! Having no independent organizations ready to enforce their expressed will, this protest of the German workers remains impotent! Had they fought, arms in hand, for the existence of their parties and trade unions, the enemy, the capitalists, would today be impotent, not the workers.

#### . . . . The New York Post and the Middle

#### Class

vantages for the labor and revolu- many of them, for obvious reasons, The bought defenders of the captionary movements everywhere that cannot have their names appear in italist system, which category inmust ensue, then we can hold forth our paper. However, each month cludes the bourgeois press, are well a more encouraging perspective for we will print the names of those aware that the big bourgeoisie rule who have no objections, and a total only with the aid of the petty bour-

figure for the others. At present geoisie, including the farmers. Genwe have 64 individual pledgers. erally content to follow in the wake We wish to take this opportunity of the big finance capitalists, so to publicly thank these pledgers for long as things run smoothly, the enabling us to extend the Club Plan middle class becomes disoriented sub drive for another 1,000 new the moment a crisis supervenes. readers, and so enable workers to Faced with ruin and pauperization, read the Militant who cannot af- witnessing the obvious anarchy and chaos of capitalist production, those classes immediately above the pro-Manifestoes for the FOURTH IN- letariat are subjected to a process TERNATIONAL out. 500 copies of radicalization during a crisis. \$1.00 plus postage. Cash must ac- It then becomes possible for a wisecompany order. Readers of the ly led and united proletariat to win

from Pioneer Publishers, 84 E. 10th to new means, "left" methods of canalizing the anger and protest of this necessary ally. Hence the series of muckraking campaigns

Of course workers picked up and Post Office at New York, N. Y. Un- misled in this process will do no harm either. Thus we see a camnaign on Firetrap Tenements and on Milk Prices. Also campaigns on banking and finance scandals and now on the Mortgage racket. But when it comes to war the "pacifist" Post leads its deluded readers to believe that it is only the European countries that are imperialist rivals of Japan in the East. not goodhearted America. The problem of

\$0.50 per half year - Canada winning the middle class is vital and Foreign: \$1.50 per year; and must not be left to the paid demagogs of capitalism.

-JACK WEBER.

The world must accept the Commun-failed they tried to heckle an old failure of the workers to advance From this point of view the situa- Cuban workers who may seize powion Cup to bring peace among the Socialist into using his influence to on the road of decisive struggles tion is promising. The influence of er will be able to hold it. We are get them in. But they got let down and two parts the armed might of Stalinism has been weakened both not clairvoyants but we reject with Rev. Dr. Christian F. Reisner: in that quarter. Then they began the United States military forces, ideologically and organizationally contempt the "perspectives" of



If today it is necessary-and it of the workers, of the entire pop-

shall be put forth. In other words, that the Bolshevik-Leninists of

-T. STAMM.

clude religion, but nothing is given not be healthy for them to start try. The quota assigned to Cuban to the Church that does real social trouble they left. One told us that sugar for export to its chief markmore would come back, but it was et, the United States, is still a lit- is necessary-to advance slogans ulation, of culture, and possibly, of Martin Abern James P. Cannon Rev. Dr. A. Edwin Keigwan: just bluff. Our young comrades the more than one third of the pro- for democratic demands, that does civilization itself, depends on our Max Shachtman Maurice Spector "Faith begins where science ends, were ready to defend their meeting ductive capacity of the island's not yet by itself indicate within success or failure in building the

had a good attendance.

meeting was taken away from us

But the young comrades of Dav-

sympathizsrs who had bought tick-

out to the church-goers in New ites learned we were going to hold the fall" of his government.

the meeting in spite of them they

and break it up, that we would the point of the bayonet and per-

fate.

so-called social agencies that ex- to get out. So seeing that it would and political problems of the coun- vik-Leninists is increasing.

miracle is wrought as one looks into when the Stalinites arrived. First tled. No decisive battles have been sons of the past period. And that struggle and in which we must have

the cup of communion for there is they tried to get in by the usual fought. The apparent strength of in turn on whether there is a van- an influence we will have our an-

where proof is wanting, where ar- Comrade Shachtman's talk on crops and its INDUSTRIAL-TECH- what framework these demands Fourth International. Let us hope gument falls flat". (In other words, War, Fascism or Communism? was NICAL organization. where knowledge, and intelligence well received. Questions and discus- No progress has been made in what is the perspective? We have Cuba at the head of the masses will ends, religion and ignorance begins.) sion followed.

izations which formed the m

We stand for the United Front with

are opposed to Stalinism and also

the Wickses and the Browders.

. . . .

out into the fields blessing the fields,

Rev. Dr. Charles D. Trexler:

are against National Socialism. We efforts of the Stalinists.

to sycophancy. We stand with the enport set to work. Two precious

TIONAL Revolution. If that makes At last we were successful in se-

us class enemies of the Wickses and curing one. Then they hurried get-

The very Reverend Milo Gates were wild. One of the women Stal-

the latter.

York.

as in Spain".

world at will.)

service".

nations and the peoples".

-BILL

-BETTY ROWLAND. age in Cuba of one million tons, grovellers before American imperi-

liquidating the huge surplus in stor- nothing in common with the craven ge forward to victory.

of the Cuban workers' state would this rate, the Militant will be well be pronounced. But if, on the con- on the way toward stabilization. trary, we envisage a victory in France where the workers can take cede the gale the students are now power, with the incalculable ad-of the individual pledgers because seventh of February. A general again in the center of the stage

on the Cuban workers. No one can What course will the workers' foretell how far the strikes will go

the Cuban revolution.

have already seen with what Carri- of the issue is the factor of the in-

More immediate to the resolution

Situation in U.S.

cist reaction over Europe with the was remitted by the pledgers. Dur-

strengthening of reaction in the ing April the total increased to \$55:

Western hemisphere then the doom If this fund continues to grow at

ford the full rates.

## SATURDAY, MAY 12, 1934

### THE MILITAN'T

PAGE 3

# Before the Socialist Party Convention

Editor's Note: This is the first imendous internal disruptions on the ternational congress of last year that is, in viewing the situation of a series of four articles by basis of the series of defeats suf- did not and could not settle the in- here, not as an isolated event, but and issues at the forthcoming later discussion. . . . .

convention of the Socialist Party. Roots in the International Situation acute form, so the coming conven-It is impossible to explain the tion of the American Socialist Party lowing the German events

The Socialist Party of America situation in the American Socialist will not settle the questions in diswill hold its annual convention in Party, the existence of such a var-pute. The situation in the Ameri-Detroit on June 1, 2 and 3. The iety of groups, with different views can Party is a reflection of the inentire Party is now engaged in pre- in. some respects and views that ternational situation. The left wing paring for this meet. Discussions coincide in others, without seeking groupings here are a part of the have already begun and groupings, its roots. The background of the international left wing groupings, taken shape. The membership is internal situation in the American all of them arising under the presin a state of agitation somewhat re- Party is the European situation sure of great European defeats. Irminiscent of the time when the first The defeat in Germany, carrying respective of the outcome of the

left wing struggle broke out. with it the destruction of the "dean" Detroit convention the main issues The present condition must na- of social democratic parties, brought that agitate the Socialist organizaturally be contrasted to the almost into existence an International tion today will continue until a def- tutelage over Germans living italist rule exists only in some of doubtedly due to the unevenness of this latter instance fascism acts as decade-long period in which the Congress (August 1933). At this inite solution, both politically and abroad. Socialist Party was a small ineffec congress, in spite of the endorse organizationally, of the questions of converting Germans abroad into a movement is making headway From such regulative principle, tual organization. Since the crisis, ment it gave to the policies and in dispute takes place.

however, it has grown steadily in activities of the Germany Party, Probing the Disputes influence and numbers, so that the there emerged a definite left wing Party approaches the convention point of view under the leadership vention cannot be held without con- which have been extended to Holl- democracy, France and England. correlation. This leads to isolated, economic reconstruction after the with a membership of over 25,000. of the Polish Bund. This point of sideration of:

In the "National Headquarters' view disassociated itself from the 1. The international congress of German ambassador and other herself from monarchy and military nomena and undermines the possi- alluring to the masses. Supplement" of the Milwaukee policies pursued by the German August 1933, in which the conflict prominent German officials. Under dictatorship is now the scene of bility for effective struggle against Leader of March 3rd, are published S. D. P. and the Labor and Social-between the Right represented by the cover of alleged charity the a thriving fascist movement. numerous resolutions on the lead-ist International (2nd) which was the German leaders and the interna- German representatives have coming questions facing the Party: a- dominated by the German Party. tional "Old Guard" on the one hand piled extensive lists of Nazis and United States. Here, not only are Declaration of Principles; b-Na- While the left wing received but and the left wing led by the Polish Nazi sympathizers. tional Recovery Administration; eighteen out of three hundred votes Bund (supported by a majority of The German Consulates are also among the Germans and Italians the light of the experiences of the talist state power to interfere in

c-Labor Unions; d-Agriculture; cast at the August, 1933 Interna- the American delegation!) on the in possession of the names of all growing but an indigenous variety last decade and the present situa- the economic life of the country. e-the United Front; f-Socialist tional Congress, since then it has other, broke out in sharp form over German residents in Holland who as well. The Silver Shirts Legion tion. Press; g-Socialist Tactics; h-grown everywhere. The Austrian the fundamental questions raised in voted for Hitler on November 12, is the outstanding organization and International Relations, Fascism, situation also acted as an impelling connection with the most decisive 1933. Those who oppose Hitlerism according to all reports is growing Democracy, etc.

damental questions, a series of dif-as an international grouping dis-many; ferent viewpoints are presented as associating itself from the whole 2. The international groupings of from official German sources bear the crassest reactionary Right Wing Austrian events, demanding a com-Left, including also a tendency fav-oring adherence to the movement Just as the decisions of the in-The forthcoming articles will Nazi commissary for Holland, and misleading.

for the Fourth International.

Groupings in the Party

The emergence of definite left wing groupings in the American Socialist Party may be received by the Militants, the "Chicago Left alive. Wing" (Senior and Krueger), The ultra-reactionaries of the Forward Abe ("Hear the Other Side") Cahan, the Old Guard, the Wisconsin Organization (Hoan), and those who follow and support the position of the Polish Bund. In any case, there is variety.

of the disputes over these two fun-

# LOUIS FISHER SLAYS "TROTSKYISM" AGAIN In a recent issue of the Nation, |Fischer, "but he did not suppose | from Stalin's Problems of Leninism

What Stalin Once Wrote

examination of the pre-convention added article, invokes the death of tained". Quite so! And in so think- (unexpurgated): What Staling essary to convince one of this fact. "Trotskyism" for the hundredth ing, he was in full agreement not Thus one sees the following groups and tendencies preparing to do battle for their respective points of much to the dismay of its oppon-lited world-wide economy, regulated the for their respective points of ents. The reactionary capitalist according to a general plan by the economittee (patterned after the committee of the same name in the British Independent Labor Party), alive. ism.

Mr. Fischer, like most Stalinist I would seriously recommend to scribes, does not feel impelled to Mr. Fischer, and to the American Association under the leadership of substantiate his "arguments" against Stalinists whose history begins with Trotsky by any facts, but resurrects the year 1924, that they devote a the old fiction manufactured by little time to the study of the A.B.C. Manuilsky & Co. of Communism from Bukharin's and

Mr. Fischer's chapter in the in- Preobrozhensky's text-book which ternational campaign of calumny was formerly the official handbook and falsification starts off with the of the Workers School. "The Com-What are the chief points of thesis that Rakovsky's recantation munist revolution", says the book

struggle? First and foremost is the spells the death of "Trotskyism". "can be victorious only as a world principled question of: Reform ver- His whole argument revolves revolution. . . ." Since 1924, howsus Revolution. Allied with this around this axis. As if the capitule ever, the history of the party has and flowing out of it is the question fundamental principles of that in a book edited and with an in-

deal first with the Congress of the L. S. I. held in August 1933, the present situation in the L. S. I., and, finally, the situation in America. Only on this basis is it possible to understand what is taking place in the American Socialist Party and orientate oneself to that situation-

but has only raised them in a more ternational Congress and the discussion that took place therein fol-

---ALBERT GLOTZER.

Nazis Exploit Winter Help

Nazidom seems to be convinced that the Dutch authorities will in capitalist world.

no way interfere with its assumed Another efficient method the European countries; fascism as capitalist development.

docile instruments of the Hitler dic. everywhere and particularly in however, the conclusion is one that industry according to plan has tatorship is the Winter Help and those countries that have long been emphasizes fascism as a national formed an important section of the A discussion of the coming con- other alleged charity institutions considered as models of capitalist problem without its international fascist programs. The promise of and under the protectorate of the Spain which but yesterday freed national appraisals of fascist phe assumption of power has been very

victory of German fascism has

them. It is not much different in the

force on the left wing in all coun-levent since the Russian Revolution are blackmailed, threatened and and expanding rapidly. Its pro-lits appearance and existence in under one unified administration. With respect to the decisive fun- tries. The left wing takes shape — the victory of Fascism in Ger- often exposed to denunciations. gram and agitation mimic those of each country is a variation of this To achieve this the class-struggle

Petitions and circulars emanating the Nazis in many details.

discussion. These views vary from to and through the German and of these tendencies in America; and consular representatives, of the Amsterdam local of the German fecting world capitalism which can tion to the general laws of capital-

but by no means least, of one Witte, propaganda abroad are deliberately created by it are in a state of gen pirations of fascism, the final ac-

The development of fascism has | It has been held by Marxian, ings of the inner contradictions of today become a central question of theoreticians, since fascism ap- capitalism. The resulting chaos Comrade Glotzer on the groupings fered by it. This we leave for a ternational situation in the L.S.I., as the logical sequence to the In- world politics. Viewed from a peared as a political phenomenon, compels sections of the most deterworld standpoint the ebb and flow that its growth parallels the growth mined and militant among the capof fascism has varied inversely of the revolutionary movement and italists to seek out a mass base to with the ebb and flow of the world that its triumph comes about only support the struggle for the estabrevolution. The appearance of because the proletariat is sufficient-lishment of a more adequate form Italian fascism on the historic hor-ly strong to threaten the further of class rule. If the working class izon has not only marked the en-existence of capitalism. The truth in any given country is not suffitrance of a period of political re- of this formula is unassailable if ciently strong, politically and oraction but has given definite char- we view it from a world stand-ganizationally, to overpower these acteristics to the whole epoch. The point. However, whatever atten- forces of reaction-a fascist dictation has been centered on this ques- torship will follow. Fascism may strengthened and accelerated the tion has been approached from the then come in a particular country, tempo of fascization throughout the application of the formula to the though the working class does not particular country under consideral seriously threaten to establish its While fascism as a form of cap- tion. This approach has been unlown class rule at the moment. In

World Revolution or World

Fascism

a "preventive" for the revolution. The question of reorganization of

The characteristic form of economic organization introduced by It has now become necessary to fascism is, as we have seen, the coclarify and bring up-to-date our operative state. This is the logical the transplanted fascist movements theoretical evaluation of fascism in outcome of all tendencies of capi-It is the classic aim of fascism to evolve a state rule representing the If fascism is, as we have concluded, a universal manifestation, fusion of politics and economics larger concept. It advances or re has to be abolished and a prolonged cedes, therefore, because of certain peaceful development take place. ist development in the epoch of imeral collapse because of the work- complishment is easily predictable.

Of immediate concern to us, however, is the question of whether a program of state capitalism pursued in a democratic country facilitates the advent of fascism. Our thesis, as we shall see, holds this to be the case.

Let us consider recent developments in our country. The Roosevelt regime as soon as it took over Recovery Act, the main part of this "New Deal", was passed only as a temporary, emergency measure. To-That this is not just "front" for day, neither friend nor foe questions and regulation of industry. The codes granted possess sweeping po-

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, an agency of the government, which was set up even before the "New Deal", has been President Roosevelt's perspicacity granted authority to loan directly in realizing not only the useless- to industry. No less significant is ness of continued struggle with us the systematic buying up of shares,

is a painful piece of work explain- tion at the International Economing why Europe looks "so dark and ic Conference in Geneva in May, "To overthrow the power of the beyond hope". Mr. Fischer knows 1927, which enunciated the idea bourgeoisie and establish the full well that the responsibility for that the two opposing forms of power of the proletariat in one this state of affairs rests largely on society could live together in the helm introduced the "New country, does not mean to guaranthe nationalistic policy of the Stal- peace and cooperation. On all Deal". The National Industrial tee the complete victory of socialinist bureaucracy. That is why the recent occasions Soviet spokesmen "Comintern is a dismal failure". | have emphasized the same propoism. The chief task of socialism,

the organization of socialist pro-The position of the International sition". duction-lies still ahead. Can Communist League (Left Opposithis task be accomplished? Is it possible to attain the final victory of socialism in one country, without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries? No, it is not. The efforts of one country are enough tionary internationalism. History chamber of Commerce): for the overthrow of the bourgeoihas stripped the Stalinist Internasie—this is what the history of tional of its last claim to the conour revolution tells us. For the final victory of socialism, for the stands exposed today as a brake on organization of socialist producthe revolutionary movement.

## "Trotsky's World Revolution"

bourgeoisie".

In September, 1932, Mr. Fischer wrote an article in Current History "Trotsky's World Revolution"

This however did not prevent the

on these world-shaking events? It | ment officially proposed a resolu-

tion) has been strikingly confirmed the benefit of the capitalists but an the permanency of the NRA set-ups. in the most critical events of the integral part of the new philosophy The government not only organizes past decade. And no Stalinist apol- of the Soviet bureaucracy is indi- and strengthens associations of the ogist can white wash the treacher- cated in a speech made by Litvinoff various branches of industry, but ous nationalistic role of the Com- before the Central Executive Com- participates itself to an ever in-

intern to make it appear as revolu- mittee of the Soviet Union (not a creasing extent in the management "... my conversations with President Roosevelt convinced us lice powers. fidence of the working class. It both of the absolute possibility of

the closest relations and cooperation for peace by our two countries. One cannot but admire

the basis for the pre-convention course of the L. S. I. pursued up a left character and the reflection the signatures of diplomatic and one Mannhardt the leader of the motivating, interacting factors af- As this stands in violent contradic-



communism), there has logically as unshaken as ever. struggle against War, Labor Party, has given us the clue. Soviet Union, and a whole series of

other questions are in dispute. **Basis Causes of the Groupings** 

The situation in the Socialist member of the inner Bolshevik Party belies the Stalinist position on Social Democracy. They have and continue to regard the social democracy as on solid, immovable that Trotsky too was in the pay "social fascist mass" incapable of of the capitalists. Yaraslovsky did moving in the direction of communism. A Marxist approach to the question will demonstrate at once that conditions which made possible the emergence of an international left wing in Social Democracy during the war years, resulting in the creation of the Communist International on the basis of the old, re-mildly. It is to be wondered that cur once more in different form.

not more of the thousands of exiled Outstanding victories of the pro- and persecuted Bolshevik-Leinnists letariat (the Russian Revolution) isolated from any contact with are not the only motive forces of world historic forces, systematicalthe international working class. ly misinformed and deceived, not Major defeats likewise prove to be only as to the activities of Trotsky, influences upon the workers' move- but also about the tremendous ment, pushing it in one direction or world-shaking events of the last another. Thus if the Russian Rev-decade, have not also lost their olution had the effect of finally bearings. In view of these factors, breaking off large sections of social Rakovsky's capitulation is but a democracy already dissatisfied with hollow victory by which no clear the banner of Kautsky, Bauer, sighted revolutionist will be misled. Scheideman, et al, and pushing them Let us now examine some of Mr. in the direction of Communism and Fischer's "arguments". "Trotsky" the banner of Marxism, there is no says Mr. Fischer, ". . . believed the reason why a catastrophic defeat, New Economic PoMcy would bring such as took place in Germany back capitalism". Where he even (and followed in Austria) should got this information is not indicat not bring about similar movements. ed, but you may be sure it did not The defeats in Germany and Au- come from Trotsky. Search as you stria demonstrated the bankruptcy may, in Trotsky's writings you will of Social Democracy and Stalinism. not be able to find such a state

These two events are responsible ment. Following this, Mr. Fischer for the movements within the So- contradicts his own statement by party view on the question of build- As Mr. Fischer puts it: cial Democratic parties the world saying that Trotsky was "one of ing socialism in one country from over. The specific political and or- the first to suggest the New Eco- the mouths of the official spokesganizational conditions associated nomic Policy". Yes, Mr. Fischer, man of the Comintern-up to the with the Social Democratic move- and you can even go further. Trot- Stalinist epoch. Similar views by ment explain why it is going sky was the first one to suggest it, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, etc., are through another internal upheaval; fully a year before its adoption. "Socialism in One Country" and similar reasons, from another point of view, explain why Stalin-

movement. History can not be troduction by Lenin. Stepanovdamental questions of Marxism over written so simply. The socialist Skvortzov wrote: "The proletariat which the workers movement has and communist movement has been of Russia never thought of creating already split into well defined pock-marked with desertions, yet an isolated socialist state. A selfgroupings (social democracy and the principles of communism remain sufficient 'socialist' State is a pettybourgeois ideal. A certain approach developed differences on all phases Causes of Rakovsky's Capitulation to this is thinkable with an econo

of work engaged in by the Socialist If Mr. Fischer wants to find out mic and political preponderance of Party. The questions of Trade Un- the real meaning and cause of Ra- the petty-bourgeoisie; in isolation ion work, the United Front, The kovsky's capitulation, he himself from the outside world it seeks a means of consolidating its economic

> "At a recent party conference in Eastern Siberia," writes Mr. Fischer, "Emilian Yaraslovsky, a

smirched is beneath contempt."

into very unstable forms". Trotsky's Position circle, spoke of the counter-revo-What are Trotsky's views on this lutionaries hired by the bourgeoinuestion? sie, and the delegates remarked "Socialism", says T, "is the organization of a planned and harmonious social production for the not have the courage to deny this satisfaction of human wants. Colinfamous accusation. His failure lective ownership of the means of to do so was beneath contempt, production is not yet socialism, as Stalin's effort to rewrite Sovbut only its legal premise. The iet history so that Trotsky's role either disappears or becomes be-

problem of a socialist society cannot be abstracted from the problem of the productive forces, Yes, and this is but' putting it which at the present state of human development are world-wide in their very essence. The separate state, having become too narrow for capitalism, is so much the less capable of becoming the arena of a finished socialist society. The backwardness of a revolutionary country, moreover, increases for it the danger of being thrown back to capitalism. In rejecting the perspective of an isolated socialist development, the Bolsheviks had in view, not a mechanically isolated problem of intervention, but the whole complex of questions bound up with the international economic basis of socialism. . . . Starting from the world-wide division of labor, the task of socialism is to carry the international exchange of goods

and services to its highest devel-

opment".

I have attempted here to give the

and beyond hope as at the present time. Yet Communism makes no headway. The Comintern is a dismal failure."

all included in the history of the party-up to 1924. It will only be thought and study to the problem "Trotsky advocated industrializa- necessary for me to close this phase Why hasn't he devoted a little space ism, momentarily, ids such tre tion on a vast sacle", continues of the discussion with a quotation to the position of the "Trotskyists" co-existence. The Soviet Govern-

proletarians of several advanced countries.... Such in general are the characteristic features of the Leniuist theory of the proletarian what he says: revolution".

tion, the efforts of one country, es-

pecially a peasant country like

Russia, are not enough for this

we must have the efforts of the

#### \* \* \* \* Industrialiation

We will come back to this point shortly. For the moment let us proceed to Mr. Fischer's next point. Accepting wholeheartedly the canforms, which are converted by the ards of the Stalin school he goes on to say that ". . . collectivization new technique and the new economy never present itself to him (Trotsky) as a major solution (?)".

One might suppose that after making a categorical statement

ike this he would at least mention when or where this was true. But no, the readers of the Nation are left high and dry, for there is no accompanying explanation. What all right. are Trotsky's views on this quesshafts are aimed against Stalin

tion? "The proletariat", writes T, "cannot create a new society without bringing the peasantry to socialism through a series of transitional stages, the peasantry being a considerable in a number of countries a predominantpart of the population, and a known majority on the earth as a whole. (Does this sound like underestimating the peasantry?) The solution of this most difficult of all problems depends in the last analysis upon the quantitative and qualitative correlations between industry and agriculture. The peasantry will the more voluntarily and successfully take the road of collectivization, the more generously the town is able to fertilize their economy and their culture".

Who Killed the Comintern?

Mr. Fischer conveniently limits length so that there will not be any nis remarks to the Soviet Union, question of misstatement and mis-It is indeed very disquieting to interpretation. And since he so think of the events which have led well bears out the claims of the to the catastrophic defeats of the Bolshevik-Leninists as to the revis-

working class throughout the world. | ionist policies of the Comintern, I will, at the risk of being tedious, "Europe never looked so dark conclude with a few choice excerpts from his article in Current History. There is no better way to refute the insidious nationalistic propaganda of the Stalinist hirelings than with

Has Mr. Fischer given some the words from their own mouths. "Since 1927 Stalin has defended the thesis of capitalist-Communist in Germany?

There he endeavored to compare Trotsky's views on the world situfor the sake of America's national ation with those of Stalin. Here is interests but for the cause of country. peace".

"In German Trotsky urges a bloc between Communists and Social Democrats to fight fascism. Moscow declares, however, that this is menshevism (sic!), an old Trotskyist malady (!), and that since the Social Democrats had supported the former Bruening Government, alliance with them ly interested in peace! would bolster up the German

Close-up of Stalinism Mr. Fischer continues: "At the end of the second Five-

Comintern from supporting the Year Plan in 1937. according to plebiscite in 1931 in which the Ger sanguine Bolshevist (?) claims man Communists voted with the socialism will have been establish-Hitlerites. That united front was ed in Russia (!), despite the persistance of capitalism everywhere "Trotsky's most poisonous else. The Russian Communists

therefore, are devoting themselves for his role in the Chinese revoluto the tasks at home. They are tion of 1924-1927 and in the presmore introverted than ever beent German crisis. Trotsky mainfore Foreign politics interests tains that Stalin's policy in China them largely as a means of neuwas not an accident and not a tralizing outside hostility and of mere mistake, but an inevitable obtaining credits. Anything that result of his rejection of the docmay interfere seriously with domtrine of Permanent Revolution. estic improvement is avoided. The acceptance of that theory, The Bolsheviki would say that Trotsky insists, would have precapitalists will do more than vented Stalin from supposing that the communists to undermine capa successful socialist revolution italism. Today, despite the unicould have issued from a union versal depression, they view the between the petty-bourgeois Kouworld scene soberly (!) and, mintang and the workers and while discerning a gradual shift peasants, in which the Kouminto the left, are skeptical about a tang was the dominating influence. red uprising, even in Germany, Trotsky above all, criticizes the not to speak of other countries. Comintern for restraining the German Communist party from ists in the Soviet Union behave if decisive revolutionary action." revolution were imminent in some important country? What if Ger-

Propaganda of the Hirelings

I have quoted Mr. Fischer at many or France or Japan were on the very threshold of a national social upheaval? The historical precident is Germany in 1923. The Reich had been impoverished by inflation. Bread riots had occurred in numerous cities. The the Comintern helped them. But

Stalin said: 'In my opinion we must restrain the Germans and not encourage them'." Is it any wonder then that Hitler-

in the name of capitalism but the by this institution, of the nation's value of relations with us not only largest banks; until now it owns 25% of the banking stock of the

In so far as labor is concerned. It is only because Lenin is pinned government policy is striking out under a mausoleum and Trotsky new paths. Whereas in the past exiled that they dare mouth such the traditional policy of the governvicious, reactionary views. And to ment, if indeed there was one, favthink that these statements are ored labor organizations of the broadcast throughout the world to craft or horizontal type-now the delude the workers into believing tendency is to favor organizations that the capitalist nations are real-that will encompass whole industries and manufacturing enterprises. Here the National and Regional

Labor Boards play supervisory and executive roles that are bound to assume greater authority as time goes on.

The government's support of the A. F. of L. in preference to company unions is not due to its desire to promote independent labor action. On the contrary, it is due to a desire to take labor out of control of the thousands of business and industrial , enterprises and centralize this control within the A. F. of L. in order to curb strikes and eventually more serious class action on the part of the workers.

And so, without a fascist government in the United States and within the framework of the democratic apparatus, state capitalism and the features of a cooperative state are making their appearance. That the taking of power by fascism is made easier by such development. there is no doubt.

When democracy finally breaks down, fascism will be the only road . . But how would the Commun. for the capitalsts, no matter what their present democratic asseverations may be. When such time comes, will the workers be prepared to make a bid for power? And yet. the only way to stop fascism is the united action of the proletariat leadng immediately to the proletarian revolution.

It will be one of the first tasks of the new international revolution-German Communists were plan- ary leadership to organize the dening an uprising. With one hand cisive fight against the encroachment of world fascism. At the outset it will have to distinguish its Marxian methods from those of the hysterical Stalinists. Only the slogan of World Revolution can reism and not Communism triumphed arm the workers with the necessary

weapon to stay the advance of fas--J. W. cism. -JOSEPH S. GIGANTL.

#### PAGE 4

### THE MILITANT

the rank and file.

# The Imperialist Conflicts Over the Chinese Markets

White supremacy in the Orient is economic contradictions that na-The U.S. and England again being seriously challenged. tional internal reorganization was To some this implies a united This tme it is not the workers of supposed to have modified, if not front of the United States and Eng- the militant currents become streng- and rotten-ripe for revolutionary advances, the prothe world who are demanding eliminated altogether. The only land against Japan. But in reality thened. Already today these new letarian movement of the world staggers under the "Hands Off China", in the interest stage that can follow this under a trade war by England aimed at mass numbers in the unions are in blows of catastrophic defeats. This state of affairs, of the Chinese Revolution. Now it capitalism is the stage of open Japan, which gains the support of the position of defending the unions, for which Stalinism and Social Democracy bear the is Japanese imperialism which is armed conflict expressed in imper- the Empire, will at the same time of fighting for their recognition and joint responsibility, has induced the deepest crisis demanding that the American and ialist wars and civil wars between become an intensified force against of driving them into action on a the labor movement of the world has ever known. British imperialism check their ag- classes.

gressive action in the Chinese markthrough imperialist spokesmen.

Japanese Foreign Office which was which will defend the U.S.S.R. much closer. the unofficial announcement of of- against imperialist attacks. icy of "America for the Americans"

is a good policy for Asia. knew that this meant the establish States and Great Britain. ment of a protectorate over China. Japan did not succeed in 1915, and all indications are that she has not

afterwards. The Struggle for China perialist powers, to say nothing of tion of the war clouds which in- of death.

ers and peasants, has been the conmony in Europe, and, in turn, in the not let go of China and retreat. face. The moves and preparations colonial countries as the outcome of Diplomatic retreats will only cloak of American imperialism in the race other 1,000 new readers was ex-

around the struggle for domination Orient. of Asia.

U. S. imperialism won its position Japan seeks a broad Asiatic base as perialists to take more drastic steps perialist power aiming to dominate "organizing the world" to her own and Japan. It has reached the point economic needs will receive a blow liking. America's attempt to organize the enly and bluntly speak of a trade from.

world presses heavily upon Great war with Japan. Britain, Japan, France and Germany in all parts of the world. At present it finds one of its main fo-

ets. China, the main country con- cerned in this struggle in the Ori- tensify the antagonisms and, unless cerned, has little or nothing to say ent are: Japan, the United States agreements and concessions between instituted by the NRA. The trends and must continue to play the role and Great Britain as the main im- British and American imperialism which are now in the making point distintegration of the old organizations, on the one of expressing her bourgeois needs perialist contenders; the oppressed can be arranged, it will result in an toward a new stage of militant hand and—since the class struggle is not suspended millions of China; the Soviet Union extension of the trade war to new unionism.

The declaration of Amau of the and the proletariat of the world heights and bring the war just that This increasing war danger and

ficial action taken two months prior The pressure of the crisis of growing reaction in Europe will Minneapolis Union in communications to China, was world economy upon Japan was al- tighten the grip of world economy followed up by government declar- most as great as that which effect- around Soviet economy. With Stalation which affirmed the Japanese ed Germany before Hitler took pow- in at the helm, the Soviet Union policy of the "Monroe Doctrine" for er. But Japan was faced with a will undoubtedly give more conces-Asia. Japan, the leading imperial- more favorable capitalist variant sions to world imperialism. The ist power in Asia, long ago decided and found an outlet in the armed American imperialist recognition of that the American imperialist pol- invasion and further conquest of the Soviet Union, which was Japan was forced to intensify her alded by the Pravda as a big step in the way.

In 1915, when Japanese imperial-trade war with the other imperial- to further world peace, was in realism endeavored to impose the twen- ist powers and has successfully in- ity a strategic move in the war prety-one demands upon China, while vaded and challenged the Western parations of America, aimed on the gaged in armed conflict, everyone inroads in strongholds of the United Germany and on the other hand stone for the trade union structure against aggressive Japanese imper- as a whole. This corner stone is

#### ialism in the Orient. **Enlarging the Contradictions**

Upset "Balance of Power" Japan's way out of the crisis and The successful invasion of China succeeded this time. But Japan is the contradictions of world economy by Japan and the victory of Fasin a far more-favorable position is proving no more successful than cism in Germany upset the "balnow to continue her Manchurian the way attempted by Germany or ance of power", both in the Orient policy of acting first and speaking any other imperialist power. Jap- and in Europe, and called for a an's way out has accomplished in regrouping of forces in preparation

the Far East what Germany's way for the coming war. Of course it The struggle for domination over out is accomplishing in Europe. It also called for increased arma-China, which can only be accom- is extending and enlarging the con- ments, a mad race of imperialism plished at the expense of other im-tradiction and causing a concentra-for war supplies and instruments

the interests of the Chinese work- evitably lead to war. The position of the United States Therefore, China, as the most im- in regard to Japan was as firm as sistent policy of Japanese and other portant market for Japan, as well the position taken by England, but imperialist powers. While the main as for the other imperialists, is at could be presented in a different strategy of American and European the same time the base for Japanese fashion. The battle of diplomacy imperialist powers, for domination war supplies in the struggle against over China is only a spark of what and markets, revolved around hege- Western Imperialism. Japan can- is really going on under the sur-

domination on the continent, the economic and military advances and for the Chinese markets, and other tended at the request of several of main strategy of Japanese imperial- preparations for Japan's defense of markets Japan is invading, are layour branches. It is being conducted ism for the whole century revolved her "rights" to domination in the ing the basis for a gigantic explo- for the express purpose of enabling sion.

as clearly as do the American im- Latin America, and her strategic that this low rate does not cover bankruptcy of both the Second and the Third Interof domination in Americas as the perialists. But England does not position in relation to decadent the cost of production. We are able nationals-and the fundamental problem of the broader base of operations for the hold the same favorable world po- Europe, make it necessary to chal- to do this only through the help epoch—the reassembling of the revolutionary vanstruggle to place Europe on rations. sition. This forces the British im- lenge the Japanese or any other im- of the Pledgers. her first step in an attempt to pre- at once which are resulting in a the Orient. Otherwise, America's not know how this Club plan works objective circumstances highly favorable for revoluvent American imperialism from gigantic trade war between England desire to organize the world for her we wish to explain: where British diplomacy must op- which it will be difficult to recover \$1.00 paid in advance. Each card down, the organizations they directed were inade-

burse yourself for the outlay. New Trends In the Trade Unions

their great illusions about the NRA. The International Position of the They propose in the main to rely upon the power of their organization. In this they press the union officials for action. They put the officials to the test and the failure to head their demands will be clear-ly demonstrated before the eyes of ly demonstrated before the eyes of

On the one hand preparation is

In an objective situation marked by the manifest made for many of them to be swept into discard. On the other hand, decay of capitalism as a social and economic system, the American imperialists in their large scale against the leaders who Great organizations, resting on the support of millions The main contending forces con- search for markets. This will in- yield to the company unions and of workers, have been put to the historic test and

accept the class collaboration basis proved completely bankrupt. What else could result from such catastrophe but for a single day-new ferment, critical analysis and the search for new paths on the other? One of the -ARNE SWABECK. expressions of this search for a new road, and a most

significant one, too, it must be said, is the emergence of the Revolutionary Policy Committee of the Socialist Party with its straight-out challenge to the policy Prepares For Action of social reformism.

#### WHICH WAY FOR THE R.P.C.

(Continued from page 1) Will it carry out this challenge to the end? That Local 574, by the other unions. remains to be seen. The program, as it now stands, With one or two notable exceptions. the officials fo the other unions act incomplete in some respects and wrongly formulated China. With this military strategy cloaked as a peace move and her- as though the General Drivers were in others, does not of itself give a definite answer to Tis attitude must be changed. It ation are developed to their logical conclusion, and

is a menace to the whole labor the program is rounded out accordingly, the R.P.C. movement. The General Drivers can undoubtedly become a rallying center for the robbers on every continent, making one hand against the new Hitler can and must be made the corner revolutionary socialist workers, and especially the

Failing to adopt these amendments and corrections not yet in place. The entire work- in time, the Revolutionary Policy Committee will be ers movement will see to this job likely to sink into the morass of centrism. That is, and bring the unions into action to serve as a force to head off the revolutionary trend in the party and help to bolster up the tottering

this end. structure of Social Democracy, hopelessly discredited The General Drivers Union is faced with a vast problem, faced on a world scale, decaying with the decay of capiwith a real struggle. Not a workers talism which it has served, and organically incapable organization, not a single worker, of regeneration.

We hope for the former outcome of this promising will hold back. Strike with united development in the S. P. Every revolutionist worthy forces. The trade unions as a unit of the name will be ready to aid such a development. At the same time, without casting the slightest doubt ---R. on the seriousness of the signers of the declaration, it is necessary to point out the danger of a different result and to show the source of this danger in the program as it now stands.

Nor is it altogether excluded that the R.P.C., or a part of it, in recoiling from social reformism, can even land in the blind alley of Stalinism, the accomplice of Social Democracy in the assassination of revolutions and the enthronement of Fascism. Against such a calamity, also, programmatic clarity is the first and most important preventive.

INTERNATIONALISM—PARAMOUNT QUESTION

Formal programs, however, are meaningless today workers who cannot afford the reg- unless they candidly face the determining feature of Great Britain sees this problem America's imperialist success in ular rates. It goes without saying the crisis in the labor movement of the world-the guard in a new organization, under a new banner. For the benefit of those who do The catastrophic defeats of the working class under tionary victories present a contradiction which means A club consists of four cards for one thing above all others: the leadership has broken

> s good for a six-month sub. The quate. idea is to buy four or more cards This is the crux of the whole question of the reand dispose of them later to reim-generation and revival of the revolutionary labor movement. Every party, group and current, now as in THE SECOND CLUB PLAN the period following the betrayal of the workers into DRIVE WILL TERMINATE AUG- the world war, is tested and its whole course is deter-

No, that is not possible. Whoever gives the workers such advice is no revolutionist at all. Whoever preaches the lie about the reform of the Second International makes himself its accomplice in the German and Austrian betrayals and prepares new Germanies and new Austrias.

This section of the program of the Revolutionary Policy Committee stands in irreconcilable contradiction to the other sections which challenge everything the Second International stands for and which it will continue to stand for in practice as long as it exists and pollutes the working class movement of the world. If the Revolutionary Policy Committee wishes to become a revolutionary force it should lose no time in demanding an immediate break with the Second International. Otherwise it will hopelessly discredit itself with the revolutionary workers in the Socialist Party and lose the possibility of regaining their confidence.

### A BAD "STRATEGY"

If the international relations section of the program of the R.P.C. is not seriously meant, if it is "strategy", then it must be said it is a bad strategy that works a double evil. If they want to make a revolutionary fight and carry it out to the end the most important thing is to attract the revolutionary socialist workers and give them a clear lead on the most important questions. Among these internationalism takes first place-a primary interest in internationalism is the first mark of the revolutionist. Serious revolutionary workers will never forgive those who play hide and seek with such a question.

On the other hand, a "strategic"-insincere-declaration for the reform of the Second International can defeat the aims of the genuinely revolutionary elements in the R.P.C. by converting the group into a shelter for centrists, that is, for the most dangerous enemies of a revolutionary policy at the present time, whose function is to blur the distinctions between revolution and reform and to blunt the edge of the revolutionary weapons.

#### THE ROLE OF CENTRISM

Pseudo-radicalism-centrism-represents in fact the predominating tendency in the parties of the Second International today. After the debacle of social reformism in Germany, followed by the Austrian tragedy, social reformism has been fearfully discredited. And the dismissal of the Social Democratic flunkeys in favor of Fascists in a number of countries has induced even the most incorrigible and loathsome traitors, including those who offered to "coordinate" themselves to the Hitler regime, to indulge in radical bluster. For example, the German Social Democratic Party now adopts a revolutionary program!

The new centrists declare for the most revolutionary principles, for "the dictatorship of the proletariat" or anything else you want, but on one condition: keep within the framework of the old Social Democratic parties and the Second International with all the scoundrels and traitors and King's Ministers and never do anything to carry out the "revolutionary" principles in action. (The Kantorovich group, now apparently fused with the "Militants", are representative of this centrist current in the United States.)

In this way the revolt of the socialist workers is curbed their revolutionary impulse for action is restrained, they are held in the strait-jacket of the old bankrupt organizations and the way is prepared for new betrayals and defeats.

### THE MARXIST FIGHT AGAINST CENTRISM

Under these new conditions in the labor movement the formal criticism of social reformism misses the mark. What is needed now, above all, is a Marxist fight against centrism and an exposure of its role.



The Club Plan Sub Drive for an-

must back this fight to victory.

cal points over the struggle for he-			mined by its approach to this question of internation-	For this, a formal program of general principles
gemony in China. It expresses it- (Continued from page 1)	locals proposed secession from the	BUY YOUR CARDS NOW!	alism.	along is inadequate—the centrists, hard pressed by
in opposition to Ianan's closed	A. F. of L. and found support from	The New Subs	It seems incredible that a group which denounces	the revolutionary sentiments of the masses, are very
a declaration from figue, that is	clocals in other parts of the country.		social reformism as a road that "led to death" in	apt to sign it! The formula for this fight, as for all
ignifies a lessening of the antagon- wasnes his hands of the whom	Danger of Premature Splits	Boston Branch 8 Cleveland, Brody 4	Germany should retain the slightest allegiance to the	the other fundamental problems of the time, is: The
sms to England.	In this action, however, there is	Chicogo Branch 19	International which led the socialist masses to defeat	struggle for the Fourth International!
The Chinese market, for all pur- Officials in a Dilemma	a great danger of a premature split	Minneapolis Br. 40	and death, not only in 1933 but before that in 1914,	The perfidious game of the centrists in the Social
	which can be isolated and led into	New Castle Br. 4	and which systematically betrayed them in all the	Democratic parties is facilitated for the moment by
ant conquest of the imperialist feat and nullify the convention ac	the void. The center of gravity of	Son Enonoiseo Dr. 4	years between. Surely, an analysis of the funda-	the circumstance that events which discredited the
eeds today. No one realizes this tion. Sell-outs are not merely	the trade union movement is still	St. Louis Br. 4	mental causes of the treacherous role of the Second	Social Democracy in a second historic test have re-
etter than Japanese imperialism. thing of the past but can be ex	within the A. F. of L. A continua-	Toronto Vouth Club A	International, and the declaration of an irrevocable	vealed also the complete bankruptcy of the Commu-
The steady encroachment of the pected to be repeated on a more	e tion of its policies and betrayals	Local New York—	break with it, are elementary requirements of revo-	nist International. Given a revolutionary policy and
Western Imperialists since the de-serious scale. But this is an en	will unmistabably lead to the possi-		lutionary socialists. Yet all the program of the	leadership in the Comintern the masses of disillu-
eat of the second Chinese revolu- tirely different matter now that th	e bilities of new militant unions em-	Harlow 'Dr A	Revolutionary Policy Committee has to say on this	sioned socialist workers would today be streaming
ion compels Japan, as a life and workers are in motion toward	a erging. But such moves can become		paramount question is the following:	into its ranks in an irresistible flood. From the time
eath matter, to answer each step higher level of class consciousness	successful only after the rank and	88	"The Socialist Party of America must make	of the launching of the Comintern in 1919 until 1923
f further penetration by other im- "Outlaw" strikes and "outlaw	"file thoroughly absorb the experi-	Lost report 52	every effort to get the above principles adopted	this process went on continuously. Under Lenin the
erialists with a more aggressive movements can be expected to oc	ences after a period of crystalliza-		by the Labor and Socialist International in order	Comintern gained at the expense of Social Democracy
olicy for her own ends. This is cur. Today, however, such are no	t tion of forces and a better under-	TOTAL 141	that it may be the effective instrument of pro-	all along the line. No such movement is observable
eading directly to the new imper- so easily defeated. The union of			moting the world revolution."	today. Caught in a vice between bankrupt Social
	e of militant unions. Above all it can	"AMEDICA AND THE COMING	When the Second International collapsed in 1914	Democracy and Stalinism, and trusting neither, the
International Policy Decisive company unions pressing from th	e become successful only under the	"AMERICA AND THE COMING	and betrayed the laboring masses into the bloody	workers are held in the old organizations by the
the rearganization of the differ. one side while on the other side	e direction and influence of a con-	REVOLUTION"	shambles of the war, Lenin and the other revolu-	formula of centrism. And by that the crisis is pro-
at importalist nations within the hangs the shadow of more militan	t scious left wing movement. Never-	opeaker.	tionary socialists, even though they were only a	longed and deepened.
depression cycle has passed the ini- organization and action by th	e theless this trend shown amongst		handful declared the organization to be dead for the	-
ial stage The internal reorganiza- workers.	the automobile workers is highly	Saturday, May 12th, at 8:30 P.M.	revolution and turned to the preparation of a new	THE REVOLUTIONARY WAY OUT
ion, based on one form of nation- In the automobile situation th	e indicative for the future.		International. Everything the Second International	The first condition for the solution of the inter-
lism or the other, through infla-union officials accepted the Roose	- Within the federal unions trends		and its leading and most representative party in	national crisis of the labor movement is to assemble
ion currency devaluation and re-velt agreement which legalizes th	e in a progressive direction are vis-	130 East 107th Street	Germany did since that time, only served to confirm	all the awakening revolutionary forces for a common
Juced wages and concentration and company union: Bill Green's "great	- lible. At a conference in wasnington	(One inght up)	the analysis of Lenin.	struggle. It is unthinkable that this assembly can
entralization of finance and capital lest strike in history" was won fo	r the latter part of January delegates		The party and the International that had failed	take place on the basis of either the Second or the
has reached the stage where the in-the time being by the auto bosse	s. representing almost 100 federal un-		in the great historic test was irrevocably lost for	Third Internationals. It will take place, rather, in
ternational policies, coordinated The union officials accepted th	e ions with an estimated membership	ATTENTION BRONX WORKERS	the workers' cause. It survived only as a reactionary	irreconcilable struggle against them. If they were
with the internal policies of the special mediation board whose dut	y of 250,000 formulated demands to	A Special Lecture	and treacherous force in the labor movement, an ally	not both bankrupt the present crisis of capitalism
Imperialist nations, become decisive. is to forstall and defeat action. A	s the effect:	00	and support of capitalism. This was understood by	would have led to revolutionary victories instead of
This phase primarily expresses a result an "outlaw" movement i	s 1. That the organization of fed-	The Life and Work of L. D. Trotsky	the revolutionary vanguard. That is why they formed	fascist reaction.
itself in a war for markets. Trade already in its inception. It starte	d eral unions be continued aggres-	by SARAH MYERS	the Communist International. Socialist workers, who	Forces making for the revolutionary regeneration
wars and dumping intensify all the from St. Louis where the unio	n sively.	Secretary to Comrade Trotsky at	assimilated the lessons of the war and post-war ex-	of the international movement converge from three
	2. That the members of the fed-		periences later, expressed their revolutionary stand-	different sources. They are: the International Com-
	leral unions be not segregated into	SATURDAY, MAY 12, 8 P.M.	point by leaving the Second and joining the Third	munists' (formerly the Left Opposition of the Comin-
FASCISM AND THE	craft unions.	at	International.	tern), independent socialist parties and groups, and
	3. That a bureau be established		AGAINST THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL!	the bona fide left wing developing and growing rap-
	within the A. F. of L. to "aid and		Now, when on top of every other perfidy, the	idly in the Social Democratic parties. The task is
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL	stimulate the formation of such in-	1739 Boston Road—Room 5	German Social Democracy, with the full support of	to bring them together, to unfurl a clean banner.
	dustrial unions".		the Second International, held the masses back from	The Revolutionary Policy Committee indubitably
The Third of a New Series of Lectures on the International	4. That where "a reasonable and	A Social will follow the lecture	struggle against Fascism and lifted Hindenberg into	has the possibility of becoming a serious force in the
Program with Special Reference to America	sufficient number of such federal	There will be food, music and	the presidency in order that he might open the door	coming regroupment in the United States. A clean
Ву	unions form a national organiza-	aancing. Admission is free.	for Hitler-is it possible now that revolutionists	break with the Second International, not only as a
	tion and apply for a national or in-		should advocate adherence to this corrupt and rotting	program but also as an organization, is its necessary
James P. Cannon	ternational charter, same shall be	Theatre Party	part of decaying capitalism, that they should tell the	next step on this road.
James F. Cannon	immediately granted".		workers to hope for its reform and regeneration?	-JAMES P. CANNON.
**	m			
AT	Trend Toward Industrial Unionism			
At	Here the trend is very definitely	The New York Local of the Com-	WAUKEGAN MEETING ent and they too	k part in the dis- United Front May Day meeting
	Here the trend is very definitely toward industrial unions to be es-	The New York Local of the Com- munist League arranged for a	WAUKEGAN MEETING Warkegan III - Shachtman's Cussion. Shacht	nan dealt them a here, so the Finnish Progressive
IRVING PLAZA HALL	Here the trend is very definitely toward industrial unions to be es- tablished on a national scale for the	The New York Local of the Com- munist League arranged for a theatre party for the play "Steve-	WAUKEGAN MEETING Waukegan, Ill. — Shachtman's meeting here in Waukegan was a	nan dealt them a here, so the Finnish Progressive rned each of their Society and our group had to or-
	Here the trend is very definitely toward industrial unions to be <del>98</del> - tablished on a national scale for the respective industries. Unquestion-	The New York Local of the Com- munist League arranged for a theatre party for the play "Steve- dore" at the Civil reportoire. This	WAUKEGAN MEETING Waukegan, Ill. — Shachtman's meeting here in Waukegan was a arguments agains	nan dealt them a here, so the Finnish Progressive rned each of their Society and our group had to or-
	Here the trend is very definitely toward industrial unions to be es- tablished on a national scale for the respective industries. Unquestion- ably, that trend will take further	The New York Local of the Com- munist League arranged for a theatre party for the play "Steve- dore" at the Civil reportoire. This play has been hailed by all review.	WAUKEGAN MEETING Waukegan, Ill. — Shachtman's meeting here in Waukegan was a success. The crowd was not large, arguments agains	nan dealt them a here, so the Finnish Progressive rned each of their Society and our group had to or- st them. He cre- ganize one of our own on a few able impression It days notice We had a good program
IRVING PLAZA HALL 15th Street and Irving Place	Here the trend is very definitely toward industrial unions to be es- tablished on a national scale for the respective industries. Unquestion- ably, that trend will take further	The New York Local of the Com- munist League arranged for a theatre party for the play "Steve- dore" at the Civil reportoire. This play has been hailed by all review.	WAUKEGAN MEETING Waukegan, Ill. — Shachtman's meeting here in Waukegan was a success. The crowd was not large, arguments agains	nan dealt them a here, so the Finnish Progressive rned each of their Society and our group had to or- st them. He cre- ganize one of our own on a few able impression It days notice We had a good program
15th Street and Irving Place	Here the trend is very definitely toward industrial unions to be es- tablished on a national scale for the respective industries. Unquestion- ably, that trend will take further hold and finally take on the form of a definite movement which it will	The New York Local of the Com- munist League arranged for a theatre party for the play "Steve- dore" at the Civil reportoire. This play has been hailed by all review- ers for the quality of its production and it is of a distinctly working-	WAUKEGAN MEETING Waukegan, Ill. — Shachtman's meeting here in Waukegan was a success. The crowd was not large, about 65 or 70, but all political faiths were represented and a great	nan dealt them a here, so the Finnish Progressive rned each of their Society and our group had to or- st them. He cre- able impression. It ise me if we ob- and about 150 attended. The Social- w members due to ists had refused to participate in
	Here the trend is very definitely toward industrial unions to be es- tablished on a national scale for the respective industries. Unquestion- ably, that trend will take further hold and finally take on the form of a definite movement which it will be difficult for the reactionary of-	The New York Local of the Com- munist League arranged for a theatre party for the play "Steve- dore" at the Civil reportoire. This play has been hailed by all review- ers for the quality of its production and it is of a distinctly working-	WAUKEGAN MEETING Waukegan, Ill. — Shachtman's meeting here in Waukegan was a success. The crowd was not large, about 65 or 70, but all political faiths were represented and a great deal of interest was shown. The discussions were still proceeding	nan dealt them a here, so the Finnish Progressive rned each of their Society and our group had to or- st them. He cre- able impression. It ise me if we ob- w members due to a short time. We the first place and had one of their
15th Street and Irving Place SUNDAY, MAY 12th at 8P.M.	Here the trend is very definitely toward industrial unions to be es- tablished on a national scale for the respective industries. Unquestion- ably, that trend will take further hold and finally take on the form of a definite movement which it will be difficult for the reactionary of- ficials to check or to defeat	The New York Local of the Com- munist League arranged for a theatre party for the play "Steve- dore" at the Civil reportoire. This play has been hailed by all review ers for the quality of its production and it is of a distinctly working- class character. Comrades and friends of the League are ested to	WAUKEGAN MEETING Waukegan, Ill. — Shachtman's meeting here in Waukegan was a success. The crowd was not large, about 65 or 70, but all political faiths were represented and a great deal of interest was shown. The discussions were still proceeding	nan dealt them a here, so the Finnish Progressive society and our group had to or- ganize one of our own on a few able impression. It ise me if we ob- w members due to a short time. We te-up to the Mili- own on April 28th. Glotzer from
15th Street and Irving Place SUNDAY, MAY 12th at 8 P.M. ADMISSION 15 CENTS QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION	Here the trend is very definitely toward industrial unions to be es- tablished on a national scale for the respective industries. Unquestion- ably, that trend will take further hold and finally take on the form of a definite movement which it will be difficult for the reactionary of- ficials to check or to defeat. The workers from the mass pro-	The New York Local of the Com- munist League arranged for a theatre party for the play "Steve- dore" at the Civil reportoire. This play has been hailed by all review- ers for the quality of its production and it is of a distinctly working- class character. Comrades and friends of the League are asked to buy the tickets ranging in price	WAUKEGAN MEETING Waukegan, Ill. — Shachtman's meeting here in Waukegan was a success. The crowd was not large, about 65 or 70, but all political faiths were represented and a great deal of interest was shown. The discussions were still proceeding strongly when we had to break up	nan dealt them a here, so the Finnish Progressive rned each of their st them. He cre- able impression. It ise me if we ob- w members due to a short time. We te-up to the Mili- base data about 150 attended. The Social- ists had refused to participate in the first place and had one of their own on April 28th. Glotzer from
15th Street and Irving Place SUNDAY, MAY 12th at 8 P.M. ADMISSION 15 CENTS QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION Next lecture to follow on succeeding Sunday: The	Here the trend is very definitely toward industrial unions to be es- tablished on a national scale for the respective industries. Unquestion- ably, that trend will take further hold and finally take on the form of a definite movement which it will be difficult for the reactionary of- ficials to check or to defeat. The workers from the mass pro- duction and the basic industries,	The New York Local of the Com- munist League arranged for a theatre party for the play "Steve- dore" at the Civil reportoire. This play has been hailed by all review- ers for the quality of its production and it is of a distinctly working- class character. Comrades and friends of the League are asked to buy the tickets ranging in price from 30 cents to \$'.50 at our office	WAUKEGAN MEETING Waukegan, Ill. — Shachtman's meeting here in Waukegan was a success. The crowd was not large, about 65 or 70, but all political faiths were represented and a great deal of interest was shown. The discussions were still proceeding strongly when we had to break up at 12:30 A.M.	nan dealt them a here, so the Finnish Progressive society and our group had to or- ganize one of our own on a few able impression. It ise me if we ob- w members due to a short time. We te-up to the Mili- own on April 28th. Glotzer from
15th Street and Irving Place SUNDAY, MAY 12th at 8 P.M. ADMISSION 15 CENTS QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION	Here the trend is very definitely toward industrial unions to be es- tablished on a national scale for the respective industries. Unquestion- ably, that trend will take further hold and finally take on the form of a definite movement which it will be difficult for the reactionary of- ficials to check or to defeat. The workers from the mass pro-	The New York Local of the Com- munist League arranged for a theatre party for the play "Steve- dore" at the Civil reportoire. This play has been hailed by all review- ers for the quality of its production and it is of a distinctly working- class character. Comrades and friends of the League are asked to buy the tickets ranging in price from 30 cents to \$'.50 at our office 126 E. 16th Street, for the perform-	WAUKEGAN MEETING Waukegan, Ill. — Shachtman's meeting here in Waukegan was a success. The crowd was not large, about 65 or 70, but all political faiths were represented and a great deal of interest was shown. The discussions were still proceeding strongly when we had to break up at 12:30 A.M. The Stalinists were very peaceful	nan dealt them a here, so the Finnish Progressive society and our group had to or- ganize one of our own on a few able impression. It ise me if we ob- w members due to a short time. We te-up to the Mili- w days.