

is accompanied by the familiar workers are expected to respond. campaign in the yellow press Union leaders have indicated that which is attempting to terrorize the the walkout will first become efstrikers with indirect threats of fective in the garment center possible, but he is already begin-one thing, and one thing only when neighboring states, it may be ex- tor of liberty, exponent of Deweyplants moving out of the area, of where building owners have broken ning to fail. Two years, and not class war prisoners are involved. false reports of plants operating, and of direct threats to operate through the mediation of the Replants with imported scabs.

gional Labor Board. The strike The workers know that dye will then be extended to the finanplants cannot be run with scabs cial and apartment house districts. gram fizzled out in a dismal fiasco. demonstrations that stayed the ex- tive militancy of the strike leader- Accused by Dr. Moore (once

(Continued on Page 4)

and machine guns; and they have learned from the experiences of the past few months that their only hope lies in their own strength, solidarity and militancy.

Striking the Stallers

The most important development of this week are the unmistakable signs that the silk weavers are not to be restrained any longer by the vacillations and cowardliness of "progressive" Eli Keller and by the betrayal of his reactionary U.T. W. allies.

The militant drive of the silk posal to unite forces with the A. workers has been to join the dyers W.P. and launch a new, independin their common struggle. Their ent. revolutionary party. From all insistance on meeting the open present indications the conferences challenge of the silk bosses has of both organizations, meeting compelled Keller and his pals to simultaneously, will approve the accede to a meeting-which should recommendations of their respechave been called, at least, simultive national committees and contaneously with that of the dyersclude the fusion in a joint conventhis Saturday to decide on the question of the strike.

All indications point to the unauimity of the weavers, warpers, the conclusion of the first phase of the fusion will decisively influence chaos. The fusion of the C.L.A. throwsters, twisters and loomfixers our historic struggle, first as a the future developments of the po- and the A.W.P., that is, of the two on the question of strike. Unless faction then as a separate indepen- litical labor movement in the U.S. largest and strongest of the indethe officialdom with Keller at the dent group, and open up a new And it will begin to assert this de-pendent groups, is bound to signify head again resorts to its stalling chapter of joint struggle with other cisive influence from the very start. for such workers the opening of a tactics of telegraphing Gorman, progressive forces on a broader The two-fold significance of the contrary process, the process of the Green and Co. for "approval", the basis. The time is ripe for such a move will not be lost on those who unification of the revolutionary weavers will come out next week decisive turn, and we are ready observe political developments, es- forces. By that fact alone our in support of the dyers and to fight for it.

for the demands they were so The prospect of fusion between shamefully cheated out of in the the C.L.A. and the A.W.P. has belast general strike. Their action come the center of interest in the will have magnificent results. It radical labor movement. It has alwill spread the strike to the entire ready produced sharp reactions in been seen for thirteen years! Since Passaic Valley, and if the bosses all circles, ranging from panic in the merger of the C.P. with the no less important, the formal pro- ception, are caught in it. The refuse to meet the workers de- the camp of Stalinism and hysteri- left-socialists (Workers Council clamation of a new party will bring process in the radical political mands, they will be faced not with cal appeals to the "rank and file" an isolated section of the workers of both organizations to hold back, been no such thing as any two or the C.P., on the part of those who impact of momentous developments but with the entire organized force to hasty manoeuvres of the pseudo- more groups getting together. The have broken with it on principle in the working class of the country. of labor in the industry.

doors to penitent ex-communists in "Trotskyites") in 1928. Less than This will leave no more room for their part, especially in the funda-A golden opportunity once again faces the workers of Paterson to the hope that they will provide the a year later the right wing (Love- those who have occupied a halfway mental ideological regroupment, but take the lead and win first for S.P. with a "left" covering to halt stoneites) who had officiated in this position. They will have to choose, it is the rising mass movement of themselves the UNION SHOP, the the movement toward the new expulsion were themselves expelled. At the same time the launching of the American workers which is 30-hour week and higher wages, party. As for the numerous small, The Proletarian Party, itself a the new party, irreconcilably hos- putting all the organizations and Paterson has shown the way be- independent groups, which have ex- small sect, suffered two splits. A tile to social democracy in all groups to the test, shaking them fore. It is going to do so again. pressed, by the fact of their exis- multiplicity of little grouplets ap- colors and variations, slams the out of the old ruts and driving

ment. The President's problem is The Supreme Court and every to keep up the promise, to keep up other court, governor or capitalist view of the militant spirit of trade the National Student League, faith in the New Deal as long as official in the country respond to a strike agreement concluded one single promise, except the pro- Action, protest and strike by the mise to business, has materialized. working class!

No "Wild" Ideas Wanted When Mooney was about to swing most hopeful signs in recent years, of Thought), the very right Provost The Great Social Security Pro- in 1916 it was only the stormy and in itself a tribute to the effec- of the U.C.L.A.-Dr. Moore.

ship of the drivers union of Minne-

meet again in the near future. In Phi Betta Kappa and member of

union members throughout this and dared fly in the face of that dicta-

(Continued on Page 4)

Preparations for the Nov. 24 demonstrations have been proceeding rapidly in all sections during the past weeks, according to David Lasser, Secretary of the N.A.C., who has just returned from a meeting of the Committee in Pittsburgh which ratified final details.

A statement issued by the organ izations cooperating in the Nov. 24 movement places the number of un-

part-time workers, at 12,000,000, a Fundamentally, the parties and groups find it necessary to adapt figure somewhat higher than the latest estimate of the American es the debate with them. The new themselves to the rising mass move-Federation of Labor. According to ment in one way or another. The political movement with the reform- C.P. discards the whole idiotic rigthe statement, the Nov. 24 demonist and centrist parties, and gives amarole of the "Third Period" strations will voice a protest against the split a clearer meaning and more ("Red" unions, "united front from the insufficiency of existing unemployment relief arrangements and below", theory of "Social Fascism", reflect the increasing sentiment of the unemployed for full-time jobs at decent wages. The hourly wage rates for relief workers---30 to 50 cents—are characterized by this statement as "starvation wages, es pecially in view of the fact that the average wage is between \$6 and \$12 weekly."

> also regard as unsatisfactory the in the period of stagnation and re relief rates which range from \$12 action are confronted by events to \$38 monthly for a family, and with a veritable command to break out of their propaganda circle and the fact that in most regions single connect themselves with the mass men get no relief. The general attitude of relief administrators tomovement or suffer annihilation. ward efforts of the unemployed to Those groups which do not heed organize, is also disapproved this command in time are doomed. strongly by these organizations.

The Course of the League Among the powerful organiza-Our organization, on the whole, tions affiliated to the N.A.C. are has understood this. Such is the the Eastern Federation of Unemexplanation of the course we have ployed and Emergency Workers which has branches in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Mary land; the National Unemployed League, with branches in Ohio. Pennsylvania, West Virginia, North Carolina, Mississippi and Kentucky) the Illinois Workers Alliance; the Wisconsin Federation of Workers Committees, and the American

(Continued on Page 4)

Workers Union with groups in (Continued on Page 2)

BY JAMES P. CANNON

We celebrate the sixth anniver- | tence, the confusion and disintegra- peared on the scene and they in door in the faces of those weaklings | them to seek a new point of desary of the Militant on the eve of tion of the movement, the question turn split among themselves and and deserters of the revolutionary parture.

our national conference which has of our fusion has thrown them into moved in opposite directions (the cause who want to "unite" everyinternal crises which herald splits ill starred Gitlow-Field group, for body in the Socialist party and closto pass final decision on the pro-

or liquidation in practically every example). case. The Influence of the Fusion

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The Post-Lenin Scene

FOR A NEW REVOLUTIONARY PARTY!

party thus deepens the split in the The general picture of the whole The actual accomplishment of post-Lenin period in the United the fusion will produce far deeper States has been a picture of disrepercussions. It will mark the integration. The masses of workopening of a new stage in the proc- | ers awakening to class consciousess of differentiation and regroup- ness were repelled by it. They ment in the general movement of left the parties, or passed through tion. If this turns out to be the the advanced workers. If the par- them, or stood aside from all orcase, as we are confident it will, ticipants on both sides prove equal ganizations, waiting for a sign of our sixth anniversary will mark to their task and their opportunity, unity and order in the general pecially on those who want to take fusion will stir the deepest interest

a part in shaping their course. and attention of the non-party rad-First, the fusion will represent ical workers and help to break lines and the liquidation of separthe first step toward unification of their passivity with regard to orthe revolutionary forces that has ganization.

group) at the end of 1921 there has all speculation about a return to movement is taking place under the "Militants" in the S. P. to open the C.P. expelled the left wing (the grounds, to a definite conclusion. International events have played

On the other hand, and this is

litical party-all this has been in-

definite, finished form, while it

heralds the unity of the revolution- etc.) like a dirty shirt, liquidates ary elements in the struggle against its separate unions pellmell, and them. The chaos and disintegra- knocks at the back door of the S.P. tion will give place to a clear linewith the offer of a non-aggression up of parties: Social Democratic, pact. The S.P. pushes its "left"

Stalinist (Centrist) and the party wing forward, and decorates itself of revolutionary Marxism. Small with the red feathers of a few groups and individuals will find wretched "captured" communists.

their place in one or the other, and Meanwhile the small propaganda in making their selection they will groups which came into existence disclose their real tendency unfail-

process of regroupment on party

or set into motion by the groups or

parties, all of which, without ex-

ingly. The issue will be clear. The Test of Present Conditions The process of carification, uni-

fication and split, in a word, the

ate groups, has not been invented

followed during the past year. The definitive break with the Stalinist

party and Comintern, the course toward trade union work and effec-

tive participation in strikes, the approach to the A.W.P. the moment

it declared for an independent po-

spired and motivated on our part

The participating organizatious

employed in the country, aside from

pected that this progressive cur- ism (note: lecture Tuesday and pensation on all public works and rent will go far in the Minnesota Thursday at 2:00 P.M. Scope of to and from the job; 7. Diversion labor movement. It is one of the Course: "Training in independence of all war funds to unemployment relief; 8. Passage of a universal 30-hour work week law without pay cuts.

public projects; 5. Recognition of

representatives of organized unem-

ployed by relief administrations: 3. Federal adequate disability com

(Continued on Page 4) apolis.

рагч З

THE MILITANT

Organization Notes - N.Y. REVIEWING THE NEWS

Weekly Prosperity Note

James M. Curley, Democratic governor-elect of Massachusetts, sees prosperity rounding the corner at last. "For the first time in Party, Hugo Ochler, Industrial Orfive years," he declared, "you can ganizer of the Communist League ride through Massachusetts at of America and Arnold Johnson, night and see factory lights burn- Secretary of the National Uneming." How about a popular song, Mussachusetts again"' to the tune of "Happy Days Are Here Again"? Governor Curley could croon it over the radio to the million unemployed citizens of his commonwealth. . .

return from London to the hills of result of our meetings in Paterson, Last week Marion Davies, on her Hollywood, was astonished to see we are now assured of the formaa New Yorker smiling. In an in- tion of a branch in Paterson, as terview she declared she was sure the smile indicated the return of prosperity. . . .

A month ago a federal relief administrator predicted an autumn upturn on the basis of a slight increase in the sale of carpet sweepers and lace curtains. . . .

We are considering a contest. A prosperity contest. Prizes will be turning prosperity turned in by the warned them that their organizaend of the week. Look around! tion is perpetuating the disunity Are you missing the evidences of prosperity? Are you so wrapped up in keeping your navel and spine from meeting; are you so worried by poverty, by unemployment, by insecurity that you miss these encouraging signs? Look around! Is your dog wagging his tail more than usual? Are longer cigar butts being thrown away? Are children buying new lead pencils? Send your answer to the White House and get a prize!

Morning, Noon and Night.

Speaking before the morning ses sion of the National Conference on Economic Security, Federal Relief Administrator Hopkins brought the session to a high pitch when he declared for "a bold stroke" to unite all phases of economic security into a comprehensive program. President Roosevelt who addressed the delegates at the afternoon session, the same dispatch informs us, considerably "dampened the ardor" of the delegates by counselling caution and discussing only one point in the "comprehensive program.'

Damn good thing there was no evening session. * * *

The Majesty of the Law

The following should sum up the entire proceedings of the Vandervilt baby for our readers who usually do not go in for that kind of copy in the press. We cull from the Times of Nov. 15. "Mr. Justice Carewe decided that the child, Gloria Vanderbilt, is not to have for the future the life that it had from the death of its father up ill June, 1932."

"But what does it mean?" asked the reporters. "Every word means eyactly what

IN THE TRADE UNIONS

This Sunday, Nov. 4th, we held A Worker Looks at the of dissention in the new Federal partment. This could be accom-Unions where the workers have plished by uniting all unions inter-A. F. of L. Convention another meeting in Paterson. Right

in the heart of the strike territory,

at Oakley Hall, A. J. Muste, chair-Those employers who were exman of the American Workers Convention, to see if that highest and most powerful body of American labor was going to reorganize ployed Leagues spoke on the dyers more efficiently fight the oppressive new unions which will be capable "Factory lights are burning in strike and the necessity for joint tactics of the employer, can now action on the part of the strikers lean back in their swivel chairs and ments. If they are unable to esand the unemployed. The meeting rest in peace.

was orderly and the dyers present Consider the average worker. listened attentively to the speakers. But does he think of the convention? It has been the writer's ex-Only in the question period did the discussion turn on the new party perience, and he is a member of and its future in America. As a a skilled craft that has long been organized, that the skilled worker wastes little of his time thinking of the A. F. of L. He knows there soon as the new party is launched. is such an organization because once or twice a year he hears a The Columbus Day United Anti-

letter read in his local union re-Fascist Committee is carrying the questing that body to take some battle into the enemy's country. action on a question, usually one of no particular interest to him. Continuing its offensive against the reactionary, disruptive tactics of These letters are usually signed, 'William Green, President." the Stalinist controlled League reads in the press that William Against War and Fascism, it has Green has made some statement reissued an open letter to the memgarding NRA or Mathew Woll has bers of the latter organization and again attacked Russia and Communism. These small reminders constitute his only contact with the leadership of the American labor man working class. It concludes by issuing a ringing call to the movement.

League members to form a united front of all militant working class organizations against fascism. The letter is signed by the Steering Committee of the united front: G. Valenti, editor of Stampa Libera, chairman; Jack Altman, Socialist Party, Secretary; H. D. Sizemore, I.W.W., Vice-Chairman, H. Solow, Non-Partisan Labor Defense; Burke Cochran, Communist League of Amerca; Saul Held, Communist Party Opposition; Ben Fischer, Y.P.S.L. eral Union may still be so naive

Continuing the struggle to weld united working class movement officialdom is going to help him to smash fascism, our newly organprotect his interests. ized Spartacus Youth branch of The only thing the A. F. of L. Harlem has succeeded in organizofficials learned in the past year ing another open-air meeting in was that the employers can and do Yorkville against the local Nazidisobey the law. They have not crop of fascism. Our local comyet learned that their moral perrades succeeded not only in continsuasion and that of the President Y.P.S.L. circles of Yorkville and of the United States can prevent it. Regardless of whether the ordi-Harlem, but also in drawing into nary worker knows it or not, a the united front a German working convention was held and some orclass club, the Proletarische Geganizational changes were made. meinschaft. These united fronts,

Industrial Unionism organized on a local scale, can be-Chief of these were on industrial come the backbone of the struggle unionism. The final decision of the against fascism, if properly organconvention on this issue will meet ized and extended to wider areas the present needs of labor very and to embrace all the working class organizations and parties.

* * * Feeling the pressure of the campaign of the Columbus Day United rights. There is nothing in this new ate them. resolution to protect it from the prophet of the Daily Worker, Clar- dues-hungry chiefs of the craft ist can readily see that while the A. F. of L. can be of service. The ence Hathaway called a meeting at unions. It was brought out in the unions are fighting each other they worker can not depend upon the living Plaza to explain to the debate that the law had been are in no position to give the boss present leadership. We must have workers why it was impossible to changed in no way. Craft unions much opposition. unite, as a matter of "principle" still have the right to demand that The building trades need to be present day economic development, with the counter - revolutionary the letter of the law be complied more closely affiliated than they It is toward this end we must work. Trotskyites. The Y.C.L. members with. This can cause a great deal now are in the Building Trades Dehad to pay 10c to hear the wisdom.

cal union would remain intact. The resolution also gives the A.

F. of L. power to appoint officers, pectantly awaiting the A. F. of L. form the policies, to direct and administer the financial affairs for a provisional period. This gives the A. F. of L. officials an opportunity their institution so that labor could to get a machine organized in the of isolating any of the militant eletablish such a machine, they may

use the provisional period idea for tives have handed down a program an indefinite time, as there is nothing in the resolution which specifies just how long it shall last.

Jurisdiction Squabbles

The building trades dispute took a great deal of time at the convention. It is the opinion of many that it was used to take up time and to divert the interest of the delegates from other more important questions. The issue has not yet been settled. The unions involved have 45 days in which to and willing to fight will be too old He Executive Committee of the A. F. of L. must out-law the proceedings

of the Building Trades Department Conference, held prior to the con- job. vention. The Executive Committee must then call a new conference at which the carpenters, bricklayers

and electricians will sit in. New Roosevelt and the NRA. Now it ing my own wolf in." This from The A. F. of L. has never stirred officers will be elected and all of has been proven even to the workthe business will again be gone ers' satisfaction, that they cannot is a member of its R.O.T.C. unit. in him any desire for more effective solidarity by actually bringing over. The new conference will by depend on the codes. The A. F down to his little local union some no stretch of the imagination settle of L. officials are still hanging on, plan whereby his condition could the building trades dispute. Jurisbut they are not quite so enthusiasdictional rights in a craft union tic. It was reiterated time after that the Militant may have to miss be improved upon, or made more secure. To him the A. F. of L. is under the present set-up are not so time in the convention that the just another convention of little collective bargaining clause is afeasily settled. These fights over more importance than the Elks or jurisdiction have their beginning fording no protection for the work-Moose and not nearly so interestin the local unions. The memberer. Workers are constantly being ing as the ballyhoo of the Legion. ship of the local many times judges discharged for union activity and Of course, the worker who has re- the efficiency of their business the employers have not been called cently been organized into a Fed- agent by the amount of work he is to account.

able to secure for them. If this as to believe that the A. F. of L. happens to be work that has been awarded to another craft by the Building Trades Department, they are not particularly concerned. They are chiefly interested in their own well being.

views this fight from a different The only agreement the union had Militant would never have to waste angle. He sees his organization as a business, and the only legitimate vestigate. It must be remembered source of income for that business

the men to pay dues they must have work, or it follows that one International declares war on another.

putes, and would realize that the strength of labor lies in its unity, a major defeat. well, providing the international they would make every effort to adofficials of the craft unions do not just them. Instead all of their ac- advanced workers in A. F. of L. step in and demand jurisdictional tivities have a tendency to accentu-

International Union, instead of having a complete set of International officials for each trade. This would also relieve the membership of a great financial burden. The 30-Hour Week

William Green seems to be extremely proud of the fact that he has advocated the 30-hour week tional".

for some time. To date that is as Comrade Gussie Krakofsky, who far as he has got. I know of no case where the A. F. of L. execu-

to the local unions for the gaining of this objective. So far they have placed all of their hopes in the NRA and in pleading to the moral

instincts of the employers. In the convention they threatened the employer with the idea that they are going to fight for the

30 hour law. If it takes them as long to get the 30-hour law into effect as it did to get the yellow I had on me when I got the latest dog contract out-lawed, all of the Militant. Best wishes for the New young workers who are now ready | Party." Enclosed \$2.

settle their dispute. If no agree- to put up a battle. The A. F. of and says: "Am much interested in ment is reached by that time, the L. officialdom always likes to take the coming convention of the Comtheir issues as far away from the field of battle as they can, which, in this case, happens to be on the ful.'

Faith in Roosevelt

A year ago Green advised the workers to place their hopes in

In the face of all this, Gorman of the textile workers, in speaking of the success of the Militant and may their recent strike from the con- it never miss an issue." vention floor, described it "as the

textile strike was called off without any agreement with the employers.

that the textile industry has been operating under an NRA code. is in the form of dues. In order for Many of the militant workers have been unable to get their jobs back

their personal interest in these dis-these workers to the mercy of the on the builde account. bosses. This was not a victory, but

unions to form left wing groups, which will make it their business The more advanced trade union- to show the rank and file how the

-AN A. F. of L. WORKER.

BROWNSVILLE OPEN FORUM

Will the Socialist Party Split?

Friday, Nov. 23, 8 P.M.

Speaker:

MAX SHACHTMAN

1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn

HARLEM OPEN FORUM

Socialist Party, Communist (Stalin-

ist) Party or New Workers Party?

Friday, Nov. 23, 8 P.M.

Speaker :

MARTIN GLEE

143 East 103rd St., N. Y. C.

BRONX OPEN FORUM

What Next In France-Communism

or Fascism?

Friday, Nov. 23, 8 P.M.

Speaker :

JOHN G. WRIGHT

1739 Boston Road, Bronx

of local CLA branches.

All meetings held under auspices

Although we did not carry on any kind of a campaign to solicit greetings for this issue except by an announcement in the Militant, a a number of our readers have responded. Some of the accompanying letters are quoted here because they show what our paper means to our subscribers.

"W" of Boston, sends in 25c specifically "for the Fourth Interna-

never fails to respond to a call, brought in one dollar.

W. J. of Oakland responded with \$2 and John Dane of the same city with \$1, while C. of Minneapolis sent us 30c worth of postage

stamps, all he could spare. J Batavia of Paterson, subscribed for two years to help increase the in come. Ludwig Lore sent \$1.50. Bill Young of Boston writes "Enclosed find 2/3 of the money

Marion McL of Iowa sends \$1 Workers Party. 1 trust that this time the merger will be success "Find enclosed \$3. At present

this is all I can send to keep the wolf from your door without invita student in a nearby college who From another college student in Pennsylvania we get the following: "I read with horror the news an issue. Right now there is a

great need for the Militant on the campus. I received the bundle this morning, and they are all gone. One of the professors has asked me to serve it to him weekly. 1 am taking a dollar from my food money and am sending it. . . . Here's to

If only enough of our readers most amazing victory ever won by felt as this comrade does, and any American labor union". The would act accordingly, our linotype and press comrades would not have to miss so many meals, and the

was that the government would in- space for "ALARMS". A number of our branches took

the ALARM seriously and came to the assistance of the Militant: The Downtown Branch of Local New York collected from its Pledgers as on account of their activities dur- did the Harlem Branch. The Cle-If the union officials could forget ing the strike. The leadership left veland Branch rushed its payment

Comrade Koehler of the Youngstown Branch writes:

"After sending what money we It is the duty of all of the more had in the treasury for Convention Assessments this morning, I rea leadership that understands the MANNER?

The Crisis Is MARCH OF **Still With Us! EVENTS**

Lull in the French Storm

The fall of the Doumergue government and its replacement by a new 'truce" ministry can in no real sense be called a turn in the French situation. Rather it can be characterized as a momentary lull in the storm which must inevitably break out anew more violently and more intensely than before. What must be noted is that under cover of the defeat of the "whole hog" program of Constitutional reform, the Flandin ministry obtains the major part of the powers desired by Doumergue. Further to be noted is the fact that Flandin is completely in accord with the program previously outlined and followed by the Bonapartist Doumergue. The mistake of Doumergue -- looking back at events from this distancewas that he thought he could repeat the coup d'etat of February 6th, but evidently he had failed to prepare the ground sufficiently so as to force the support of the frightened middle class. Herriot, munist League and the American leader of the upper layers of this class as organized in the Radical Socialist Party, was compelled, despite his outspoken fear of throwing the entire issue of state power into the streets, to take this risk in opposing the completion of Bonapartist rule because of the clear evidences of split in his own ranks if he supported this move. But the forces unleashed in French ociety in the February days will not be dissipated by Herriot's astute poli+ics. The imminence of fascism acts as a giant wedge cleaving in two the upper and lowor sections of the middle class, each section moving in an opposite direction. In terms of social dynamics Herriot's support of the new "truce" government ties the one section of the middle class into closer union with the Bonapartist and fascist forces in France, while on the surface avoiding the break with the exploited and misled bulk of the petty bourgeoisie. It is necessary that the vanguard of the working class win this lower sec-

tion to the side of the united front against fascism in the temporary lull.

* * * War Politics and Diplomacy

The evidences of the feverish preparations all over the world for the impending imperialist war continue to accumulate. The navai conference in London reveals Japan bargaining with England for aid against the U.S. The constant denials of an alliance against America by British diplomacy mislead nobody. For the concessions made ceived my copy of the Militant and by the Japanese to England in the had a chance to read your appeal. matter of textile competition and Have been able to raise \$3 and am trade in Manchuria (including the sale of oil), the English bourgeoisending this to you now." WHY DON'T THE REST OF sie supports the demand of the THE BRANCHES REACT IN LIKE Japanese militarists for naval parity. Whether an actual military al-

J. N. and Fred Nash of the liance such as is hoped for by Downtown Branch have each con- Japanese diplomacy will be contributed, especially to the Sixth summated probably will not become known — until actual hostilities Anniversary greetings. once Meantime the fear of Jeff. Rall of Bryan Ohio have British colonial leaders that this Pauline Miller of New York and rushed in their payments on their is the case is voiced by General Smuts in his warning that England Pledges. W. G., bookseller, contrihad better side with America. buted \$1.25. Japan meantime utilizes the short "Gentlemen", writes one of our time remaining at her disposal bereaders, "I have just received your fore opening her attack on the last issue of the Militant and noted Soviet Union to attempt to bring your appeal for funds. I am enclosher technology as nearly up to ing a check for \$5. I'm glad to date as possible,-to overcome the help although its very little." handicap that exists as against D. T. Burbank, of St. Louis sends America. A government sponsored \$3 of which half is for a file of the expansion program is being put into Minneapolis Organizer and the effect. Existing mills and equipother half for a greeting of the ment are being modernized and en-Militant. larged. The government looks to Although this response was by the Japan Iron Manufacturing Co. no means phenomenal or sufficient to bring about by this process a to keep the Militant going, it helped reduction in the present high price to produce the forthcoming issue. of steel and iron manufactures. But the problem of feeding our New blast furnaces, electric furnfunctionaries and paying off a few aces, gasoline distillation plants, of the urgent bills still remains. mills of all descriptions are being Unless more comrades come to our erected. Meantime Japan's imports assistance in the coming week as of scrap steel and iron from the have those mentioned we will be U.S. reach new high marks, breakthe possibility of missing an issue ing all records. While the serious will remain actual. of the large Yawata Plant in the RUSH FUNDS! DO NOT DE-Kyushu district undoubtedly helps LAY! PAY UP YOUR BUNDLE bring this about, it is none the less ACCOUNT. GET SUBSCRIPan indication of the feverish war TIONS. PAY ON YOUR PLEDGE. preparations. Soviet diplomacy attempts meantime to meet the threat from both JOINT DANCE East and West in Stalinist fashion. Saturday, Dec. 15th, 9 P.M. It continues its policy of sacrific-**IRVING PLAZA** ing the interests of the world pro-Irving Place and 15th Street letariat under the guise of defense of the Soviet Fatherland. It strives 40c at door Tickets 30c. :: to guarantee the maintenance of Auspices : the status quo in the West in order Communist League of America to face the enemy in the East. To American Workers Party. ward off the threat of attack by fascist Germany, it concludes a THE MILITANT military alliance with the French bourgeoisie at the same time util-Entered as a second class mail izing the Stalinist Party to guar-Post Office at New York, N.Y. Unantee the French capitalists against der the act of March 3, 1879. attack by the revolutionary proletariat. The powerful Soviet air Published Weekly by the fleet is thrown into the scales-as Communist League of America it was not when Hitler threatened 144 Second Ave., New York, N. Y. the German workers-to defend French capitalism against attack Vol. 7, No. 46, (Whole No. 250) by this same Hitler. Only the new SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1934 fresh winds blowing strongly across France, bringing new clarity and EDITORIAL BOARD new hope into the ranks of the Martin Abern James P. Cannon workers, can sweep aside the poi-Max Shachtman Maurice Spector sonous effects of this false diplo-Arne Swabeck. macy and, under the guidance and Bundle rates two cents per copy. leadership of the Bolshevik-Lenin-Subscription rate: \$1.00 per copy. ists, show the proletariat once more 50c per half year - Canada and the road to revolution.

Foreign: \$1.50 per year; 75c for

it says and nothing else," answered Justice Carewe.

"But it doesn't seem to mean very much," his questioners continued.

"It was designed," responded the irate judge, "to keep you from finding out what it meant."

"Was it designed also to keep the lawyers from finding out what it meant?" the reporters continued.

Justice Carewe glared as he formulated his answer: "It was designed for what it was designed for and I never want to meet you again."

Wanted: A Lewis Carroll.

Idea for a Braintruster With Streamlined Brains

The latest settlement offered the Paterson Dyers was rejected by the workers because it contained a "truce" clause which would have deprived them of the right to strike. This marks the official end of President Roosevelt's great industrial truce scheme, a bare month after; it was suggested. What next? Perhaps the President will tear

a leaf out of the history of the Catholic church and propose a part time truce. . .

During the days of chivalry the knights were busy most of the time robbing poor peasants and not, as the common fancy has it, in rescuing damsels in distress. Things got so bad the Church finally had to take action as its members, the peasants, were threatened with extinction. The Church promulgated a "Peace of God" which lasted from Friday to Tuesday of every week. During these days the chivalrous barons were prohibited from robbing the peasants, burning their huts or laying waste their fields.

Perhaps the President will suggest an "Industrial Peace of God" whereby employers will be prohibited from cutting wages, firing union men or locking out employees from Friday until Tuesday. . .

The rest of the week will be open season. * * *

Flash!

hell. Get a copy.

Y.P.S.L.ers however had only to show their books. Our own Sparta-books our own Spartacus members, having neither the books, nor the dimes, nor the inclination, stood outside and handed to all Y.C.L.ers entering a leaflet explaining the Leninist tactic on

the united front and the necessity of such action to smash fascism. The local small-fry "functionaries" fearing that the Y.C.L. might catch

the Trotskyist "disease", ran out, grabbed the leaflet out of our comrades' hands and made a bonfire out of them. (John L. Spivak, at- Unemployed Citizens League of Altention!)

** * *

This Thursday, Oct. 25th, both our Brownsville branch of the C.L. tions in six other states will also have local demonstrations on Nov. A. and the local Spartacus led an anti-eviction demonstration, in 24. Among the larger cities involved are New York, Baltimore, which over 4,000 workers participated. When the S.P. appeared Camden, Bridgeport, Schenectady, with a sound truck on the scene, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Allentown, St. our comrades immediately arranged Louis, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, an impromptu united front and Dallas, Springfield, Ill., Toledo, Co spoke from the platform to the lumbus, Wheeling, Tampa, Palo workers present. It is just such Alto.

In a number of these cities, locals alertness that has made our Brownsville branch popular thru- of the American Federation of Laout the neighborhood and has en- bor have endorsed National Unemabled them to penetrate more deep- | ployment Day and the eight-point ly into the local neighborhood work. | platform, and will mobilize members to participate in the demon-

Our shop fraction of the Majes- stration of the unemployed. In tic Novelty Shop has issued the Toledo, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, first issue of its paper "Our Voice". Allentown and other cities relations The 500 copies that were distributed between unemployed and trade unamong the shop workers on both ions have been solidified during rethe day and night shifts were very cent strikes and the unemployed well received. Coming after the are now seeking to line up the offidistribution of the stupid, ignorant cial labor movement for their cause. and childishly written shop paper | The N.A.C. states that it has reof the Y.C.L. fraction, the Majestic ceived reports from several supmen and women were eager to read porting bodies that police are plana paper written in clear, concise ning to interfere with the demon-English and which attempts to an-strations. The Committee states, swer the problems of the Majestic however, that all participating worker. In our opinion the paper bodies intend to earry through orwill have even greater success, if derly demonstrations and to mainthe shop problems are discussed in tain their right to present grievmore detail and in relation to the ances and demands.

work of the Steel & Metal Workers Industrial Union as a whole.

ANNOUNCEMENT

series of articles on the Communist man as instructor, went off to a The second installment of the This is no snippy head for a Party has been held over to next flying start last Wednesday. There Winchell wisecrack. It is the name week. The article proved to be of is still time for those who wish to extreme length and pressure of register for the entire course to do ficial paper. It's a corker. It space forbids its publication in this so. The fee for the entire course stands up well with that greatest issue. The subject of the next ar- is \$1.50. Single lectures may be of all trade union papers, the Min- ticle is a compilation of documents attended at 20c per lecture. The neapolis Organizer. Racy, clear- and an analysis of "The Internal class meets every Wednesday at 8 cut, American lingo and militant as Regime in the Communist Party". P.M. at the headquarters, 144 2nd -GLEE. Watch for it.-Ed.

FOOD FOR DELEGATES Can you help us feed the delegates by donating any of the fol-March Nov. 24 | gates by donating any of the fol-lowing articles, in any amounts? If so, please inform the Convention

(Continued from Page 1) Arrangements Committee at 144 Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and Second Ave. and we will send for Oklahoma. Other affiliated bodies the contributions. are the Florida Federation of Un-

We can use: Eggs, butter, sugar, employed Leagues, the Dallas, Tex., bacon, ham, coffee, tea, fruits, bread Central Council of Workers, the and bakings of any and all kinds. Minnesota Central Council of

Workers, the Fort Wayne, Ind. leghany County, Pa., the California Committee wants the services of Workers Assn. Some 60 unemployed organiza

eight League or Spartacus Youth members throughout the conventions, to help in the kitchen. Report to Rose Karnser at the National Office.

> **BORO PARK OPEN FORUM** Coming Civil War in France. Friday, Nov. 23, 8 P.M. Speaker: AL DASCH 1281 49th St., Brooklyn

WANTED

The Convention Arrangements

SPECIAL OFFER TO EXPIRE

The drive ends DECEMBER 31st. Take advantage of this opportunity. Get a subscription to the MILITANT and one of the Marxist classics at a considerable asving. Send the literature to one of your friends who you think should read it, and keep the subscription, or, if you prefer, the other way round. Regular rates are: One year-\$1.00; Six months-50c. One Year Subscription to the MILITANT and one of the following paper cover editions.....(in combination) \$1.25 LETTERS OF SACCO AND VANZETTI...... 75c. IMPERIALISM—by Lenin 50c. STATE AND REVOLUTION-by Lenin...... 50c. EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE-by Marx..... 50c. Six months subscription to the MILITANT and one of the following pamphlets(in combination) \$.50 TEN YEARS of the Left Opposition-by Max Shachtman THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO-by Marx WAGE LABOR AND CAPITAL-by Marx THE TEACHINGS OF KARL MARX-by Lenin WAR AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL SOVIET ECONOMY IN DANGER-by Trotsky And for those who would like to get a proletarian novel, we offer: THE ROAD-by Marlen, \$1.50. With one year sub. \$1.75 FONTAMARA-by Silone (a story about Italian village life under Fascism) \$2.50. With one year sub..... 2.75 MAN'S FATT-by Malraux (a novel about the Chinese

THE MILITANT, 144 Second Avenue, New York City. Name Address..... City State..... 6 months subscription (26 copies) 50c, and pamphlet..... 1 year subscription (52 copies) \$...., and book.....

-JACK WEBER.

Revolution) \$2.50. With one year sub..... \$2.75

SCHOOL NOTES

the International Left Opposition

(Trotskyites)" with Max Shacht-

The class in "The History of

WORLD OF LABOR NEW YORK TRADE UNIONISTS QUIT C. P. JOIN MOVEMENT FOR NEW PARTY IN U. S.

dent strike" movement led by local

499 created hesitancy in both

camps. This condition was further

and more seriously aggravated by

"Independent strike action" was

very quickly recover from this

complain that Weinstock's articles

in the **Daily Worker** and the **Rank**

and File Federationist proclaiming

was lowered.

left wing.

Weinstock believes in doing "big been renounced and had the party

Lessons of the Spanish Revolution

The massacres of workers continue.

After the massacres and the Vienna days, the massacres and the Spanish days. This is a new defeat in the struggle of the workers against reaction in Europe, but a defeat whose revolutionary power strikes fear into the forces of the world counterrevolution.

Yes. On either side of the Atlantic, from the heroic Asturian miners to the thousands of fighters in Amsterdam and America the bourgeois counterrevolution has to reckon with the armed and tenacious resistance of the awakened masses. The blotting out of socialism which the bourgeoisie hopes to bring about by savage repression is everywhere shown to be a dream. The revolutionary workers' movement, extending over the entire world may perhaps be retarded here and there by bloody repressions but it can never be wiped out. But to overcome the defeats the revolutionary proletarian vanguard must be keenly alive to the epoch we are now living through, and especially to conditions in Europe.

Under the pressure of internal and international difficulties, the bourgeoisie in every country finds itself constrained to place itself on subversive and reactionary soil, that is to say, it is forced to abandon the soil of so-called democracy and legality. It is the bourgeoisie, as a whole, which causes civil war by arming fascism whose only issue on the international arena is a new slaughter of the people.

More than ever, the cannibalism of the ruling class on the one hand and the bloody sacrifices of the toilers on the other, should convince the people that there is only one method to abridge, to simplify, to reduce the deadly suffering caused by capitalist decay: revolutionary struggle. Struggle or death; revolutionary struggle or annihilation; in this manner the bourgeoisie, which is determined to destroy everything to save its doomed regime, irrevocably poses the question.

Toilers, the example of Spain after that of Vienna demonstrates again that the splendid heroism of the combatants does not suffice to assure victory over the enemy; undoubtedly physical force can only be defeated by physical force. With all our heart we are with our defeated brothers whatever their tendency. But precisely in order to avenge the victims and to liberate the prisoners it is necessary to prepare the new struggle, and this preparation, in the first place, should consist of open implacable criticism of the mistakes and the weaknesses of the workers' organizations themselves. After so many lies the proletariat needs the cure of truth.

The Spanish events should help the proletariat of tariat to learn in the fire of their experience. The processes which are hatching in France have long ago taken a mature form in Spain.

The Socialist party, carried to power by the spontaneous revolution, made every effort to arrest it and to save the bourgeois regime. New revolutionary attempts were crushed. This policy of parliamentary socialism contributed in stabilizing and strengthening anarchism and syndicalism, two tendencies which are fatal for the revolution.. The Stalinists, on their part, with their policy of social-fascism did everything to repel the workers into anarchism or to keep them in the parliamentary party.

It is this fatal triangle: social democracy, Stalinism, anarchism, which has ruined the masses by dooming to defeat a series of heroic attempts and by giving the reaction time to prepare and to arm itself. The Socialist party finally understood the mortal danger. It made serious preparations for struggle -but in a few months it was not able to efface the fruits of its past policy. The anarcho-syndicalists however, remained hostile to the socialist initiative and could not find anything better to do than to empty their rancor on the head of the revolution. The reaction had thus gained the opportunity of position after another.

But it would be futile to expect a new revolution the heads of the bureaucrats". Lerrou

Comrades Taylor and Terry,

signatories to this statement were the organizers and leaders of the progressive opposition group which conducted a fight in the big electrical workers local number 3 against the corrupt administrations of the local and of the International Brotherhood.

This remarkable fight which at-District Council. tracted nationwide attention and claimed the life of one of the opposition members, resulted in the resignation of the International president, Broach. When renewed later, due to continued instructed to enter other locals. gaugster methods employed by The Painters Protective Association the local administration in shooting and wounding several of the opposition members. Taylor and Terry were the main organizers and leaders in a broad rank and file movement of many A. F. of

L. building trades unions. The gangster officials were removed and convicted, much of the trade union racketeering was effectively exposed and several of the progressive measures sponsored by the opposition were accepted by the electrical workers local union.

Comrade Taylor is a member of the C.P. since 1926 and comrade Terry since 1930. Both are as active as ever in their leading capacities within the progressive trade union movement.---Ed. * * *

The present period demands the greatest decisiveness and unity of of demoralization. action by the working class. The

Local 2717 Carpenters

mistakes of the party both on the trade union and political field has For years the party boasted about resulted not only in retarding the "good work" of the party fracworking class unity against capition within local 2717 of the United talist reaction but has also served Brotherhood of Carpenters and to strengthen the A. F. of L. bu-Joiners. The party fraction comreaucrats and the social reformists. pletely dominated local 2717. The The realization of the mistakes members of the local paraded in of the party, long ago transformed the party's line of march on May into tendencies alien to revolution- Day, supported the party's camary Marxism, has finally forced paigns and sent delegates to the upon me the conviction that my "Hunger Marchers". . . All went other countries and particularly the French prole-place is no longer in the ranks of well until the party considered the the official Communist party. The tempo of activization too slow and impossibility of a free and frank insisted upon "independent action" discussion and a possible correc- for local 2717. From then on it tion of mistakes has strengthened was "independent action" for local that conviction.

2717 both against and over the For the past eight years I have heads of the District Council in een engaged in trade union work. New York and the Executive Coun-The major portion of my activity cil of the Brotherhood. has been confined to the A. F. of In the conflict with the District

L. Building Trades Opposition. I Council the party instructed its position on dual unions which of anything alien to Leninism in the will therefore confine my statement fraction in local 2717 to prevent the course did not clear up the matter above explanation of the meaning local from paying per capita tax to at all. to this aspect of party work.

"Independent Action" The party some few years ago is- hood. But the General Office with unions has been a party policy for sued the slogan of "Independent the help of the District Council years. It has been the Comintern action over and above the heads of simply liquidated the local.

the bureaucrats." The party frac- Local 2717—as a single local— disastrous results have been divitions everywhere were instructed to one out of more than 25 locals in sion and splits in the ranks of the conduct "independent strike ac- New York City and vicinity, was organized workers, isolating the tion". Assuming for a moment that forced into "independent action". militants from the mass movement, the slogan of "independent action" Had the party fraction within local discrediting them and strengthenis correct, it is therefore logical to 2717 coupled the fight with a pro- ing the hands of the reactionary conclude from the content of the gram, on an inter-local basis, deal- A. F. of L. officials. At this moment slogan itself, that the opposition ing with such demands as (1) when the masses are actually going degree of organization of the Gerforces within the trade unions are lower dues, (2) protection of the to the A. F. of L. unions the party man proletariat, we may believe free movement on the chess board by occupying one properly organized to conduct "in- union standing of the unemployed, is up a blind alley with its trade that the German revolution will

dependent action over and above (3) free speech and democracy, (4) union policy. It is proceeding to hundred international prob-the heads of the bureaucrats". The use of this slogan in the both the party fraction and local by an orderly retreat attempting to the most important

ed. The strike conducted by the count of themselves. The rank tion. Through the initiative of the District Council and the "indepen- and file proved themselves militant, comrades S. and Weinstock a leaffighters against Zausner's paid let was distributed amongst painters signed in the name of the Opgangsters.

THE MILITANT

Zausner and his District Council position and calling for the defense No. 9 lost no time in denouncing of the Soviet Union. the complete isolation of left wing the Communists within the Broth-This amazed comrades Taylor influence and militancy from the erhood locals as "dual unionists" and Terry (and not them alone as

strike movement conducted by the whose intention it was to split the has since been learned). These Brotherhood. . . . Zausner attempted comrades thereupon guestioned to convince the rank and file that comrade S. as follows: smashed squarely on the head by while their families were denied Q.) Was the leaflet calling for Philip Zausner and his District the necessities of life due to unemthe defense of the Soviet Union dis-Council No. 9. Local 499 had its ployment, the Communists had or cussed and then authorized by the charter revoked and its members ganized a dual union with a wage Opposition? scale and working conditions below A.) No.

that of the Brotherhood, thus fur Q.) Then why was it issued in (rank and file opposition) will not ther deepening their own misery. the name of the Opposition? In the attempts to "blacken" the A.) Some times it is necessary Communists with the material supto do things over the heads of the Aready rumblings of dissatisfac- plied to him by the Party leaderrank and file and thus force a distion with the party leadership issue ship, Zausner was partly success cussion of the issue. from below! Many party members ful. Thus the prestige of the party That is how the bureaucracy in soft tones and among themselves members among the rank and file "defends" the Soviet Union. These are only some small ex-

In the latter part of 1933 Zausamples of party bureaucracy. The ner created his famous organizing real situation in the party is that no democracy exists, no criticism of victorious achievements after each campaign. Many hundreds of workdefeat do not by any chance turn ers joined the Brotherhood. Had the leadership or its policies is toldefeat into victory but lay the the original and correct policy of erated, thus resulting in a large groundwork for future defeats, the party "into the A. F. of L." not turnover of membership.

Political Work

things in a big way. . ." He does members in the Brotherhood locals Although absorbed in the trade not sit down with rank and file themselves developed a broad rank union work I did however closely workers and together with them and file movement for the organizaobserve the work of the party and formulate policy and tactics. No. tion of the unorganized, the entire the Comintern on the political Weinstock is a "leader of the mass- membership of the Independent unfield The discerning comrade was es"-even though he leads those ion could have had the possibility able to see a constant degeneration very same masses completely out of of joining the Brotherhood locals in what the party and Comintern the painters' union and into a state and thus greatly strengthened the term "Leninist theory and prac

tice... Some four or five weeks ago, a Zinoviev, reporting for the Exea meeting of the leading building cutive Committee of the C.I. at the trades faction, of which at the time Fourth Comintern Congress, said they were members, comrades Taythe following about the "United lor and Terry quoted William Z. Front"

Foster's namphlet "Organize the "The United Front means the Unorganized", which was printed leading of the working masses in in 1926. the daily class war. It means that These comrades pointed out their agreement with the major portion of the section in Foster's pamphlet workers, be they Anarchists, Syndealing with the danger of dual dicalists, Christian Socialists, So unions. In answer to the assercial Democrats, or whatever you tions of the comrades, the secretary of the A. F. of L. Building Trades Opposition, stated that the fact that we shall often have Foster's pamphlet was written in to sit at the table with the treach-1926 and therefore cannot apply toerous leaders. The foregoing is day! A real left winger would anwhat the United Front means and swer that this position was correct nothing else.". then and is correct now. But com-Lenin attended the 4th Congress rades Taylor and Terry were acof the Comintern. If there was cused of having adopted Lovestone's

of the United Front why did not the General Office of the brother- The artificial creation of rival Lenin or any other member of the E.C.C.I. tell Zinoviev that he was wrong; that there is only one

united front and that is the "United policy under the Stalin regime. Its Front from below" . . . Obviously Zinoviev stated the Leninist position on the united front. On Oct. 22, 1918 Lenin stated the following:

"Considering the power and th

link in the revolutionary chain. The success of the world revolution depends to the greatest degree upon Germany. . . .'

QUESTION BOX

A. S., CHICAGO.

Question: What is the Marxian basis of the theory of the inevitability of the social revolution? Is this theory fatalistic and, being sure of ultimate victory, does it pacify the working class in its struggle against capitalism?

Answer: There is no inevitability, in Marxian theory, in the sense that the working class whether they struggle or not MUST be victorious. It is not only not theoretically excluded, but even a probability for the present historical epoch, that the failure of the proletariat to build revolutionary parties and seize power in time may result in the victory of reaction on a world-wide scale (fascism, destruction of the Soviet Union, etc.) and in such a destruction of the world's productive forces (imperialist wars. restriction of production to a minimum inside national boundaries, etc.) that humanity may be set back for many years. It is of course difficult to imagine that the working class will not eventually destroy the capitalist system since all the laws of motion of present day society tend in this direction. only in this HISTORICAL sense can the social revolation be conceived as inevitable. There are no guarantees, however, as to when or under what circumstances it will take place.

As to any idea that Marxian theory "pacifies" the workers. Marx stated his concept as follows:

"What I did was to prove the following: (1) That the existence of classes is connected only with certain historical struggles which are characteristic of the development of production. (2) That class war indispensably leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . ." (Quotation by Lenin in "State and Revolution")

How can this perspective be considered as fatalistic? What is it that leads to the proletarian dictatorship? Class War! If the proletarians were to sit at home then they would not be participating in the class struggle and the failure to achieve emancipation would be assured.

Even though "he does not make it out of the whole cloth, man makes his own history. . . ."

Question: Does Social Democracy accept the theory of inevitability?

Answer: This is a rather peculiar question since the Social Democracy is not revolutionary but reformist. Since it rejects the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, it certainly cannot be accused of saying that this is inevitable. However, it tells the workers that we are ready to march against if they make proper use of the ballot box and elect capitalism side by side with all to power Socialist candidates, the latter can and will then legislate the social revolution into heing. One can with justice, therefore, say that the Social Democracy claims a Socialist Society to be inevitable please to join forces with them in provided that the workers don't forget to vote Socialthe daily struggle. . . . We accept ist on election day.

B. Y., HARVARD-

Question: Shouldn't the question of "Self-Determination of the Black Belt" be left to be settled by the Negro workers themselves after the Revolution? Answer: If he slogan of "Se'f Determination" is rejected, i.e., if one accepts the position that the Negro problem, in the U.S. is NOT that of a suppressed NATIONAL minority, your question, of course, becomes meaningless.

If the reverse position is adopted, however, the slogan would have to be advanced now since (1) our program is merely the formulation of the historic needs of society in every stage of its development; (2) acceptance of the slogan would imply our recognition that the Negroes have National aspirations of a progressive nature; and (3) even though the presnt reactionary position of capitalism makes the solution of the unfinished problems of the bourgeoisdemocratic revolution the task of the proletarian revolution, (e.g. National Independence) it is precisely because of this fact that the struggle for these unfinished tasks becomes a lever toward the winning of proletarian power.

It must again be repeated that a direct answer to the question depends upon the attitude which one has to the slogan, and we do not wish to anticipate ur national conference which will very shortly take ı definite position on it.

Gil Robles and the fascist groups in the same category. It is a matter of different classes and different of those who have defeated the Spanish October. The party of the proletariat should carefully follow the internal relations in this camp, which is ten times themselves. Nazis. It is superfluous to say that a sharp, even an armed conflict (which is hardly excluded), can again change the situation in favor of the proletariat.

Miserable philistines declare that military technique has emerged victorious from the revolution of the masses. They draw the conclusion that the armed struggle of the proletariat is condemned in advance Our conclusion is the direct opposite. Armed struggle which is the inevitable outcome of the class struggle of our epoch can only be victorious on the basis of a revolutionary policy which tests the cadres and wins the masses by giving them a clear analysis of the real situation.

The army of the revolution is not improvised at the minute that struggle is forced on it by the enemy. The working class must be prepared systematically for unremitting struggle, it must create the workers' militias. That is the lesson that should be drawn from the Spanish events.

Civil war, like all war, requires methodical preparation, a firm and capable leadership. We know that only a revolutionary proletarian party can assure this leadership. But we do not draw the false conclusion from the fact that the existing parties of crats" . the two internationals, socialist and communist have once again demonstrated their bankruptcy, and hence the necessity of new proletarian parties, that it is necessary first to build the new party in order it had organized the toiling poputo struggle against fascism. The proletarian vanguard lation into fighting formations in has begun to build this party in struggle; and it is every factory and every workers' in this struggle that it will grow in every country. district.

Unity of action! But that should If the two internationals were capable of energetic initiative they long ago would have appealed to the signify: preparation of the masses for the inevitable struggle. Form working masses for the boycott against the butchers of the Spanish toilers. The negotiations in Brussels the workers' militia. No more proon the contrary, have demonstrated the complete letarian massacres, but the organbankruptcies of the two internationals, which still ization of a victorious struggle. occupy the posts of leadership in the workers' movement. While the workers in Spain battle arms in for the Spanish proletariat in grips Trades Opposition. By rival unions hand the delegates of the two bureaucracies from with frenzied reaction on the con- I mean the artificial creation of Moscow and Zurich hold "fruitless and impotent dition that this sympathy becomes negotiations" in Brussels.

Workers, the road to victory still remains open to meetings leave the Spanish bouryou. There is no time to lose. Unity of action is a geoisie as well as those of other ion (T.U.U.L.) was organized some it is still possible to register for step forward in barring the road to fascism. But countries indifferent. In face of few years ago, with a wage scale them: in order that this unity of action be effective and the cannibalism of the counter-rev- and working conditions below that efficacious it must not be limited to agreements be- olution let us organize our united of the Brotherhood (A. F. of L.) tween the tops, on the parliamentary sphere, it must front of struggle; let us create our The Independent Alteration Paintworkers' militia. Long live the ers Union grew rapidly in the first involve and organize all the working people over the entire country; every barrier between the workers armed struggle of the Spanish stages of its existence.

must be broken down; every worker no matter what workers! Long live the proletarhis political opinion, can find himself in fraternal ian power! Long live the IVth Incontact with his class brothers. The workers alliternational, organizing the proleta- the Brotherhood and Independent ance in Spain would have been able to oppose and rian vanguard of all countries for certainly would have been able to offer a much more the victory of world socialism! -The International Secretariat, stubborn and more effective resistance to the attacks International Communist League | Independent union gave a good ac- 144 Second Avenue, New York City. of the troups of Gil Robles-Lerroux, if in advance

course of the actual struggle, how- 2717 would today be on firm again entrench the militants in the ever, soon convinced us that the ground! Such a program if properly mass unions, but by a route which political tendencies. Not the revolution is on the party fractions within the trade applied on the basis of mobilizing will make the left wing elements order of the day, but an internal conflict in the camp unions were not only conducting all locals, should have resulted in impotent for a long time to come. "independent struggles over and the creation of a broad rank and Thus the failure to correct a false above the A. F. of L. bureaucrats" file inter-local movement capable of policy in time leads to new serious cialism in one country" cannot be but that those "struggles" were effectively dealing with the corrupt mistakes. more heterogenous than Hitler's camp and does not also carried on over and above the officials of the New York District possess one one-hundredth of the discipline of the heads of the rank and file workers Council and of transforming the

local unions into fighting instru-Indifference to the organizational | ments of the workers.

strength of the Opposition in the What is the result of this kind of practical use of the slogan "inde- "independent action"? In both inpendent action" soon resulted in stances those of the carpenters local liquidation not only of weakly or- 2717 and painters local 499, the left gauized opposition groups and party wing had obtained a strong basis. fractions, but of entire local unions. Two local unions under its influence

Local 499 Painters A glaring example of the results for a serious fight against the of independent "strike action" will reactionaries. It could have been be found in reviewing the recent extended by careful building of activities of the party fraction in left wing groups in the other locals,

Local 499 of the Painters, Decoracementing them all together and tors and Paper Hangers of America. fighting on the basis of remaining In the recent painters strike within the A. F. of L. But the called by the officials of District party followed the policy of cap-Council No. 9, Local 499, under the ture and split with the result that influence of the party fraction, led it captured nothing, stands discredthe movement for independent ited as a splitter and its fractions "strike action" . . . organized its are now almost completely divorced own picket lines, pulled jobs and from the rank and file. They are it were. conducted strike action "over and a negligible factor in the life of

above the heads of the bureau- the unions.

The position of the corrupt A. F. Naturally much confusion resultof L. officials has been strengthened at the expense of the rank and file into whose ranks temporary demoralization has set in as a result of the series of defeats prepared by the "advance guard" of the work ing class.

Rival Unions

The creation of rival unions has The History of the Communist been the party policy during the last several years and it is a sore Every Wednesday, beginning Nov. spot which spreads its poison Meetings, resolutions are useful throughout the A. F. of L. Building 14. at 8 P.M. at 144 Second Ave. The fee for entire course is \$1.50; or 20 cents for a single lecture. new unions where the A. F. of L.

active and energetic .-- Petitions and already has a mass basis. The In-Although the following courses dependent Alteration Painters Unof the school are already in session, 1. A.B.C. of Marxism-Carl Cowl Every Friday at 8 P.M.

2. State & Revolution-J. Weber Every Monday at 8 P.M. 3. American History—F. Morrow. In the course of time there de-Every Wednesday at 8 P.M. veloped vicious warfare between

classes by

MAX SHACHTMAN

League (Trotskyists)

The fee for these courses is \$1.50 Union for the control of Alteration for the entire course or 20 cents paintshops. In the course of these for any single session. Registrastruggles the membership of the tions are taken daily at the office,

But the process of "Building So interrupted, though what happens

to be at stake is the German revo-

Bureaucracy

lution, upon which the "success o Some few weeks ago a member of the A. F. of L. Committee appeared world revolution depends". Revision of the Leninist United at the meeting of the electrical workers opposition ostensibly to get Front coupled with the treachery of the Social Democratic leaders support for a dance arranged by the Stalin's "Socialism in one councommittee. He immediately intry"; the insane theory of "Social formed the chairman that his topic Fascism", the retreat from revolufor discussion was to be "Affiliation tionary internationalism, these of the Electrical Workers Group to thus provided a good beginning the A. F. of L. Committee." among others, are the reasons that

made it possible for Fascism to as This raised a storm of protest sume power in Germany. from the chairman and other lead-How did the Stalin dominated In ing members of the opposition. The ternational greet the ascension o question of the electrical workers' Hitler to power? In the usual man affiliation to the A. F. of L. Comner. Every defeat of the proletariat mittee was never brought to the atis proclaimed a "weakening of intention of the electrical workers' ternational capitalism". "The Fasfraction. Nor was it first submitcist reaction is not proof of bourted to the executive committee of for consideration. The leaders of geois strength, but weakness. The bourgeoisie has chosen Fascism, the A. F. of L. Committee tried to terror and war, because the work-"catch the workers by surprise", as ing class has grown stronger. . (Communist Youth Pravda, March Comrade S, is a member of the

4, 1934). N. Y. District Bureau of the C.P. The downfall of the German pro and a member of the painters' frac-

letariat proved to be the downfall of the Comintern. It is now nec-THE INTERNATIONAL essary to build a new party and a WORKERS SCHOOL Fourth International. We hope to help in the process of building both ! announces a series of 12 lecture The Communist League of Ameri-

ca and the American Workers Party are about to achieve organic unity as a step towards the creation of the New Party.

We have carefully studied these efforts for the creation of the new party, with which we are in agreement. The proclamation of the New Party will be a festival occasion for the American working class.

-JACK TAYLOR. STATMENT OF COMBADE ALFRED TERRY

Not desiring to repeat what has already been said in the above statement of Comrade Jack Taylor, I take this opportunity of stating that I withdraw from the ranks of the official C.P.U.S.A. for the reasons stated in the above document

my personal experiences as party periences along trade-union lines. -ALFRED TERRY. \$1 for seven issues.

ADAH B, CHICAGO-

Question: What part did the civil servants and the Federation des Functionaires play in the French general strike of February?

Answer: We are informed by a comrade who was in Paris at the time that the civil servants were not called out, and, because of the nature of the strike (a one day demonstration), there was no way of getting their attitude to it in action. Subsequent to that time, however, they have been taking a very active role in demonstrations etc. since the government's economy program is being carried out chiefly at their expense. (Pardon the delay in answering. A search through the files of both the radical and the capitalist press failed to disclose the information)

S. H., BRONX-

Question: What is meant by Bonapartism?

Answer: By this we usually mean a form of capitalist state power, without mass support, which bases itself upon the military, the police, and the bureaucracy and is able to do so because the hostile classes in society are balanced against each other, neither camp being able nor willing to upset the equilibrium which would result in a civil war, unless, as was done in Germany by the leadership of the S.P. and C.P., the opposing camp capitulates without a fight. It is usually a precondition, if a Bonapartist regime is to last for any length of time, that the classes shall have mutually exhausted each other in struggle. It is apparent from this general description of this historical phenomenon that the variety of forms which it can take are many and that it represents an unstable form of power comparable to a ball balanced on the top of a pyramid. (P.S. Haven't you read Trotsky's pamphlets?)

Acknowledgement:-Your editor wishes to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a letter from Comrade H. Sorg of London, England, in which he submits to us, from another source, ("Communist International" No. 1, p. 18, published by C.P.G.B.) the same quotation from Lenin's "The Third International and Its Place in History" that was sent in by Comrade J. MacDonald and published in the 'Question Box" of Nov. 3rd.

Correction: An unfortunate typographical error appeared in the "Question Box" of last week. A statement which was printed as ". . . ships of all capitalist countries including the U.S.S.R. should have read ". . including the U.S.A. . . ."

November New International Out

The November issue of the New International is just off the press! Get your copy early. The October issue was completely sold out. Among the contents The above statement coincides with in this issue are letters from Marx, Trotsky and Rakovsky on Russia, a letter from Spain, an article member and in particular my ex- on the Negro question, book reviews, archive material' etc., etc., etc. 15c per copy; \$1.50 a year; Students Fight for

The Heritage of October



(Continued from Page 1)

bined forces of the two organizations are modest enugh, but a real move in this direction.

In turning deliberately toward a broader mass activity through the thereby contradict our past exist- ties to extend the basis and broaden still less do we renounce it. There Marxism are ours to grasp. We was a time when the propaganda circle, as a result of the general such a tendency with all our stagnation and theoretical degeneration, was the only existence possible for those who retained allegiance to principle. The situation of the time determined the progressive nature of the propaganda circle. We understood it better than tion of those who seek to solve the others and tenaciously stuck to our problem of isolation by desertion of reformism and centrism but irretask, rejecting all magic prescrip- of the revolutionary banner and concilable struggle against them. tions for short cuts to mass work. In that we were absolutely right, as subsequent experience demonstrated.

The Fate of Our Critics Those who built on firm foundations of principle proved to be most effective in mass work directly and in establishing relations and uniting with other progressive elements which, in the nature of the case, broadens the perspective mass activity in the future. The others, who did so much talking about "mass work" and condemned our preoccupation with propaganda as "sectarianism" (Weisbord, Field, etc.), made miserable failures with mass work, with propaganda, with organization and everything else. It is an ironic commentary on these grouplets of professional "mass workers", plunged into internal crisis by their total isolation from the mass movement on the one hand hand the fusion of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P. on the other, that they are compelled to seek some kind of a "principle" basis to maintain their "indedependence". They will

not find it. way now to the political party tied Sociely a up with the movement of the masses. Under the impact of the rising activity of the general labor moveworkers are beginning to awakeh day. Of all the groups in the S.P. to political life; others, who have fallen away in the period of reac tion and stagnation, are being roused out of their passivity. These new forces will not go to little groups. They will seek political expression through the medium of one of the parties. This is understood, more or less, by all the political-minded people in all the groups. They are moving to adjust their activities accordingly, and, by the direction they take, they reveal

of the new tasks and the broader any intention to form a faction in by a conscious determination to get stream. Such a tendency could the S. P. and still less to proclaim Trotsky (even quoting from the out of the propaganda circle into have only a negative influence now. the broader movement. The actual We must face the problem squarely fusion with the A.W.P., now on the at the national conference and solve order of the day, is in our under- it. That means: we must not yield imagines that he has discovered a standing, a more decisive step on an inch to any kind of sectarian the same path; by no means a solu- considerations in regard to the to work wonders in the Socialist ion of the problem, for the com- fusion and the launching of the party all by himself by means of new party.

danger in the present period of knows what other clever tricks. It Sectarianism can be a great flux and change in the movement when vast new perspectives open medium of a new party we do not up before us; when new opportuni- and the new party. We have no

shall oppose every manifestation of

new party, also, if necessary. Gitlow and Zam-Renegades! will train them in the same spirit. But it goes without saying that Our road is the road to the new our position in this regard has nothing in common with the posirevolutionary party. And, by that, not to conciliation with the parties entry into the Socialist party. Git- If we are equal to our task we have the opportunity to succeed. low and Zam, by this shameful performance, only complete the evolu- The perspective of a rising labor movement is all in our favor; a tion which began with their crusade against "Trotskyism" in the

genuinely Marxist party cannot fail to thrive in the period of labor re-C. P. They were among the origivival and mass activity. Our rivals police and football heroes knock nators, or at least the earliest prac--the C. P. and the S. P.-are irretitioners, of the art of misusing mediably bankrupt, as the experithe Leninist weapon of denunciaence of the two big strike waves tion, hurling the epithet "renedemonstrated once again. Our Cops Guaard "Academic Freedom" gade" at honest revolutionists until forces are not too numerous, but the word lost all meaning. How they are of better quality. They hollow that all sounds now. They even cousole themselves with the of epithets by the Stalinists has rich experience in trade union and there on those steps lessons more mity in the respectful attitude of the workers republic. Their mass activity. The task is a colosengendered such a cynicism on the subject of renegacy that their own if we have nerve to begin it and the return to the "party of revolutionary unity" without a program, will to carry it through.

The Principles of the New Party without a banner, without-as they announce-the slightest intention We need a declaration of printo even form a faction in this "unitciples that speaks out clearly on ed" party, will escape the indigevery important question. The first nant denunciation of the revoludraft, taken as a basis, is naturally tionary workers. Never mind. The to be edited, revised and clarified sword of Lenin has been blunted, on every point. The bulk of this but it will be sharpened again. work of improving and clarifying A realty serious analysis of the the program has already been acsituation, the trends and the curcomplished by the joint committee.

rents in the workers' political The second draft, embodying impormovement in the United States does tant amendents and reformulations, will go to the convention delegates Socialist Party is or will be the of each organization and then to revolutionary party of the future, the joint convention for final revior that it is the best field for the sion. The work in the joint proactivities of the revolutionists togram committee has demonstrated beyond any doubt that we have a common standpoint on all the funary, that is, bolshevik. There is damental questions of principles not one leader that deserves the and tactics. What remains now is name of revolutionist. As for revprimarily a literary task of formuclutionists entering the S. P. from lating each and every point with the outside, they cannot do it, as such precision that it cannot have the case of Gitlow and Zam proved, two meanings to anybody. In the unless they give up their program program declaration of the new and their banner. When revoluparty there should be no trace of tionists do that they cease to be ambiguity. We are confident that revolutionists. The leaders of the the final draft which passes the side, from Stanford University

FreedomofSpeech (Continued from Page 1) upon-a-time-liberal and removed from superintendency of Los Angeles Public Schools for a pacifist

| ranks, some hesitations and fears Goldman, like Gitlow, forswearing stand during the war) of conspiracy to turn the university over to

the need of a split with the black latter's book, "The Strategy of the World Revolution") and the Third hundred gang of the Old Guard, International these students in reality advocated so communistic new political recipe. He is going a measure as a student controlled forum.

Warned by Provost Moore to personal diplomacy, back-slapping the centrist leaders, and the devil cease advocating a student forum, these students had the temerity to has been said that he even expects think freedom of speech is permitto remain a "friend" of the League ted within the sacred precincts of a University campus. The student constitution provides for the right ence as a propaganda group, and the influence of revolutionary party needs revolutionary militants of petition for the referendum. Dr. who are firm in their convictions Moore's representative hurried to and loyal to their own organiza- the Student Council and bore the tion. We have had a good chance words that if the students attemptstrength-in the League, and in the in recent years to find out who they ed to use their right to petitionare. There are enough to make a that right would be taken from them. Shades of 1776! start. Others will follow, and we

Like a bolt from the blue on Monday afternoon, October 29th, the five popular and active students although their palms are itching were suspended. On the same day student interest and resentment began swelling. Plans were laid.

On Tuesday the students acted Ten o'clock classes were empty. Professors dismissed their classes as 4,000 tudents stood before Royce Hall steps and saw uniformed

to take the stand in the behalf of the recalcitrant free-speechers.

Cries of "What are the cops doing here?", "Let him speak", "We are firm in principle and, taking want an open hearing" rang out. sal one. But we can accomplish it many classes. A cop was scuffled. Students booed.

In the office of the university, Dr. "Get out there, you four, and break respective national economies. up that meeting!" No one moved.

Then one spoke quietly: "Dr. Moore, you break it up. You started it." These were brave words, but the

four students anxious to get back into school had repudiated Celeste all the NRA code regulations the Strach, N.S.L. member because of her membership in that organization, and were later going to take the stand against "Communism" in an effort to purify their banner. Outside-Pleading of a few "loyal" students who called upon everyone to sing the college anthem, "Hail Blue and Gold"; Earl Miller, dean of men, requests the students to go back to their classes. Back demonstrated long ago and beyond they go. But a glowing page in a shadow of a doubt. There unemstudent action had already been ployment has been eliminated and

Support from Stanford

written.

And support pours in from out-'Militants'' who, it must not be convention will meet this Marxian where the editor of the organ of the leaders of the test and become the abarter and the students there writes a fine forgotten, are the leaders of the convention will methat the students there writes a fine party nationally, exacted from guide of all the revolutionary mili- editorial on free speech. The Uniguide of all the revolutionary mili- editorial on free speech.

versity of California at Berkeley

students declare a one hour strike



By ARNE SWABECK

Seventeen years ago the October, they engaged so feverishly in the forces throughout the world. Hence revolution brought the first great race for armaments in preparation the defeat of the latter instead of defeat to world capitalism. It for the final conflict between the their victory. But it is because of transferred the power in a terri- two systems.

With each new marvelous achievetory covering one sixth of the earth's surface from a class in de- ment the Soviet Union is drawn is much greater today. Its actual cline and decay to a rising progres- closer into the voretex of world defense has become a much more sive force-the working class. This economy. Today this is illustrated pressing necessity. was then, and remains today its in concrete terms of credits and of

exchange of products in terms of most fundamental aspect. Around the working class rallied economy and of politics. It is impossible to disregard the interdethe great majority of the peasantry, cementing an alliance of mutual pendence of the various nations in the Stalinist bureaucratic regime. interests. This alliance has re the relations of world economy re- The parties dominated by this remained firm and found its joint ex- gardless of whether they have for gime have been strangled and depression in the Soviets, in the social their basis a socialist or a capitaland cultural institutions of the ist structure. In view of this it is for the revolutionists the only workers republic, in the Red Army necessary to emphasize over and course now left open is the one of and in the reciprocal relations of over again that the theory of a na- creating new parties and the cremutual benefits and mutual obli- tional self-sufficiency as well as the ation of a new International. From gations between city and country, theory of Socialism in One Coun- this we do not at all exclude the From this alliance the U.S.S.R. try is utopian and reactionary. A Soviet Union. But the center of draws its great strength, serving socialist society within the limits

in a dismal world as a beacon light of national boundaries is not feas of inspiration. And this also has ible. Socialism and national separheld imperialist marauders back, atism are mutually exclusive. At this particular moment, for for the attack. The working class example, reports are current of the power has defied its foes. It has unwillingness of the major capiremained unshaken and stands as talist powers to grant long term the guardian of the workers father- credits to the Soviet Union and of land. To defend this fatherland the necessity in view of this to remains an elementary duty for make drastic curtailments in the next five year plan. We do not acevery revolutionist.

It is not necessary to make in- cept these reports in any sense of quiries today about the accomplish- finality inasmuch as the capitalist ments of the October revolution. powers are far from having a down the speakers who attempted We do not ask for its justification. united front among themselves It is sufficient to say that the world and engage in the competitive literally stands aghast, watching struggle for markets. But these breathlessly every new advance in reports must serve as a serious the U.S.S.R. The world watches in warning. The economic successes wonderment or bewilderment, with recorded in the Soviet Union do not admiration and sympathy or with and cannot solve its problems and

them all together, they embody a Yes, the students were learning fear and hatred, but there is unani- do not at all secure the existence poignant than can be found in shown when confronting the mag- existence is directly and inextricnitude of its developments. Even ably bound up with their position the most powerful among the im- on the international arena. It is perialist nations, the United States bound up with the advance or the Moore shuddered and, looking at itseif, no longer dares to deprecate retreat of the international revoluthe four young men who had been these developments, not to speak of tion. This is an elementary lesson

expelled and who had been sum- making an actual comparison of of Marxism which we can never moned to appear before him, said conditions and achievements of the afford to overlook or to disregard. Struggle to the End The relationship between the The Contrast

It is true that here the scope of orkers republic and the capitalist the productive forces still far outpowers is necessarily a compromise strip those of the Soviet Union, but and will remain so until the one here an overwhelming percentage or the other conquers. It is in no of its capacity lies idle and despite sense a peaceful relationship no matter what the diplomatic coveranarchy of capitalist production ings may seem to convey. The isprevails, millions of workers remain in the misery and deprivations of unemployment, the standard of living for the class as a whole vastly reduced while bankruptcies make inroads in the various layers of the middle class. The

superiority of planned economy as pursued in the U.S.S.R. has been the standard of living of the population as a whole is improving.

around the Soviet Union reaction is But the imperialists still cherish growing at a much faster pace than hopes in the midst of their deadly

the successes of Socialist construcreactionary offensive is clear and it ties it dominates.

these defeats that the danger of the existence of the Soviet Union

It is for these reasons also that the defense of the Soviet Union cannot be conceived of without a struggle to the very end against stroyed or rendered impotent. And gravity of the struggle against the victorious reaction is now in the west, with France at this moment as its most crucial point. In the United States, however, rapid developments of the class struggle are also in the making.

This is where we will take our part in the creation of a new International and organizing the real defenders of the Soviet Union. We hail the seventeenth anniversary of the October revolution and pledge to it our loyalty and support. For us it meant the first stage in the international revolution and the beginning of a new civilization not to be confined to one single country It is in this spirit that we are about to take the first serious step toward he organization of the American revolutionists into the new party. It is in this spirit also that we celebrate our sixth anniversary of the Militant.

Six years ago its first issue appeared, throwing down its challenge to the organizers of defeat and making the first attempt in this country to restore the banner of the October revolution. The Militant has grown since in influence and around it has rallied a movement, still small when compared to its gigantic tasks, but firmly founded on the teachings of Marx and Lenin. On that foundation we made common cause with the International Left Opposition and set for ourselves first the aim of propagandizing its ideas. To us sues between them are fought out this could only mean a certain constantly in the class war and the stage of preparation to bring these advantage of either side is influ- ideas into actual life in the class enced step by step through the struggle. We have now passed that strengthening or the weakening of transitional stage and we feel that the position of either class on a our efforts have not been in vain. world scale. The final victory will But in the course of these developbe determined by this position. To- ments it also became clear to us day the international revolution is that the ideas transformed into not advancing. On the contrary, it life must find their expression in a has suffered serious reverses and new party. No other conclusion defeats. It is a well known fact could be drawn from the disastrous that within the ring of countries defeats of the working class movement on a world scale, the false theory and practice of the nationally limited Stalinist bureaucracy tion. The further direction of the and the dismal failure of the par-

have no illusions about the peace- has gained its advantages mainly We now stand on the threshold

It will be no exaggeration to say

sion to perform. The further ex-

tension of the October revolution

still awaits the strong hands of a

their real colors. Lovestone moves desperately to

re-attach himself to the Stalinist party, in its swing to the right, before his group falls to pieces before his eyes. Gitlow Zam-Goldman crawl back into the Socialist party to make good the "mistake" of 1919 We, who are neither Stalinists nor social democrats, move to

unite with other forces to form an independent party opposed to both.

Each, according to his opinion and his inner tendency, will find his place; except those who want to continue to "clarify" themselves in a small circle. For such there is no salvation and no political life in the period unfolding now.

Dilemma of Propaganda Groups Degeneration is the fate of all propaganda groups which are not

able to transform the nature of their activity and connect themselves with the broad movement it. The Bolshevik-Leninists are when the hour strikes for such a transformation. We are prepared by our past for a great leap forward; but we ourselves must take the leap. We fought a good fight.

It was historically necessary and progressive. Against the stream activity as an outside group, and for six years, against unparalleled they do it openly. What does this difficulties, against slander, isolacourse have in common with the tion and poverty of resources we skulking, shamefaced conduct of held tenaciously to our course. We Gitlow?

have a right to be proud of our six-years' struggle. The history of the American movement does not know another example of a group that was put to such severe tests and stood up under them so .firmly. We have survived. We have a right to be proud of our six-years' struggle for principle; but it would be a tragedy if we should fail to understand that this struggle was not an end in itself but a period of preparation for the new opportunities and new tasks which stand be-

fore us now. We must acknowledge that we are not immune from such a danger. A certain element of "sectarianism" is inseparable from the life of a group which lives a long time in isolation and is compelled

by the needs of the movement, as we were, to preoccupy itself almost action of Albert Goldman in jump- industry. we were, to preducing itself almost ing over the fence into the S. P. at An offer by the bosses to submit definitely help to decide that free-

some 'sectarian" hangovers in our but the act of a strike-breaker? shop.

party nationally, exacted Gitlow and Zam a public declara- tants in the country. tion that they have no intention of forming a communist faction, or any If, as all signs indicate, the sixth in sympathy with the suspended

other kind of a faction, in the anniversary of our struggle is to students. party. Then, to avoid a conflict culminate in the conclusion of our | Here as at U.C.L.A. "Cross-Eyed existence as a separate group and Kellys" of the gridiron try to with the Old Guard over their admittance, they chivied the ex-com-oin the S. P., so to speak, as second grade members.

Mistaken Analogies

Leninists in entering the S.F.I.O. is unshakeable. We "Trotskyites" thought) off the campus. Says he: formulating unemployment insuras a group. But in reality there is are convinced to the marrow of our "A well-regulated university does ance-not any kind of insurance for no similarity at all. Shaken to its bones that our fight was justified not have free speech". So-a uni

democratic state, the French So- ing and repent nothing. Revolu- iment"? Says who? cialist party reacts to the broadest tionary internationalism remains as possible democracy in its own before our central, unifying idea. Americans" (as they call themranks; the leadership is not in a The great task now, as we under- selves) are: the American Legion,

the beginning of a new period of "bust things up". Los Angeles joint struggle with the members of Junior College sends a petition with the A.W.P. in a single party, it can 750 names calling for reinstatement. only mean that we carry with us | The days that have followed have that system of ideas and methods seen Dr. Moore appealing to stuwhich, thanks to our international dent vigilantes (here we must re-

course of Gitlow and Zam and the aid of our great teacher, we have the strike in San Francisco) to out from under them and told them when Hitler came to power, and the leading to victory. It is to that action of the French Bolshevik- so firmly acquired. Our conviction drive radicalism (spell freedom of their work would be confined to defeat of the Austrian workers. task that he new party will be foundations by the crisis of the and necessary. We renounce noth- versity is a "laboratory for exper- cheap little fund that would tide

The supporters of the "C.C.L.A. position to place limitations upon stand it, is to carry this idea into the Daughters of the American the realm of organization and ac-Revolution, the Better American able to enter the party without any tion. That means concretely: unite Federation, the Chamber of Com conditions: they openly retained forces to build the new party of merce, the Chief of Police Davis, their whole program, their name, the Fourth International. We hope the aristocratic Ebell Club. Cast their banner, their press. They to contribute our full share to the an appreciative eye over that mob,

> But a wave of student support is starting, hlowly, clumsily-directed. But, nevertheless, such a progressive wave, galvanized by demands for the reinstatement of the five students, for a student forum,

> for free speech that even the re doubtable Dr. Moore may be swept aside.

The latest paper carries news that 100 U.C.L.A. professors de mand the ouster of this senile servant of reaction, this pitiful, broken old man.

Let letters, petitions, mass meetings all over the land swell the his promise to business. Said the New York Times: "Business leadtide.

Every school in the land will have to decide whether free speech the cautious policy enunciated by is to be allowed at U.C.L.A., or the President, who emphasized that

that all problems could not be recent assertion that the union has cide this problem. An avalanche program 'we must not loose sight under its leadership no more than of protests directed to the presi-

How else is one to explain the 20 per cent of the workers in the dent of the University of Californsecurity for the individual in the midst of general insecurity'." ia, Dr. Sproul, at Berkeley, will

In other words, the people can exclusively with the intransigeant struggle to the moment our plans for fusion the question of wages and hours dom of speech shall be safeguarded, wait for five or ten years for their with the intransigeant struggie to with the A.W.P. and the formal to an "impartial arbitrator" was that democratic rights shall be security, while business reintrenchpossible that we will have to face proclamation of the new party were emphasically rejected by union maintained! Dr. Moore will reap es itself. Capitalism first, the workpossible that we will have to will hearing completion? What is that leaders who first demand the closed the whirlwind he has sown! ers afterwards, is the President's -BILL MONROE. motto.

ful coexistence of the workers redue to the departure of the Stal- of the new revolutionary party in public alongside of the capitalist inist regime in the Soviet Union the United States. The League is powers. They still dominate world and the official Communist parties preparing to unite with the A.W.P. economy and never before have from the theory and practice of revolutionary internationalism. Out that the new party will become one

Roosevelt Plan Fails

(Continued from Page 1)

record once again only the defeat Three hours after Harry Hopkins of the Chinese revolution, the dehad roused the congress of econofeat of the German workers and mists to wild enthusiasm, President

the present unemployed, but a Soviet power as well. present job holders over a few What has the Soviet Union

weeks of unemployment.

The Great Social Security Program boiled down to a plan where- the capitalist powers it is accorded by workers at present employed respect in outward appearance. from a fund created partly out of extended its official recognition. their meager salaries and partly Several powers, no doubt, would at out of pay roll taxes, a sort of com-

pany union mutual benefit association, with very little benefit at that. to consider any old age pensions, for bettering the ten million now unemployed.

The "Security" Grave

In a few short words the President dug a grave, buried the Social Security program, and erected a tombstone over the hopes of those who expected something from the

New Deal. There was rejoicing in one quarter. President Roosevelt has kept

ers (read: robber barons) hailed these collegiate fascists, who helped miracles could not be achieved,

> solved at once and that in developing the component parts of a broad

of the fact that there can be no

analogy between the contemptible collaboration, and above all to the member the vigilantes used during Roosevelt himself knocked the pins the crushing of their organizations revolutionary movement capable of national revolution but against the

Mooney Wins Hearing

gained in return for these blows (Continued from Page 1) on the international arena? From ecutioner's hand and forced Woodrow Wilson to have his sentence commuted to life imprisonment. might receive a few weeks support Even the mighty dollar empire has Everytime since then that Mooney had a chance for freedom. it was because the labor movement was in motion. this present stage not spurn an al-

of this the severe defeats of the of the important factors in laying

real defenders of the Soviet Union the foundation for the actual or-

became possible. In order to prove ganization of the Fourth Interna-

this contention it is necessary to tional. It will have a serious mis-

liance with the Soviet Union but, 'Today again, if the Supreme as far as they are concerned, it Court is not to be permitted to find The Presiden warned (Warned!) | would be only to further their own a legal loophole to deny Mooney a the economists that they were not | imperialist aims. The Soviet Union retrial, it will only be because the has entered non-aggression pacts of militant working class is on its feet any health insurance, or any plans the kind that were declared scraps and says to the doddering judges of paper in the last war. It has that it will not take NO for an anbeen taken into the icy embrace of swer.

the League of Nations. Its repre-The cause of Mooney is the cause sentatives will sit on the council of the oppressed and exploited. in Geneva constructed by the rob- Tom Mooney went to prison beher bands of nations which were cause he fought labor's battle. As victorious in the last war and for long as Mooney remains in jail a the purpose of maintaining the ar- cloud of shame will hang over the tificial national boundaries of imworking class.

perialist loot and to continue the Fighting Mooney, never weary, enslavement of humanity with the never discouraged, has time and "blessings" of capitalist civilizaagain called upon the working tion. Empty diplomatic victories class for assistance. That they when compared to the disastrous have not passed unheeded is a matdefeats flowing from a fundamenter of history.

But now, now! more than ever tally false theory and practice. On the weak reed of such victories the before it is our duty to answer his Stalinist bureaucracy leans for its call!

IRVING PLAZA

15th Street & Irviny Place



Europe Admission 15c

support to ward off the attacks upon the Soviet Union instead of SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT. placing its real reliance on the strengthening of the working class JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE



(Continued from Page 1)

We have supported the action of Meanwhile a furious campaign of our French comrades. Under the exceptional circumstances -prevail- slander has been unleashed by the bosses in an effort to nip the strike ing in the French labor movement we think it was the correct tactical in the bud. Five thousand scabs. tep. But it is obvious that the have been imported to fill the situation in this country is entirely places of striking workers, while different. Here the road is open extensive preparations are being for the creation of an independent made by the police department to party. It is a hard road, let us insure them adequate protection. not deceive ourselves about that, A charge by the bosses that Chicago but there is no other for those who racketeers are in control of the have serious revolutionary aims union has failed to dampen the en-

and do not shrink from the impli- thusiasm of the workers. In a telegram sent to Mayor cations of a struggle for them. It will be a hard up-hill fight. Those LaGuardia, the Real Estate Board break the longshoremen's strike, who have no stomach for it can warns of a "serious labor disturb- are to rule. Every college accordbe expected to stand aside on one ance". This gives the lie to their ing to Dr. Moore will have to depretext or another.

Goldman's Desertion