

workers and inside workers as defined in the August 21, 1934 agreement; and to pay for a per-

work.

od of one vear from June 1

textile battle which struck at the Cabinet has decided to refer the working class group undertaken mediaries. roots of the misery of the mill death sentences already passed by such extraordinary measures to workers-the 30 hour week and un- the Military Tribunals, to the Su- better its conditions. Strikers A. F. of L., who denounces the ac-bama, courtroom itself he declared progressive moves of one character ion recognition—were scuttled by preme Court for reconsideration. the Roosevelt board with the consent and connivance of the leaders be won only by means of continued of the union. In its stead the Board struggles, the working class can munificently offered to study the reorganize and realign its forces, stretch-out. Here are the results: build its national united front orthe unbearable speed-up prior to ganization and prepare for the Sept. 21 is to remain unaltered. coming struggles which are bound However "pleasing" this may to be decisive. The workers of all the class war. But never before of L. unions to engage in a onesound to the ears of the mill oper- countries must show their solidaratives, who went out on a general ity with their comrades in Spain nounced their willingness at once always will be binding only to the is not going to represent the innostrike to abolish the stretch-out of in their present difficulties.

the blood thirst of the Fascists. The Old Stretch-Out Remains hold in the world. The two major demands of the According to latest reports, the For never before in history has a

the unwillingness to satisfy fully point into every capitalist strong- tion, as did the truck drivers of

have fought the police, the armed tion of the Houde Corporation as In this breathing space, that can forces of the State, have bared a "challenge to the Government". breasts to bayonets; women have brought suckling babes with them to the picket lines. The Molly lenge. Maguires, syndicalists and anarchists have used the most desperate forms of terror as their weapon in ing even now to persuade the A. F. have workers so dramatically anto die rather than face slow death workers.

take, indeed, had the boys, misled This leadership itself, united by by Leibowitz's false promises, put reactionary ideology, reflected the their lives in his hands. This conflicting issues in its attempt to "mouthpiece" of New York gang- chart the course of the trade union sterdom is such a fine "frie novement for the immediate fu

1935, until May 31, 1936, not less than 55c per hour to truck drivers and not less than 45c per hour to helpers, platform workers and inside workers.

"The hours and overtime rates provided by the respective codes shall apply. In figuring overtime, it shall be based on rate of wage covered by this agreement. 'It is understood that the

minimum wages herein specified do not apply to boys temporarily employed on small package deliverv trucks.

"It is further understood that no wage rates in excess of the minimums above specified will be reduced."

The strike settlement set a mini mum wage of 50 cents for truck drivers and 40 cents for helpers, with arbitration to follow on demand of the union for higher wages. This clause the Stalinists denounced for many "reasons" One was that the union had been of thousands of workers into mo- | business." demanding 521-421 cents hourly tion and drew the class lines sharp since accepting the Haas-Dunnigan in 1886 gains force once again. proposals, rejected by the bosses. Secondly, the Stalinists (whose sole functioning union, the furriers, is subject to the rulings of an ar bitration board with an "impartial" chairman) objected "in principle" to arbitration of any sort!

Another Bone to Chew On

FIVE DAY WEEK! The overpowering sentiment for velt sidetracked it by initiating the No doubt we will now read all thirty hours a week is taking hold NRA! about this new "defeat" in the Daily Worker.

in every factory and workshop of Perhaps the editor will add the story of the unions "defeat" two American Federation of Labor has the Black-Connery "30 hour week" unanimously adopted a resolution bill is awaiting action. Under the weeks ago at the Ready-Mixed

Concrete Co. Here all the drivers endorsing this slogan. were dissatisfied because the company made them report at 7:30 Green, "there will go out a united No limit is set for a day's toil. 30

A.M., only to waste half an hour and determined army that will hours is merely a weekly maximum. or more (unpaid) before loading. drive home the acceptance of the This system already prevails in shivering in their boots, lest this Furthermore, three active strikers five-day week and the six-hour day, many industrial establishments towere kept off their jobs, although

men hired during the strike were still at work. When the company form."

refused to negotiate, the union These are strong words coming Bill Green supports the bill! from a man who only a few days called a strike of Ready Mixed This is not the thirty hour week drivers, and set up banners. previously agreed to the Roosevelt American labor wants. The six-

In response to 574's appeal, the edition of the Old Deal capital- hour day and five-day week, withbuilding trades workers on a big labor truce. The thunderous ova- out reduction of wages but rather construction job refused to accept tion that greeted these hypocritical with increases to meet the rising delivery from scab drivers. The words reveal Green's motive only standard of living-that is what strike was settled on the day it was too clearly. the workers in Frisco meant when On the other is the antagonism they applauded Green. called. The 7:30 rule was abolished

and remains abolished; the three of the capitalist class. Avarice and | On whom shall the workers rely? strikers were put back on the job greed for bigger and bigger profits On themselves! On their own underlies their almost unanimous strength and power! with seniority rights.

by starvation.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT. (Continued on Page 4)

their conditions.

Capitalism Must Go!

Woe to a civilization that can drive masses of men to such extremities! It is a festering sore. It must, it will be obliterated! Never by suicide! If workers are to sacrifice themselves in the struggle for better living conditions, let

mies, as did their Austrian broth the enemy before they go down

imprisoned miners that the Goem boes government feared, but rather the anger it would inspire in an aroused working class. Not the action that was taken, but what might follow.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the miners have helped to drive their point home. They have

They have said to the workers of the world: "You need not starve

> And in many a country in the world today, bourgeois leaders are lesson be taken to heart, and imbe added, as it has been added. by

> > "It is better to die fighting!"

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL ANNOUNCEMENT

Classes in the International Workers School have already begun. All those interested who have not yet registered can still do so by coming down to the classes. See page 3 for schedule of classes.

remains silent when the Government refuses to accept the chal-

Minneapolis, with or without the

Labor Board and its various inter-

This faker is even now planning The I.L.D. remains the official his most colossal sellout; attempt-Leibowitz's character and intensided "industrial truce", which as tions will be glad to learn that he cent youths.

Write in J.P. Cannon as Your

The working class of New York is confronted with many grave

problems in this coming election. For five years they have been

pressed down by the catastrophic crisis of capitalism; many of their

families have been separated, many of their homes destroyed.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE (Continued on Page 4)

But President Bill Green, of the the boys that in the Decatur, Ala- ture. Some of the officials sponsored himself in favor of lynching in while others would take a like principle, being opposed to it in position on other issues. In this this case only because he believes they expressed their bewilderment the boys to be innocent of the aroused by the new conditions they crime of rape.

find themselves in. But all of them combined in reactionary utterances representative of the Scottsboro and maneuvers to throw up new boys, and all who are aware of barriers to stem the tide of developing labor militancy.

The Industrial Union Issue

Undoubtedly the outstanding focus of these conflicting issues at the A. F. of L. convention is represented in the definitely progressive move toward industrial unionism. Contrasted to this, however, was the just as decidedly reactionary jurisdictional dispute in the Build-Vote for New Party in Elections ing Trades Department. The step toward industrial unionism finally agreed upon after long debate in the resolutions committee and adopted by an overwhelming convention majority will have far-reaching significance in all future A. F. of L. developments. That should by no means be minimized. It is true that so far the industrial union basis is to cover only the unions in the automobile, aluminum, and cement industries. It is true also that it is explicitly declared that there is to be no interference with the craft union prerogatives elsewhere. Nevertheless this step definitely marks the beginning of a change of the A. F. of L. from a craft union to an industrial unionbasis.

> It is the first serious sign of its attempt to adjust itself to the requirements imposed by the problems of unionization under modern industrial conditions, at least insofar as organizational form is concerned. This is the one most important sign of progress within the main trade union body which is set into motion by the changes in the national economy of the country, the regroupment of class forces which is taking place and the wide spread working class awakening, organization and mili-

On the other side of the picture s the intense and bitter jurisdictional dispute in the Building Trades Department which is again bringing to the fore in a most acute

-New York District, Communist League of America.

(Continued on Page 4)

ancy The Scramble for Spoils



Six-Hour Day, Five-Day Week

them go down fighting their enescreams: "The thirty hour week is This battle cry that set hundreds socialism! It will drive us out of ers. Let them take their toll of

Roosevelt is a partner in this op- Let their masters, 'too, get a taste

It was not the death of the selfproduction labor is inscribing on hour week. A reporter in the its banner the fighting watchword: Herald Tribune observes that when THE SIX HOUR DAY AND THE the demand for a reduction in hours gained in force a year ago, Roose-

der capitalism.

"Friends" of the working man the country. The convention of the are not wanting today. In congress taught how little life is worth un-

appearance of reducing hours it is in "From this convention," said reality a grandiose stagger system. It is better to die!"

and nothing will stop us in the day. A sop to the workers, it con-proved upon. Lest the amendment realization of this economic re-stitutes no serious improvement of

an infuriated workingclass.

Obviously the workers can gain nothing by voting for the Republiposition. The unofficial "brain trusof what desperation means. Today, however, with the tech- ter", Raymond Moley, reported to nological advances made in indus-an "informal" gathering of industry and the huge strides in the trialists that Roosevelt's greatest mechanization of the machinery of achievement was staving off the 30

can and Democratic parties. Just as a worker cannot support his boss in the factory, he cannot support him on election day. The workers must gain unemployment insurance, the right to join unions of their own choosing, a 30-hour week with no reduction in pay etc., etc. But can they gain these concessions from the capitalists

by merely writing in a name on the ballot? NO! Voting is only one of the ways the workers can apply pressure on the capitalist government, and not the most important way at that. We say to you openly, "You will not gain these concessions by merely writing in the name of our candidate on the ballot, even if he were elected. You will never vote Socialism into power by the ballot."

You can only gain major concessions from the capitalists when you possess and are led by a strong, able revolutionary party. NO SUCH PARTY EXISTS TO-DAY.

The workers can have no faith in the ability of the timid reformists of the Socialist Party to lead them in their battle against the capitalists.

The Communist Party (Stalinists) has proved itself incompetent to pursue a revolutionary policy. It has completely discredited itself before the working class by its bankrupt policies in America and in the rest of the world where defeat after defeat has been the result of its efforts.

The task of the hour for the working class, therefore, before which all other tasks pale into insignificance, is the building of a new revolutionary party which will be able to wring concessions from the capitalist class, abolish the system of hunger and unemployment and lead the workers onward towards a workers' republic.

What is necessary in this election is that the leftward moving workers of this state show their sympathy and their solidarity with the building of a new revolutionary party in this country.

YOU ARE SUPPORTING THE BUILDING OF THIS REVOLU-TIONARY PARTY BY WRITING IN THE NAME OF JAMES P. CANNON OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA ON THE BALLOT, FOR GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK STATE.

PACT 2

No Peace"

REVIEWING

THE NEWS

"Peace! Peace! Where There Is

The Daily Worker of Oct. 3, in

its column, "World Front", takes a

Smith, chairman of the British La-

role of the British imperialists, de-

writes in a pugnacious mood

* * *

did in the "D.W."

Degeneration

Results of Bureaucratic

IN THE TRADE UNIONS



The movement to create the | dealing with the subject of the eco-Fourth International must also en- | nomic struggles of the young work-

A second vital matter, which acquires particular youth significance, especially with the rise of imperialism and the attendant colossal growth of armaments and war, is the question of anti-militarism and treated, as a result of the petty- the struggle against war. In this bourgeois prejudices of social de- field the youth are the heaviest sufmocracy and the factional abuses of ferers.

Stalinist revisionism. All this is Thirdly, we are confronted with true enough, but these truths do a system of capitalist education. not erase the fact that when the the aim of which is to train a ser-Young Communist International vile youth that will be ready to answer the beck and call of the master class. Beginning with the children, through the schools, the press, radio, sports, etc., the ruling class molds a "bourgeois minded" youth. The youth work then is divided into three essential fields:

a) the economic struggles of the young workers;

b) anti-militarism and the struggle against war; and,

c) socialist education.

The special character of the the principles upon which the communist youth movement was built young workers (physical and menhave either been forgotten. or else tal immaturity) and his particular pushed back so far into the ar-status in the capitalist social order chives of the pseudo-Bolsheviks make necessary the existence of a that for all practical purposes these special youth organization. If the working class is to emancipate itprinciples never existed. Now it is self from the yoke of capitalism it necessary to restate them in a lanmust devote special efforts to overguage so plain that no possible come "bourgeois prejudices" toward misunderstandings can arise. The restatement of these principled the youth to liquidate as speedily concepts should serve as a guide as possible a "natural" antagonism for all our young comrades in their between the adults and youth, with the aim of simultaneously neutralwork toward rebuilding the comizing the influence of capitalism upon this section of the proletariat

While it is true that Stalinism and winning them to the banner of with all its vicious theories and the revolution. The workers movepractices unavoidably brought dement as a whole must aid in the struction upon a healthy and growbuilding of the youth movement. ing youth international, not every help to solve its problems, supply error committed by the youth can leadership to it, etc. be explained with the terse re-

THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH ORGANIZATION

the youth movement that are and It follows from the above that if were, even for the Y.C.I. in its the general problems of the youth early years, experimental in char- are bound up with the struggle of acter. And it could not be other- the working class as a whole, and In discussing the cotton code, he wise. There is no way of testing its tasks are special ones adapted turned to me and accused me of many youth problems except for winning the broad masses of through the method of experiment. young workers, the youth movement wanting a strike but I was to be The experiments in order to de- cannot play the role of an "indiansappointed as the bosses were termine correct paths were rudely vidual, independent, political revo-six hour week and minimum wage of \$13 a week. He then launched begun, and we are still at a stage present period of development it is where we must independently solve, not necessary for us to begin the into an attack against the new through practice, problems of youth investigation into the character of rganization and activity. In our the Party and the youth organizawork of reconstructing the commun- tions. That has been done well by the 2nd Congresses of the Commuwe should therefore, always be ready nist International and the Young to discuss and experiment with new Communist International. The Party ideas and proposals which, toge- is the leader of the working class. are working part-time and making ther with a persistent activity The Party gives political direction among the masses of voung workto the class as a whole; it is the ers, will lead to a solution of such vanguard of the proletariat. Hisproblems. But before we can do tory permits no dispute in this this it is necessary to know where question. The youth organization to begin, and for this purpose the is only a section of the organized writer presents in brief form, an working class which is dependent outline of the fundamental ques- upon the party for political guidtions of youth work. On the basis ance. Its particular field of work of an understanding and applications among the young proletarians

enjoyed a healthy growth for several years. With the victory of wrangle between the Stalinists and Stalinism the organization ceased strike was in progress, the leaders Reisberg over this question. to grow. For more than ten years The workers became restless, the communist youth movement has rest of the unions in the town out having come directly from work. suffered uninterrupted decline unon a 48 hour sympathy strike with Particularly, the new inexperienced til today it is an almost non-existthe truckmen. These efforts failed | members who were making as low ent factor in the general political as five and six dollars a week, and organizational life of disintein these unions was not strong looked bewildered and confused grating Stalinism. In the course of this past decade,

out of the meeting. to discuss such an important matsuing strike calls "over the heads the cotton code and the possibility of the leadership" works. It does of raising the minimum which is not. Among the seamen it merely only thirteen dollars a week and to spread confusion and cost some do something about the general militants, whom the Stalinists have conditions in the trade, wage cuts,

> Chicago Conference Against War and Fascism but he ruled it out of -B.B.

disappointed as the bosses were

As 1 stated before, the workers very little, so that during his entire speech, not the Stalinists but interrupting. Since it was getting late the meeting was adjourned and nothing really was accomplished. This union bureaucrat. Reisberg.

board and one joint board meeting. even before it got started. The minutes of the last executive So now the Stalinists are beating meeting was what most interested an "organized retreat". As the Daily Worker puts it: "Only the us as it contained the following for

united efforts of the ship owners, approval: 1-Anti-Fascist Fund. 2 —Cotton Code. 3—Five Dollar tax the government, and the I.S.U. and on members, decided by the May I.L.A. officials succeeded in preconvention. 4—Union educational venting the seamen from developprogram, and 5—Ferreting out the ing the strike on a mass basis." Communist party. What an excuse for an "organized

The Smoke-Screen retreat". What did the great C. P Meanwhile the manager, Reisminds expect from the bosses, the NRA and the LS.U. officials if not attempts to wreck the Stalinist maneuver? The real reason why discussed and approved. The Stalthe Stalinists failed in "developing the strike on a mass basis" is because they had no basis in the mass. "Organized retreat". In plain Eng- Without having a real foothold the workers in the shops were foramong the organized seamen, they attempted a putsch, using their own paper union as a base.

The events leading to this When the Minneapolis truck

The International Seamen's Unin that struggle tried to get the largely because left wing influence enough to force the A. F. of L. the word primarily and also at once out. Inforgin the processing energy to force the A. F. of L. and durit know what all the should did take in all European Fascist of Lerroux, the workers were ened to the up the Atlantic sea-bureaucrats to take this step. The ing was about. Some began to walk Stalinists to this day condemn the Minneapolis leaders for not calling

a general strike anyway. These tions. However, a few days before Stalinists have now had a chance to show whether their policy of ismiseducated their jobs.

,Whether the C. P. trade union only way you can influence workers is to have roots in the organ-tion. we much use for the adventurist izations to which these workers belong is questionable. For the lesspired Marine Workers Industrial son the Stalinists draw from their

trial Union".

Union fought this A. F. of L. offiattempted East coast strike is "to build an opposition in the Interna-For the Stalinists, thinking that tional Seamen's Union" which sounds sensible but is contradicted by the fact that they also will "build the Marine Workers Indus-

> In the Philadelphia I. L. G. W. U.

Philadelphia.-The leaders of local 50 I.L.G.W.U. have always hated tion on the East coast. Indeed just to call membership meetings, especially now when there are so many new elements who are not so easily handled. So that under one pretext or another, there has been no membership meeting for almost four months.

send organizers around. The local is divided into two branches, silk and cotton dress and blouse, and they meet separately. The codes for silk dress and blouses I.S.U. So that, although there was were fixed last Fall, but great difamong the seamen a basis for the ficulties were encountered with re- the new elements were constantly spect to the cotton dress code since it is a much larger industry, practically unorganized and is considered part of the cotton wear code

= By ALBERT GLOTZER • deavor to build simultaneously, the ers. new communist youth international. It is unnecessary to belabor the point by declaring that the youth have either been underestimated and misunderstood, or that their movements have been horribly mal-

munist youth movement.

joinder : Stalinism. There are a

number of problems which confront

berg, arrived and the minutes of the last Executive were asked to be inist opposition immediately got into action. All questions concerning the every day problems confronting was organized in 1919, it was foungotten and they only wanted to ded upon correct principles and take up and discuss Fascism. The meeting was turned into one long

and didn't know what all the shout-

At this point I took the floor and said that it would be a good thing ter as Fascism after we took up etc. The workers vigorously approved what I said, but both Reisstrategists will ever learn that the berg, the right winger and the

Stalinists were against my sugges Reisberg then decided to rule the meeting, refusing to allow any discussion. He spent the rest of the time explaining Fascism and the importance of helping its victims in Europe. Someone tried to make a motion to elect delegates to the

> order. He then reported on the union educational program and then came to the cotton code.

members for not paying dues, for being so impatient for better conditions and demanding that they ist youth on an international basis, pay the five dollar tax in order to

stay on the job, a vicious red scare by the bosses, who are fighting to is able to run meetings in this good or very much narm. The in-ternational Communists, who could and the beauer to which the Stell First much all use the locate we haven't a clear-Last week, directly after work, cut left wing opposition, working tion of the following it will be pos- whom it seeks to win to the side of ternational Communists, who could have contributed real value in the inists with their usual trade union a meeting was finally called of the out left wing opposition. working

Revolt in Spain

Lessonsofthe

Weaknesses of the Uprising

against those who cover up the war schemes of American, British and French imperialism it might throw a few punches at the head of Karl Radek. Radek, writing in the "D. tariat could be strengthened and venturism are as follows: W.", placed the danger of war on the enemy weakened prior to the Germany and Japan, without ever insurrectionary act itself. Once the ion, like all other A. F. of L. unions, a qualifying "primarily". At least situation had developed however to has in spite of reactionary leaderthis much can be said of the Labor the point when Lerroux announced ship of the worst sort, been experparty chief as compared with the the composition of his cabinet, it iencing a new lease on life. Forced Stalinist press agent, he did put in was then, evidently, too late to by a wave of resentment against the word "primarily" and also he back out. Through the provocation rotten conditions, the I.S.U. threatnations as war-makers, including forced into an abortive movement board on October S, unless the Italy, and that's more than Radek for the seizure of power when the shipping companies recognized the real task was but to check the ad- union and granted better condi-

vance of Fascism. 2. Lack of a coordinated, na- the strike date, the bosses consent-

at finality.

The shocking debauchery in a party silenced, characterless bu- establishment of the "assumed the role of medieval po- aloof from the Workers Alliances

sing and dance before them". The Stalinists joined the Workers Allideath sentence on three of the responsible officials, though highly 3. No appreciable section of the deserved, does not solve the prob- army came forward in support of lem. The building of a new Bol- the insurrection. The cases in its proper name is the task of all graceful conditions passed unnoticed by the Communist Party in the Institute", says the Central Committee in Moscow. To say that such conditions could continue side by side with a Bolshevik party is a slander against Bolshevism.

* * * Roses and the Thirty Hour Week

the Detroit News says: "Moley has etically and organizationally to A dispatch from Washington to been telling the industrial leaders give leadership and guidance to that Roosevelt's supreme service so the Spanish working class. The far has been the warding off of Socialist party and the Anarchists currency inflation, the 30-hour work week and the soldiers' bonus. . . And the way to avert these measures in the future, is to select a Congress which is unmistakably under the thumb of the President." Miss Perkins, representing the Pres and one of those most thoroughly under his thumb, appears at



1. Lack of previous preparation through the development of partial flop. struggles through which the prole- latest piece of crazy Stalinist ad-

tional, well functioning united ed to arbitrate the matter before front movement. The Workers Al- the Labor Board. The I.S.U. leadnumber of Soviet schools reported liances existed in certain provinces ership, therefore, called off the in last week's papers is one of the and regions only. In spite of the strike. We haven't much use for results of the strangling of the insistence of the International Com- the A. F. of L. officialdom, and Bolshevik party by the Stalinist munists and other minority groups, their invariable dependence on the bureaucracy. With the voice of the the Socialist party prevented the governmental machinery of the National NRA to help fight a union's battles. reaucrats raised to office through Workers Alliance. The C.N.T. and This tendency has to be fought their subservience to the hierarchy its anarchist leadership remained tooth and nail. But neither have tentates, forcing girl students to with the exception of Asturias. The tactics with which the Stalinist-inances at the last moment.

cialdom they could take advantage of the shevik party around the nucleus of which the army refused to fire on strike sentiment among the sea-Bolshevik-Leninists is necessary for the workers, were not sufficient to men, decided to call a strike on that. To assist in that task we of indicate any real undermining of October 8 anyway, over the heads the morale of the armed forces. of the I.S.U. leadership, expecting cate ourselves. To speak out that Nuclei work within the army on that the rank and file would flock which is, to call degeneration by the part of the revolutionary groups to the leadership of the M.W.I.U.was entirely too sporadic and to- the regular united-front-from-below honest revolutionists. "These dis- tally insufficient. Furthermore, the stuff! lack of clarity as to aims on the part of the workers gave rise to a The M.W.I.U., like most T.U.U.L. natural hesitancy of the soldiers mions, is largely a paper organizawho are influenced most by the determination of the revolutionary

how papery it is can be seen by the class to take power. fact that only a few hundred men All three of these vital defects responded to the strike call, a good in the October revolt arise from a many of these being unemployed, single common cause: the lack of instead of the 35,000 the leaders a communist party, capable theorclaimed would respond. Likewise, being intent all these years on

building T.U.U.L. unions, the Stalinist strategists never had developed a left-wing movement in the ability to play the vanguard role, while the Stalinists have also constrike, there was no basis at all on tributed their two cents towards which the Stalinists could take the defeat. Fortunately for the leadership of that strike. workers the Stalinists were not The I.S.U. ordered its men to strong enough to do either much good or very much harm. The In-



Stalinist controlled Marine Workers Industrial Union to tie up the East Coast has come to an ignominous end. The "strike" has just been called off. Under the infallible leadership of the official C. P. there can, of course, be no defeats, so that when something goes wrong with one of its pet tactics, a fancy name has to be invented to cover up the mess. For this latest failure the editorial staff of the Daily

Worker has tricked up the name lish, however, it means that the attempted seamen's strike was a

Ballast and Noise

the A. F. of L. convention. Roses,	field of theory, were too small nu-	inists with their usual trade union	cotton and blouse branch, for the	out left wing policies in the union.	sible to proceed more intelligently	
cheers and a touching introduction	merically and too isolated, to play	open and those few IS II militants	purpose of discussing new develop-	the various progressive groups and	and vigorously in realizing our	
by President Green was her recep-	a decisive role. The need of a van-	who had jobs and didn't want to	ments with regard to the cotton	the workers feeling nothing is	goal.	work. That is why the Y.C.I. in
tion. Here the role of the "Labor	guard workers' party, if victory is	seeb even though their own union	code as well as general conditions	done at meetings stay away		1922 described the youth organiza-
Lieutenants of Capitalism" and the	to be achieved, is once more dem-	wasn't on strike, lost these jobs	in the trade.	genuine left wing opposition must	recruits great numbers from the	
demugogic capitalist politicians	onstrated by the events themselves.	and will now probably be lost as a	After a long wait the meeting		youth in society, demands more	
meet and merge.	Indications are that there will be	leavening in the I.S.U. In fact, the	started and the secretary began to	-PHILA. CLOTHING WORKER		izations are MASS organizations
* * *	a breathing space of more or less	leavening in the indicit in fuel, the	the societary began to			for communist militant educatión
The Hearst Press and Leon Trotsky	limited duration before the Fas-	OMADDWEND OF THE OWNER	westgagaas and other compity hold a	annoan man the backs of the		of the working class youth, the
An imaginative story of the pres-	cists feel themselves strong enough	STATEMENT OF THE OWNER-	mortgagees and other security hold- ers owning or holding 1 per cent or	appear upon the books of the com-	we must win the youth. A good	• • •
ence or expected early arrival of	to take over full power under a	TION FTO REGUIRED BY THE	more of total amount of bonds,	securities in a capacity other then	barometer of the success of the	
Leon Trotsky was printed in the	dictatorship of their own. In this	ACT OF MARCH 3, 1933,	mortgages, or other securities are:	that of a hope fide owner, and this	revolutionary internationalists will	struggle for communism".
Hearst press. Its purpose is to stir up reactionary sentiment against a	interval, and in spite of the repres- sions that are certain to follow the	of The Militant sublished wookly	(If there are none, so state.)	affiant has no reason to believe that	be present in its ability to realize	The youth organization cannot be
visa for Trotsky. And then comes	crushing of the revolt, the Spanish	of The Militant, published weekly	None.		the support of the youth to its	a mere "cultural" organization, pe-
the check-up from Paris, "Leon	labor movement will still have cer-			corporation has any interest direct	theory and practice.	cause it is impossible to distinguish
Trotsky, world revolutionary, re-	tain possibilities of functioning on	1307. State of New York 88	above, giving the names of the			the struggle for culture from the general class struggle. Neither can
ported plotting to enter the United	a semi-legal basis. During this	County of New York	owners, stockholders, and security		of the very nature of the capitalist	
States secretly, is still in France-	period a series of splits and real-		holders, if any, contain not only		of the tery nature of the english	ization because the education of the
in enforced seclusion. French Se-	ignments will take place. The So-	Before me, a in	the list of stockholders and security	5. That the average number of	ly acute with the development of	
cret Service has been ordered to	cial Democracy will almost cer-	and for the State and county afore- said, personally appeared	holders as they appear upon the	copies of each issue of this publi-	the imperialist stage of capitalism	nation in the class struggle would
keep Trotsky under surveillance	tainly split into two or more	, who, having been duly	books of the company but also, in	cation sold or distributed, through	which absorbs ever greater num-	not lead to the creation of the type
and out of politics."	groups, and sections of the party	sworn according to law, deposes	cases where the stockholder or se-	the mails or otherwise, to paid sub-	bers of youth into industry, thus	of organization we are seeking. The
* * *	with the majority of the Socialist	and says that he is the business	curity holder appears upon the	scribers during the months preced-	accentuating one of the outstand-	
"Class Brothers" or "Fascist Twins"	Youth can be expected to declare	managor of The Militant and that	books of the company as trustee or		ing characteristics of factory pro-	
The Y.C.L. in a letter to the Y.P.	themselves in solidarity with the	the following is, to the best of his	in any other fiduciary relation, the	(This information is required from	duction under early capitalism. En-	
S.L. says they are for a united	idea of the Fourth International.	knowledge and belief, a true state-	name of the person or corporation	daily publications only.)	· · ·	seeks to educate not only it own
front with the Young Socialists	The crisis in the Anarcho-Syndi-	ment of the ownership, management	for whom such trustee is acting, is	ROSE KARSNER,	youth are confronted with the gen-	ranks but the broad masses of
whom they regard as "class broth-	calist movement can be expected to	(and if a daily paper, the circula-	given; also that the said two para-	Business Manager.	eral problems of the proletariat as	youth, constructs special social and
ers" but not with the counter-revo-	intensify in the coming period and	tion), etc., of the aforesaid publi-	graphs contain statements embrac-	Sworn to and subscribed before	a class. Thus, the "youth problem"	sports activities (not rejecting them
lutionary Trotskyists and Love-	we can now predict a definite break-	cation for the date shown in the	ing affiant's full knowledge and be-	me this eleventh day of Oct., 1934.		as bourgeois or social democratic
stoneites. (Evidently they haven't	up or reorientation of their whole	above caption, required by the Act	lief as to the circumstances and	Louis J. Goldberg.	exploitation as it effects the entire	devices), all the time bearing in
	movement. The bulk of Anarcho-	of March 3, 1933, embodied in sec-	conditions under which stockhold-	(My commission expires March		mind that it is not a second party
getting back to the C.I.) The	Syndicalist workers call be expect-	tion 537, Postal Laws and Regula-	ers and security holders who do not	30, 1933.)	fore, seek the background to all is-	
young gentlemen of the Y.C.L. must think that memory of men is short.	ed to follow the Syntheanst Liber-	tions, printed on the reverse of			sues of a youth character in the	cate the Party's, but dovetail into
think that memory of men is short.	section of the C.N.T. in the trend	this form, to wit:	PHILADELPHIA	NEWARK MASS MEETING	nature of the social order, in the	them. The activities need to be
hat gamma is a second to be a second	towards an anabiam and towards	1. That the names and addresses	INTERNATIONAL WORKERS	"The New Revolutionary Party"		varied enough so as to be able to
didn't they charge at that time.	nolitical action. The more advanced	of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:	FORUM	Speakers :		attract the completely raw and in-
that Trotskyites were counter-rev-	elements of the S.L.F. may soon be		I UNCIN	ARNE SWABECK	and intermediary. Its problems are	experienced, who are nevertheless
have been and and a bound thou	found supporting the idea of huild-	Publisher, Communist League of	431 Pine Street	(of C. L. A.)		One of the outstanding weakness-
tavored a united front with the So-	ing a new Communist Party in	America: Editor, J. P. Cannon;	Sunday Evenings at 8:15 P.M.	A. J. MUSTE		es of the youth organizations today,
cialists? And further, does John	Spain together with the present	manuging matter, decige charact,	October to May 1934-35.	(of A.W.P.)		a weakness that has been present
title dame to challongo Stalin's	Communist Loft (Internationalists)	Business Manager, Rose Karnser;	•	St. Regis Hall, Park Place, 8 P.M.		for many years, is that they con-
theory that Social Democracy and	and the Communist elements of the	2. That the owner is: (If owned	Oct. 21-Lecture: "Role of Social-	Joint Auspices: A.W.P. and C.L.A.	the proletarian youth whose prob-	
Fascism are twins? A "class broth-	Socialist Vouth and S P		Democracy in Austria"	Contraction of the second second	lems are, by and large, the prob-	copy of the party work and failed
er" of a 'twin to Fascism"-that's	Simultaneous with the efforts to	by a corporation, its name and ad- dress must be stated and also im-	ALICE HANSEN, Secretary So-	THE MILITANT	lems of the working class as a	to develop their own special meth-
the Y.C.LBILL.	build the new revolutionary party,	mediately thereunder the names	cialist Party, North Philadelphia.	Entered as a second class mail	whole, and whose emancipation de-	ods and forms. It is interesting to
	of Spain will parsist in their work	and addresses of stockholders own-		Post Office at New York, N. Y. Un-	pends upon the emancipation of the	note how the Y.C.I. regarded this
PHILADELPHIA	of forging the National Workers	ing one per cent or more of total	In the Class Struggle"	der the act of March 3, 1879.	class.	question during the early years of
HALLOWEEN PARTY	In TOTETHE THE THETOTAL HOLECIS		TOTIN V OTANOTOD DAILA SAA	Dalitation 3 Marchine has the	The youth are physically weaker	its existence. Discussing these
Saturday, October 27, 8:30 P.M.	Alliances and of transforming	amount of stock. If not owned by	JOHN V. STANGER, Phila. Sec.	Published Weekly by the		
Saturuay, October 21, 0.50 I mil	Alliances and of transforming these embryonic Soviets into effec-	a corporation, the names and ad-	Penna. Civil Liberties Union.	Communist League of America	and mentally more immature than	fundamental questions of youth
1207 North 5th St.	these embryonic Soviets into effec-	a corporation, the names and ad- dresses of the individual owners	Penna. Civil Liberties Union.	Communist League of America 144 Second Ave., New York, N. Y.	and mentally more immature than any section of the working class.	fundamental questions of youth work it said :
1207 North 5th St. For benefit of "New Party Fund"	these embryonic Soviets into effec-	a corporation, the names and ad- dresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm,		Communist League of America 144 Second Ave., New York, N. Y. Phone: GRamercy 5-9524	and mentally more immature than any section of the working class. If, as in the United States, there is	fundamental questions of youth work it said : "The Communists declare that
1207 North 5th St. For benefit of "New Party Fund" Refreshments :: Entertainment	these embryonic Soviets into effec- tive organisms capable of express- ing the will of the great toiling masses of the country.	a corporation, the names and ad- dresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated	Penna. Civil Liberties Union. Nov. 4—18th Anniversary Celebra-	Communist League of America 144 Second Ave., New York, N. Y. Phone: GRamercy 5-9524 Vol. 7, No. 42, (Whole No. 246)	and mentally more immature than any section of the working class. If, as in the United States, there is no essential difference in the rate	fundamental questions of youth work it said : "The Communists declare that the Young Communist League is
1207 North 5th St. For benefit of "New Party Fund" Refreshments :: Entertainment Admission 20c	these embryonic Soviets into effec- tive organisms capable of express- ing the will of the great toiling masses of the country. There is very little time left for	a corporation, the names and ad- dresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as	Penna. Civil Liberties Union. Nov. 4—18th Anniversary Celebra- tion of the Russian Revolution— How It Was Won.	Communist League of America 144 Second Ave., New York, N. Y. Phone: GRamercy 5-9524 Vol. 7, No. 42, (Whole No. 246) SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1934	and mentally more immature than any section of the working class. If, as in the United States, there is no essential difference in the rate of exploitation between the youth	fundamental questions of youth work it said: "The Communists declare that the Young Communist League is helping to spread the truth and
1207 North 5th St. For benefit of "New Party Fund" Refreshments :: Entertainment Admission 20c Auspices: Philadelphia Local,	these embryonic Soviets into effec- tive organisms capable of express- ing the will of the great toiling masses of the country. There is very little time left for the proletariat of Spain. They	a corporation, the names and ad- dresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual	Penna. Civil Liberties Union. Nov. 4—18th Anniversary Celebra- tion of the Russian Revolution— How It Was Won. MAX SHACHTMAN, Editor New	Communist League of America 144 Second Ave., New York, N. Y. Phone: GRamercy 5-9524 Vol. 7, No. 42, (Whole No. 246) SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1934 EDITORIAL BOARD	and mentally more immature than any section of the working class. If, as in the United States, there is no essential difference in the rate of exploitation between the youth and adult workers, either in hours,	fundamental questions of youth work it said: "The Communists declare that the Young Communist League is helping to spread the truth and" doing political and economic work
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1207 North 5th St. For benefit of "New Party Fund" Refreshments :: Entertainment Admission 20c Auspices: Philadelphia Local, Communist League of America	these embryonic Soviets into effec- tive organisms capable of express- ing the will of the great toiling masses of the country. There is very little time left for the proletariat of Spain. They must reassemble their forces, strengthen and extend the Workers	a corporation, the names and ad- dresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) Editorial Board: Martin Abern:	 Penna. Civil Liberties Union. Nov. 4—18th Anniversary Celebration of the Russian Revolution— How It Was Won. MAX SHACHTMAN, Editor New International. JAMES WATSON, Communist 	Communist League of America 144 Second Ave., New York, N. Y. Phone: GRamercy 5-9524 Vol. 7, No. 42, (Whole No. 246) SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1934 EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector	and mentally more immature than any section of the working class. If, as in the United States, there is no essential difference in the rate of exploitation between the youth and adult workers, either in hours, wages, or conditions of labor, the special nature of the youth ques-	fundamental questions of youth work it said: "The Communists declare that the Young Communist League is helping to spread the truth and doing political and economic work among the young proletariat. But, by the way, is that not the syndi-
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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1934

THE MILITANT

QUESTION BOX

YIPSEL, BRONX-

Question: Could you briefly give the Communist position as to why it would not be possible for a Socialist-controlled government to legislate its way to a Socialist society? Where can I find something To the Membership of the C.P., by Trotsky on this question?

Answer: The "Question Box" of August 4th had occasion to point out, based upon quotations from the "liberal" historian, Beard, that even if we recognized the reformist basis, there was no reason to believe that a party with revolutionary aims could capture a parliamentary majority in this country, since the Constitution itself was framed to prevent such a possibility. By this of course we had no intention of recognizing the reformist assumptions because an analysis of the historic process forces us to conclude that the matter will be settled by the dynamics of the class struggle itself in which the parliamentary arena occupies but a subordinate role. However, even if we grant the possibility of the trict Secretary of the I.L.D. and election of a REAL LABOUR government, we are forced to the conclusion that this could only be the beginning of a civil war.

Listen to Trotsky in his answer to the British advocates of Socialist gradualism: ". . . For the Conservatives, as for the remnants of the Liberals, it would be a question of discrediting the first independent Government of the working class at any cost. For them it would be a question of life or

death. This is not in the least the same as the old struggle between Liberals and Conservatives, when

the differences did not get outside the 'family' of the possessing classes. Any serious reforms undertaken by the Labour Government in the spheres of taxation, nationalization, and a real democratisation of the administration would quicken a mighty flood of enthusiasm in the working masses, and-since appetite comes from cating-these successful MODER-ATE reforms would inevitably set in train more and more RADICAL reforms. In other words, every new day would separate the Conservatives still further from the possibility of returning to power. The Conservatives could not but take a quite clear account of the fact that the question was not of an alternating change of Government, but of the beginning of the social revolution by parliamentary means. The resources of State obstruction, and legislative and administrative sabotage in the hands of the possess ing classes, are immense, since, no matter what their parliamentary majority, all the State apparatus from top to bottom is inseparably linked with the bourgeoisie. To it all belongs: all the press, the most important organs of local self-government, the universities, schools, the church, innumerable clubs, and voluntary societies generally. In their hands are the banks and the whole system of social credit, and, finally, the apparatus of transport and trade, so that the daily food . . ., including that of the Labour Government, would depend on the great capitalist combines. It is absolutely obvious that all these gigantic means will be brought into action with frantic violence in order to dam the activity of the Labour Government, to paralyse its exertions, to frighten it, to effect cleavages in its parliamentary majority, and, finally, to cause a financial panic, provision difficulties, lockouts, to terrorize the upper ranks of the workers' organizations, and to sap the strength of the proletariat. Only an utter fool may not comprehend that the bourgeoisie will bring into action heaven, earth, and the infernal regions in the event of the actual coming to power of a Labour Government.

. . What will be left for a Labour Government to do? Either ignominiously to capitulate, or to put up an opposition . . . for the suppression of opposition of that kind a serious material force and a strong State apparatus are indispensable. Neither the one nor the other will be found on the side of the Labour Government. The police, judiciary, army, and militia will be on the side of the disorganizers. saboteurs, and Fascists. The bureaucratic apparatus must be destroyed, replacing the reactionaries by members of the Labour Party. There will be no other way than this. But it is absolutely obvious that such thoroughgoing, although fully 'legal', State sures will extraordinarily sharpen the legal and illegal opposition of the united bourgeois reaction. In other words: this also is the way of civil war. ("Where is Britain Going?") Question: Particularly because of the German and Austrian experiences, I have become convinced that the reformist road is no longer possible. My experience with the official Communist Party has shown me that it is only a disruptive force in the labor movement so there remains only the "Trotskyites" or the "Lovestoneites" through whom I can enter the ranks of Communism. Why should I prefer one as against the other?

LEADING PHILADELPHIA C. P. MEMBER WORLD OF LABOR **DECLARES FOR FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**

To the Philadelphia District Committee of Communist Party U.S.A. U.S.A.

Dear Comrades: About two months ago, by re-Negro question in writing. This I Take a glance at this data. did to the best of my ability, con-Party line. In spite of my willing- ven southern states, scattered from was arbitrarily removed as Distold that I could not hold any Party post until I agreed with the

Party on the Negro question. After many weeks of study, careful deliberation. I have arrived at certain definite conclusions, not only on the Negro question but on other vital problems concerning the working class.

The Negro Question

The key to the Negro problem in the United States, according to the Party, is the idea expressed by the Negroes" in the so-called Black Belt in the South.

One of the marked attributes of a national minority is that there is a general feeling among them that they are a nation. An intense minute examination of the literature concerning Negro problems etc. from the year 1616 to the present does not record any appreciate aspiration or sentiment for a Negro nation in the black belt. The culture of the slave (folk songs, etc.) are not of a national character, but have a distinct class content. The only nationalist sentiment in the United States is the Neo-Garveyite termination, or the theory that the back to Africa" and pan-Islam will make the Negro Share Crop-

geared propaganda and superhuman salesmanship, the Party has failed the United States, despite the nato convert these nationalist utopians to renounce the visionary idea of Nationhood in Africa for Nationhood in the Black Belt. The imposed slogan of Self-Determination has failed to blossom, unless the adopted by the corrupt misinformed Party is willing to claim credit for the Isolationist-Segregationist "49" State project.

The Utopian Dream of Self-Determination Under Capitalism

I want to quote from the theses of the Second Congress of the Communist International (1920) on the National and Colonial Question. I think such a quotation will aid

towards clarity: "It follows from the fundamental principles laid down above that the policy of the Communist International on National and Colonial questions must be chiefly to bring about a union of the proletarian and working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle leading to the overthrow of capitalism without which national inequality and oppression cannot be

October 17, 1934. exception of race, the twelve mil-| Race Equality in the United States, people from annihilation from the lion Negroes in the United States Self-Determination for West Indies, strong-arm attacks of the fascist have been fused into the American Haiti and Africa hordes.

nation. Do we not have the same Communists must march for religion, language, culture, and ward with the battle-cry of race

dwell on common territory as other equality. Not a moment can be inhabitants of this nation? The lost. The fascists have proclaimed quest of the Philadelphia District Black Belt is no exception, and 1 in both hemispheres a war of exof the Communist Party, I was will say that even here the Negroes termination against the Jews and asked to state my position on the do not have geographical solidarity, non Aryans. In the United States fascist organizations are awaken-There are 189 counties in the ing. In Germany it is the Jew who cluding that whatever my political United States that have 51 percent is faced with extermination at the differences with the Party might be, or more of the population Negro. hands of the ruthless bloodhounds I was ready to carry through the These counties are located in ele- In the United States, under the s.ogan of "Race Inferiority", ness to submit to Party discipline, Virginia to Texas. The total Negro "White Man's Burden", etc. the population in these 189 counties is fascists and the forces of reaction 3,041,219. The total white popula- have set the trap for the brutal tion is 2,079,919. These counties elimination of an "inferior" race with Negro majorities constitute (Negroes). Only a broad, educaonly 17 percent of the counties in tional, agitational and revolutionthese eleven states. These states ary struggle for the realization of are divided into 1,060 counties. race equality can save the Negro

Jiscussion Article Party, is the idea expressed by the slogan "Self-Determination of the A Critique of the Stalinist Theory Of Self-Determination

> The following contribution to therefore, be for full social, politiour discussion on the Negro question is written by a comrade, formerly very active in the League of Struggle for Negro Rights in Kansas City. This is the first article of a series by comrade Williamson. Other contibutions, not exceeding 700 words are invited.-Ed.

cal and economic equality for the Negro worker who is super-robbed and exploited by white capitalism in the United States. Each Bolshevik Leninist should make it his or her duty to struggle against lynching, Jimcrowism, and disfranchisement of his fellow Negro worker. He should struggle for

equal opportunities in the basic The Stalinist theory of self deindustries for the Negro worker who receives a lower wage than groups who center around the official Communist Party believes the white worker, and for other special demands. which if not movement. In spite of our high- pers lead a national agrarian revo- gained, will lower the living standlution in the southern section of ard of both groups of workers.

The theory of self determination tional attention that it is receiving, should be guarded against since it is destined to failure or defeat. will, in time, play into the hands Like most of the ventures of Browof the American bourgeoisie who der, it will not stand the acid test. will, in the future, oscillate appar-The theory was probably first central committee of the Commungeois allies, to further divide the ist Party for the purpose of strengthening Stalinism in the United class which is gathering strength

States and accelerating revolutionand momentum. ary developments throughout the However, we cannot overlook nation; but their false tactics and the precarious lot of the Negro approach to the question has actually retarded the development and American labor movement, but, at growth of Communism among both the same time we must avoid a neo-

white and Negro workers. Garvey, Stalinist or nationalist ap-Already the petty bourgeois Neproach to the question. When progroes have seized and capitalized perly made conscious of his class upon the theory of self determinaposition as a worker, the Negro tion for the black belt in many secworker will contribute much to the tions of the country. The Pacific revolutionary movement, especially Movement of the Eastern World, to the building of the Fourth Inwith headquarters in St. Louis, Mo., ternational. The great mistake recently organized by Japanese agents in this country, seeking to made by the Communist Party is: in recruiting Negroes it recruits win the support of the Negro people in case of war between the them as a race and not as workers United States and Japan, and their for the cause of Marxism. This petty bourgeois Negro lackeys, who conveys the idea of Jimcrowism to the Negro worker,—just trying to avoid; and this is highly tionary internationalism, and the are seeking freedom from the white

For War Against Our Own Imperialists

It was Lenin who emphasized the idea of workers of advanced countries waging a sharp struggle against their own imperialists for the freedom of the colonies. Our Party must certainly correct itself on this point. The Party did not raise high the slogan of self-deter-

mination for Liberia and the West Indies, and for Negro national minorities in South and Central America. England even today is busily

occupied attempting to utilize the League of Robbers (League of Nations) for the seizure of Liberia. Italy has boldly shouted to the world that it will make the Negro kingdom of Abyssinia an Italian colony. These are problems that demand an immediate program of action. The Central Committee and our leading organs must understand that regardless of language, ideology, customs, or what land the Negro resides in, he is an oppressed race. This fact alone makes it imperative that events in Liberia or Abyssinia are of prime importance

to the Negroes of America. The Trade Union Policy and its **Relation to the Negro Problem**

The trade union field is conspic uous by the absence of a clear-cut policy on Negro work. Our trade union, T.U.U.L., has failed to exert influence among the Negro working people. This weakness can be attributed to the traditional chanvinistic attitude of the American trade union movement. The desertion of the A. F. of L. by our Party and the attempt to build a dual trade union. did not in the least eradicate the distrust of the Negro workers for the trade unions in general. The Negro workers could not feel the so-called principle difference of the two trade union centers. Therefore, it was natural for

Negroes to accept the A. F. of L. because of its strength and universal recognition. The Communists have this histor

ic task: to wage an uncompromisently to the left and use it, through ing fight for race equality and job the assistance of their Negro bour-lequality in the trade unions. The Negroes will judge the Communists ranks of the American working on the ability of the left-wing to

break down racial barriers in trades, industries, professions where Negroes are barred because of col-

ionism will march in glant strides to defeat.

COMRADES! Back into the A. F. of L.! Build the left-wing! Raise to the sky the banner of race equality. By action convince the Negro worker that they are welcome in the unions as equal co-partners in the common struggle for a decent standard of living.

Democratic Centralism versus **Bureaucratic Centrism**

What is the cause of the mistakes

NON-AGGRESSION WITH A VENGEANCE

The term non-aggression has been used to define the united front pact between the Communist and Socialist party of France. A document signed by leading representatives of the centrist parties in question convinces us that if anything, this descripion is an understatement. L'Humanite for Sept. 15 carries the decisions of a "coordination committee. instructed with the application of the unity pact. . This committee met on Sept 11 at the Cooperative House, Paris. In attendance were Cachin, Thorez, and Leon Blum, Paul Faure, Farinet, Lagorgette. Descourtieux for the S. P.

After smugly rubbing their hands over the "results" of the united front, they arrive at the main point under consideration and for which, undoubtedly the meeting was held. We quote from point II of the document:

"The representatives of the two parties are in agreement that for the loyal execution of the pact, attacks directed against either one of the two parties, even in the course of meetings organized separately by either one, should be suppressed.'

The readers of the Daily Worker will probably emember that much mud was slung at us by one, Harry Gannes for the decision of our youth section to join the Young Socialists of France. With a stupid wise-crack he dismissed the fact that the Young Bolshevik-Leninists had renounced none of their program and would continue the fight for Marxism and a new Youth International within the effervescent ranks of the French Yipsels. We had expected nothing better from a Stalinist scribbler who is paid for concocting the best slander against the Bolsheviks. Facts still speak louder than calumny, and long quotations from Le Combat des Jeunes were reprinted in the Militant so that there be no doubt

as to the veracity of our statements. We rest our case with the firm conviction that every honest revolutionary worker can judge it on its merits and will come to a position of agreement with us.

Now, let those that holler so loud about capitulation to the social-democracy and counter-revolution explain to us how they are fighting the Blums and the others when they agree not to attack them even at their own meetings. Our fight against the social democracy its principles and leaders, is to the hitter end, regardless of whether this is done from within or without. The Stalinists, not for the first timeremember the Anglo-Russian Committee—are in a love-feast with those they only yesterday branded as social-fascists, no criticism anywhere or anyplace.

We venture to say that, besides slander, there will be no answer. With lights out and shades down the Stalinists enter a united front with the social democrats on the one condition that the crimes of both bureaucracies are smothered with silence. Thus the great desire of the masses for united action against Fascism is dampened by the bureaucrats of both parties whose agreement more and more resembles a thieves' pact.

* * *

STRIKE WAVE IN SOUTH AMERICA

The last few weeks have witnessed a decided inor. Unless the Communists and crease in the number, importance and intensity of worker and its importance to the left-wing in the A. F. of L. speed labor struggles in practically every South American up the fight for race equality, un- country. The month of September was marked by a series of large local strikes throughout Brazil, culminating in the general strike at Para. The very

promising railroad strike in Colombia was run into the ground due to inefficient leadership and organizational looseness. Also in Colombia at the present time an organizational campaign is under way in preparation for a general strike of coffee workers throughout the country. Coffee is the principal export of Colombia.

Ecuador now comes to the fore with a general strike in the textile industry which commenced on September 29th and which is now 100 per cent solid. The textile strike has the unlimited backing of the outlined above? Since the depar- whole organized labor movement of the republic and ture of the Comintern from revolu- a general strike on a national scale is quite possible.

* * *

.. Answer: The "Lovestoneites" stand for reform of the C. I. and base themselves upon the same false who control the Federal Governtheoretical premise as the Stalinists, i.e., the theorem of "Socialism in one country", which is the fundamental root from which flows all of the Stalinist distortions and lunacies. Were you to join the "Lovestoneites" you would only find yourself in the camp of those who are trying to crawl back into the swamp, whose true nature you recognize. There remains but one choice for you: the organization which stands for new Communist parties and a new International.

JAMES SH., NEW YORK (Continued)

Question: What was the attitude of the Communist League to the election platform of the official Communist Party in 1930 and 1932?

Answer: In general the League did not attempt to go into a criticism of the details of the C.P.'s election platform. We were concerned mainly that the workers give the C.P. their support since, primarily, every such vote meant a vote for revolution. The following excerpt from our election appeal essentially states our position for that time: "Our differences with the Party's policies, which isolates it from the masses and impedes the development of the revolutionary movement in this and other countries cannot eliminate the fact that the Communist Party is the only working class party in the field, the only revolutionary party. . . . The Left Opposition therefore ranges itself alongside its party and calls upon every worker to cast his vote for his party, the Communist party." (Militant, Oct. 29, 1934.) It must be remembered, of course, that we then considered ourselves a faction of the party. That, of dourse, was yesterday.

You will find whatever the League had to say, in print, on these elections in the October Militants for different religion, a separate cul-1930 and 1932, which are on file at the 42nd Street library.

.Question: What were the chief differences between the Proletarian party and the Workers party in their early days?

Answer: The first difference arose out of the re fusal of the Proletarian party to adapt itself to the also its end (Stalin). illegal conditions forced upon a revolutionary party in those days. When the Workers party came out from underground with a program making a legal party possible, the Proletarian party refused to join it, claiming the program of the Workers party to be non-Marxist because it had been established on a minimum basis, and particularly because the P.P. longer tread the same religious considered the struggle for immediate demands to be incorrect.

abolished." Now then, can one support the theses that it is even probable for

the peasantry of the Black Belt to establish Self-Determination (Nationhood) without a successful proletarian revolution? The Black Belt is an integral part of the American field of exploitation of the capitalist. It is just as fruitful and dear to them as New York or California. Plain common sense leads

me to believe that the capitalists ment would mobilize the armed capitalism and not necessary under socialism or communism. forces of reaction for the suppression of a National revolutionary insurrection in the Black Belt in the same manner as they would ruthlessly put down a workingclass insurrection in Rhode Island. Under American capitalism a Negro nation in the Black belt has as much chance of existing as a So-

viet Rhode Island with the rest of the United States intact under the rule of American imperialism. The Negroes are Not a Nation in

the United States

tries.

In our Negro population, as it came from the western coast of Africa, there were Wolofs and Fulahs, tall, well-built and very black, hailing from Senegambia and its vicinity; there were hundreds of thousands from the slave coast Tshis, Ewes, and Yorubans, including Dahomians; and mingled with all these, Sudanese Negroes proper, were occasional contributions of mixed stock, from the north and northeast, having an infusion of Moorish blood. There were other thousands from Lower Guiana, belonging to Bantu stock, not so black in color as the Sudanese. These Negroes came to the American

shores with a distinct language, a ture, etc. The master class has been able to obliterate the Negro national character. A nation, we must remember, like other social phenomena, is subject to the law of

change; it has its beginnings and

The African, on arriving in this country, was not permitted to converse in his native language but was forced to adopt the language of his conquerors. His native culture was tabooed, he could no path but had to worship the God of his master's making. With the

capitalist, so as to have more libpersonified in the Stalinist idea of erty to rob the Negro worker, have taken the theory of the black belt imaginary black belt. It is not clear power must do away with democrafrom the Stalinists and converted it into the future black republic of North America.

Self determination for the imagof black empire building in Africa. inary black belt extended to one of Oh, perhaps it is cheaper to transthe many national minorities of the port them to the south than ship country, tends to convey the idea tifteen million to Africa. It is a of further separation of the sopolemic over finance, not theory. called races and is foreign to Browder has offimes marvelled at Marxism. It is not possible under the number of Negroes who drift into his party only to desert it.

These Negro workers, like other However, when it comes to the workers, find that their opinions colonial peoples we are faced with an entirely different economic and are brow-beaten and suppressed by social problem. The colonial people Browder and the Stalinist bureaurepresent a national majority, have cracy, and their only redress is a vote with their legs. a different language, in many re-

The new revolutionary party of spects a different culture, different communism in America, a part of customs and traditions from the the Fourth International, must people in the imperialist country. and, as such, should be given the adopt a different slogan to that of right of self determination. Cuba. the bankrupt Stalinist theory of Hawaii and Haiti are such coun- self determination. This slogan, let me reiterate, should be for the full

social, economic and political equal-The American Negro, on the other hand, is so closely interwoven into ity for the Negro worker. Such a American custom and tradition that slogan for the freedom of a nationwe cannot do him and the cause al minority will be true Marxism. of world socialism or communism This is the correct approach to the justice by struggling for a Jim question of national minorities and Crow black republic in America will aid greatly in the building of which will breed more antagonism a new revolutionary party of genuamong blacks and whites. ine communism for the purpose of Our fight, the fight of the Com- struggling for power in the future. -SIMON WILLIAMSON. munist League of America, shall,

FALL TERM OF INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL **TO OPEN OCTOBER 15th**

The International Workers School will open at its new headquarters, 144 Second Avenue, on October 1st, with the following courses:

- 1. ABC of MarxismCarl Cowl, Instructor Every Friday at 8:00 P.M.
- 3. History and Principles of the International Every Wednesday at 8:00 P.M.
- 4. State and RevolutionJack Weber Every Monday at 8:00 P.M.
- 5. American HistoryFelix Morrow Every Wednesday at 8:00 P.M.
- Elementary Marxian Economics......Alfred Weaver Every Friday at 8:00 P.M.

You are urged to register now for whatever courses you are inteested in. Registrations are accepted daily at the office of the school. Each course is \$1.50 for the complete term. Further information may be obtained by telephoning Gramercy 5-9524.

adoption of the anti-Leninist theory a black Jimcrow Republic in the of "Socialism in One Country", the south, or self determination for the bureaucracy, in order to maintain DEATH PENALTY

exactly why the Stalinists don't the centralism, and push into the support Marcus Garvey's utopia background genuine workers' democracy in the Party. This makes it impossible to nene-

trate with new ideas: takes away all opportunities to discuss freely within the Party the various differences which occur, and therefore handicaps the practical application of Communist work. The rule of the bureaucrats chokes the initiative of the rank and file, and under mines the very basis of a revolutionary party.

The taking away from the memhership of the right to participate actively in the formulation of policies, strategy, and tactics, and of electing its committees freely, is a definite break from the teachings

of Lenin. The leadership allows only the viewpoint to be discussed, and he who has an opinion which differs from the official position is are taken against him.

nitely of the opinion that it is not. Experience has shown that the bureaucrats will not permit criticism. against their policies is met with slanders, lies, and expulsions.

It is extremely difficult for worker-Communist who has devoted with beds and water.

five years to active participation in shared common experience and record (Section Organizer C. P.; District Agit-Prop. Director; District Organizer, L.S.N.R.: District Secretary I.L.D.).

However, it gives me consolation that all honest revolutionists will follow me and will be comrades-in-REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY and a New (Fourth) International. LONG LIVE THE EMANCIPA-

TION OF THE NEGRO RACE! LONG LIVE THE PROLETARI. AN REVOLUTION!

With Communist Greetings, (Signed) JAMES W. WATSON 'ialist war in the Chaco.

BOLIVIAN COMMUNISTS THREATENED WITH

On May 1, 1933, the Bolivian government made the great "discovery" of a "communist plot destined to destroy the internal peace" (so necessary for the carrying on of the Chaco war) "subsidized by Paraguayan gold" In this manner "legal" means for repressions against our Bolivian comrades in La Paz were found! The few remaining comrades at that time still in the city on the point of organizing an anti-war protest demonstration for International Labor Day were placed under arrest.

From the very outset, the charges levelled against our comrades were evidently based on framed up evidence. It was claimed that they were attempting to buy off the General Staff of the Bolivian Army, conspiring in a small group, out of contact with the masses and "preparing bombs and hand grenades, some of which were found in their possession". Any one with the least understanding of the tactics and method of struggle used by communists can readily see how ridiculous these charges were.

Meanwhile, making it impossible for them to secure counsel, Duran Boger, Zubaleta, Uberoaga, Rodriguez, Rojas, Gallardo, Maraz, Moya Quiroga, Abaroa, Ozuna, Miranda, Cora and others were interned immediately branded, and measures in the "inquisitorial section" of the public jail, in the section known as the "guanay" where prisoners

Is it possible to rectify these are even denied the ordinary essential services of mistakes from within? I am defi- prison hygiene. All communication with the outside was forbidden as was any intervention of outside persons into the case. Their only recourse was the hunger strike, under the most disastrous circum-Any healthy criticism directed stances and without any outside support. Comrade Abaroa died and the others became completely emaciated and broken in health. It was then that the

prisoners were granted defense counsel and provided

Salamanca wants to "legitimitize" the policies of the building of our Party, to break his regime through the blood of the Bolivian Comwith all those with whom he has munists. Fascism is organized in the shadow of the red scare and the ground is prepared for future struggle. No attempt to discredit massacres of the militant workers. The reality is by slander can disprove the fact that the weakness of our comrades at the present of my work as indicated by my time serves the purposes of the hourgeoisie admirably. The State Attorney is now demanding the death penalty against our imprisoned comrades, for the

crime of organizing the anti-war struggle of the toiling masses aainst the Chaco slaughter.

The Bolivian comrades, beaten to the ground and crushed beneath the militarist boot, gagged under arms in the building of a NEW the Military Code, have no other possibility of defense than the international action of the militant workers of other countries. Only demonstrations and mass actions of the workers on an international scale can save them.

> The Chilean Communist Left has called on all working class organizations to back up the international campaign for the defense and support of the workers of Bolivia and Paraguay against the imper-

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1934

THE MILITANT

Stalinists in a Panic as Organization **Of New Party in U.S. Approaches**

To be more exact, it is paniccommunist press against the "Trot-Party.

In the first place, the situation inside the Communist party makes it imperative for the leadership imposed upon it to distract attention from their disgraceful mismanagement. The widely heralded San Francisco general strike has turned to ashes in the mouth of the Staldemned.

inists. The complete ineffectiveness of the party in the textile strike-largest struggle in the history of the American working class -is too patent to be explained away, nor has the leadership yet made any attempt to do so. In four of the most dramatic struggles of recent times, in Toledo, Milwaukee, Minneapolis and Kohler, the Communist party was as invisible as an infra-red ray. The strike it tried to call on the New York waterfront proved to be an unmitigated debacle. The whole trade union policy of the party is being drastically revised, without apparent rhyme or reason and certainly without explanation, and the muchvaunted "red" unions are being liquidated in the dark of the moon at a faster and more artificial pace than they were created in the first The results of the great place. post-convention membership drive are a downright catastrophe: 17,-000 members joined the party in the first seven months of this year, at the end of which, however, the gible he becomes. party has 4,000 fewer members

than when the drive began; that cracy has greeted the new party. is, the Stalinist bureaucracy and its policies have driven out of the party an average of 3,000 members of the Communist party (9-29-34) per month in the first part of 1934. In any normally functioning workwarning. To whom? To the-don't ing class organization, a leadership which cannot produce a better acand file counter-revolutionists and counting of its stewardship than bourgeois nationalists in the two this, would be driven out of its posts and perquisites without even to fuse. "We must warn the workthe three days of grace usually acers who follow Muste and his A.W. corded all bankrupts. P. against a trap that is being laid

A Decadent Party

of counter-revolutionary "Trotsky- tional. Even in France, however, There are, besides, other phenomena which give the leadership ism." But that is not all. "To the despite the unique situation that few misguided workers who still sleepless nights, and cause the serious party member to stop for sober reflection. At one time, whatever revolutionary progress was visible to dig up again the dead body of International" Just the contrary. Trotskyism which has now been As is known to our readers who in the American working class, crystallized around the Communist disinterred sixteen times—by actual saw a translation of it, the leading count-in the columns of the Stal- political article in the first number party. The Stalinized party, howinist press?) an earnest word of of the paper issued by our comrades ever, has lost its revolutionary advice is also proferred. Beware, after entering the S. P., contained force of attraction. A tempestuous for the counter-revolutionists, $in \mid a$ vigorous polemic against the idea leftward evolution of the ranks of turn, "are leading you into organic of "reforming the Second" and in the Socialist party is taking place, unity with Muste, the champion of favor of the Fourth International. with thousands of Socialist workers and youth moving rapidly tothe standpoint of the Daily Worker, else concerned, are perfectly aware, wards Marxism. But not only does this movement pass by the Stalin- there is anything reprehensible in our international organization, and Lovestone group to discuss a very ists, but it is directed against them. the counter-revolutionists joining our official organ in the United highly "principled" (no doubt! no Where, a decade ago, it was fell hands with the bourgeois national- States, have pointed out explicitly doubt!) reunion? clearly or instinctively by the ists, is not entirely clear. Nor will that the road our French comrades awakening Socialist workers that we press the point, for as Thomas were obliged to take, is not the a wearisome piling up of facts, too have no Browder to appoint all the dustries. their move to the left was logically Paine once said: "To argue with a road which the American situation well known to all, about the de- delegates as he did for the late, an who has renounced the use an of the Third In in the direction authority of reason is like adminis- States, a far more favorable conternational and its parties, they feel today that they would be tering medicine to the dead." stepping out of the frying pan and

The Central Committee of the ished by the prolonged howl of | In the Daily Worker of October day. That among the "counter-Stalinist party is greatly worried. rage that has risen from the Stal- 17, Bittelman explodes a "bomb- revolutionary Trotskyists" there inist camp as soon as it became shell" called-"Does the American should be comrades, in the ranks stricken. Nothing else can explain clear that the launching of the new Workers Party Know With 'What' and in the leading committees, who the bombardment of frenzied abuse party was already assured. Just It Is Uniting?" The title perfectly not only have differing views, or suddenly launched in the official as the Roman emperors sought to expresses his deep and tender con- sharp criticisms to make, but who turn the wrath of the masses from cern over the fate of the party of also feel themselves free to write skyists" and the American Workers the cause of their hunger to the bourgeois nationalism. Addressing them down on paper without fear vicarious thrill of the gladiatorial himself to the little infants of the that a bureaucratic axe will

combats in the lion's arena, the A.W.P., he conjures up before them promptly descend upon their neck Stalinist proconsuls are trying to the dread image of the Trotskyist work up a veritable lynching cam- bogeyman who will get them if normal world from which Bittelman paign against the new party so they don't watch out. We know and Co. have so long ago departed that their own membership may that none of our readers will be- that it strikes them as unreal. forget for a day the cruel political lieve us, but good eyesight and existence to which they are consimple truth compel us to report that what Bittelman is so terribly

The Mind of a Bureaucrat

exercize his readers about, is the And what a contemptible camlack of democracy in the ranks of paign it is that the panic-stricken the Trotskyists and a malevolent Stalinists have launched! The buplan by "Cannon-Shachtman and reaucrat's mind is worthy of a Co." to trick the honest rank and definitive study. He cannot judge file vanguard of the bourgeois a political event politically. Havcounter-revolution and the honest ing himself received his post and rank and file vanguard of bourgeois the not undesirable emoluments of nationalism into joining whatever office as bounty for subservience the latest Stalinist thesis calls the and booty from a plot of usurpers Socialist party the vanguard of. he can conceive of a political move

Burglary Again ment directed against his idea Proof? Ah, this time Bittelman only as an insidious plot of other bureaucrats. Like man created his has ample proof. His second-story various gods, the bureaucrat cremen and pickpockets did their last ates all politicians and all politics job some six years ago when they in his own image. His policeman's and stole our documents and posmind, which qualifies him to office tage stamps. They have now done under Stalinism, cannot see beyond another bit of revolutionary mass the horizon imposed upon him from work. A few letters exchanged beabove and imposed by him upon tween League members were stolen exile, deliberately removed from those over whom he holds sway in by some light-fingered expert of participation in the life and work turn. Equipped with magistrate's the C. P., thus affording Bittelman in his own party? For what crime powers and an ample stock of the opportunity to quote some tornabuse, he sallies forth against the out sentences from them in a enemy. The more worried he is the more abusive and less intellilow the mental age of seven. In packed off to Detroit as district This is how the Stalinist bureau

stirring, lucid prose, the Trotskyists are convicted of planning to International, and of having, meanthus devoted itself to a solemn while, abolished all traces of internal democracy. laugh !----honest but misguided rank Let us see how matters stand.

1. The French section of the International Communist League own program and paper, into the has necessitated this step, our

that has the sacro-sanction of the

Lynch

A Startling "Discovery'

We have disputes and differing views in our ranks! That's Bittelexercized about, and is trying to man's self-startling discovery. We say: thank god we have! So has every organization with two men in it, even the Stalinist party. The difference between us and the C.P. is that: In the C.L.A. these differences are freely put forward, developed, mutually criticized, discussed without fear of rude and disloyal punishments. Consequent- that the Stalinists are reverting for ly a healthy and sound decision is arrived at. In the C.P., differences the "honest middle functionaries"

differences with Stalin and his di- It merely means that they hope to rect representative, Browder, who is responsible to and removable by a couple of big demonstrations nobody but the man who appointed him! Who knows this better than else's examination or control the Bittelman himself? For what "deviation from the party line" was he compelled to do penance in Russian office. take another of many, many exbreath-taking Hearstian exposure amples, was Weinstone kicked out guaranteed to impress anybody be- of the party's political center and

organizer-sent "to pick peaches in Georgia" as the cynical expression The leading editorial of the Daily enter the Socialist party for the Why are the another membras of the Worker on the fifteenth anniversary purpose of reforming the Second Why are the once members of the almighty Political Bureau-Minor, I.L.D. does not want to face the Hathaway, Foster, Bedacht — no longer members of it? And in the course of the reply

we await from him, will Bittelman months before he showed his hand further enlighten us as to why the in all frankness; we alone criticized organizations which are preparing has entered as a faction, with its party's secret service is used not the I.L.D. for its smug association only to ferret out spies, but also to with this scoundrel. Little wonder French Socialist party, for reasons hunt down members whose revolu- that the I.L.D. wants a closed corclearly set out in the columns of tionary integrity is above question poration for the Scottsboro defor them by their leaders-the trap the Militant and the New Interna- but who are suspected of meeting fense!

"faction"? Why is it that party will give up such monkeyshines, members and party "leaders" who make room in the defense movefollow the Trotskyists" (come, comrades have not put forward the are dissatisfied with the Browder ment for every interested organizacome, isn't it a bit indecent thus slogan of "reform of the Second regime, are compelled to confine tion, share the control of the case their views to inaudible whispers behind private walls and windows with shades pulled to the bottomthat is, when they dare even to will back such a movement to the whisper.

Why does the Daily Worker continue to pour sulphur and brimstone on the Lovestoneites, while sent to every member for the prethe party leadership meets secretly, bourgeois nationalism". Why, from 2. As Bittelman, and anyone without the knowledge of the mem- the subject of thorough discussion bership, with representatives of the

mocracy that flourishes in the C.P.

Movement (Continued from Page 1)

(Continued from Page 1)

craft issues. In its direct sense this Which does not solve the major dispute represents the squabble of problems confronting every enemy of lynching. Here is a case which the officials for control of spoils. But beneath it is the more fundahas widespread sympathy, and nomental question of a movement as where in the country, not even in Northern cities where there are large blocks of discontented Negro workers, are there organized masses ready to go into action on behalf of the victims marked out by Judge a way out. The officials know no ther way than the protection of

Last week the Militant suggested that only a new and broader defense movement could save the boys after the vicious blows dealt it by the I.L.D.'s erstwhile hero, Mr

Leibowitz. There are a number of interesting aspects to this offer. In the first place, it comes not from the I.L.D. to the S.P., but from a local com mittee of one to a local committee of the other. This does not mean the moment to last year's theory of industrial processes.

exist, but woe betide him who has of the "social-fascist" party? No. use the S.P. in New York to stage without submitting to anybody general conduct of the case now in the hands of the I.L.D.'s national

Another point of interests is that call for a united front. In the old days it used to splash such a call in the Daily Worker and append to it a lot of acceptances from the that one can understand the divided W.I.R., Icor and whatnot. Now it positions of an ideologically united simply sends a letter to the S.P. It wants an I.LD.-S.P. united front, and nobody else allowed.

The reason is clear. More than in any other field at present, the Communist League. We alone, of all workers' organizations. called the turn on Leibowitz eighteen

secretly with other comrades in a If the I.L.D. is really serious, it most bitter foe of industrial unionism in the printing industry. Esthrough a joint committee, and make possible a real mass campaign for the Scottsboro boys. The C.L.A. terms. limit.

-all of it. We grant it to him even

present, because few men ever de-

served it more richly.

agreement with the A.W.P., was convention period, and it has been in our ranks since that time. Our convention will finally express the freely-arrived at decision of the membership, which elects its own One could go on endlessly with delegates, Mr. Bittelman, for we owners of the mass production in- scattered conscious direction and

unlamented Cleveland convention of

Youth Problem[']

(Continued from Page 2)

dustry.

only of changes and regroupments

thirteen members to eighteen. John L. Lewis, who had thundered from

form, the antiqated and outlived the platform that the industrial union question "had to do with the destiny and future success of the American labor movement" also sponsored the council measure. He insisted that the proposed change a whole getting into motion with would signify a more militant orthe workers in this one section, ganization policy and found supwho are hard hit by the protracted port from Daniel Tobin, the head of slump in the industry, pressing for the teamsters union, who had previously castigated the hundreds of thousands of new recruits in the A. craft interests, of one craft against F. of L. as "rubbish", and who condones a system in his union of another which they intensify as the officials putting through their elecpressure increases. The bricklayers, carpenters and electrical worktions for life. Tobin's reactionary ers unions have for some time been attack upon the Minneapolis strike, outside of the Building Trades De- upon the organization of local 574 partment. They now insisted on and its leadership, is too well remittance, but met the opposition known to Militant readers to re-

from officials of the other building quire any further comment. rades unions who hoped thereby William Hutcheson, the president he better to control award of jurof the carpenters union, who could isdictional claims for their specific never be expected to agree to anycrafts to certain kind of work thing that would look like a more which has been changed by new militant organization policy, sup-

ported this proposal of Lewis, ap-Parenthetically it may be reparently for the reason that the rival officials in control of the marked, that if and when any de-Building Trades Department opgree of recovery in the industry by a resumption of building should ap posed it. It may be a good guess pear, it is certain to be under new that the same reason was responand much further improved techsible for Hutcheson's support of nical processes which will perhaps resolution number 141. This resoaltogether wipe out the old craft lution, which was adopted despite basis and impose much more acutethe organization committee's report ly the need for a change of union of non-concurrence, calls for the the I.L.D. does not issue a general organization form also in this in- expulsion of unions which do not comply with the demand for dis-It is on this general background continuance of all discrimination

> against Negroes Adding Pitch to Black

Looking over the new additions to the Executive Council. which officialdom. John L. Lewis, the outright reactionary who made it include Lewis, Hutcheson, Tobin his main task some time ago to and Berry of the Pressmens Union, drive out of the mining industry a any illusions of a more militant orcouple of hundred thousand of coal ganization policy emanating from miners for whom no jobs were this enlarged hierarchy should soon available, who has lived high on disappear. Every step in organization, the actual penetration of the enormous bribes paid by the opermass production industries as well ators for his keeping one section of as the militant strikes, have all miners at work while other seccome into motion by the sweep of tions were on strike, became the most ardent sponsor and spokesman the rank and file workers recognizfor the industrial union move. ing the need for organization, ready Closely allied with him on this to fight for it and literally tearing down all the barriers and obstacles question was Howard, the president of the Typographical union, who put in their road by these reactionhas many times proved himself a aries.

In the debate on the council enlargement measure none of the sentially, however, the adoption of sponsors were the least backward the proposition is due to rank and about holding up the threat of a file pressure. The new unions in rebellious rank and file. That was the mass production industries have the crux of all of the serious probmade this demand in no uncertain lems before the convention. The Some progressive concesreluctant forward moves agreed to sions had to be given to the grow- by the official family was entirely ing working class militancy lest it due to fears of this threat. The would seek its own way out. But rank and file now in motion is it should not be overlooked that miles ahead of their leaders who many A. F. of L. officials favored will take small steps and only by the industrial union proposition in compulsion, sabotaging, cheating the hope that this would provide a and betraying on the way. This better basis for peaceful relations, rank and file in motion is the hope less strikes and more satisfactory for the future. Powerful has been bargaining possibilities of give- its effects already without any, or and-take when facing the powerful at least with very little and very without a nationally organized left

Rogues Gallery of "Progressives" wing or progressive group. To create such a direction Following upon the adoption of the industrial union resolution such a group is now the most imcame the decision to enlarge the portant task. It is these democratic methods that Executive Council from its former -ARNE SWABECK.

"Armyless Generals"

A few days later, the news writer Marxists to proceed immediately to into the fire if they broke from reformism only to join hands with of the Daily Worker, either ignordecadent Stalinism. They are thereant of the startling editorial disfore seeking or groping for a new covery of honest rank and file coun-in our ranks that the C.L.A. should

try, of the most progressive step your back page is doing, reports top. of the consummation, in this counfrom Paterson that the speakers at taken in the American working a silk workers' meeting there were class movement for years. Coming though they did from different directions, the militants of the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America have thought and fought their way through, along different forks in fascism". the road to a unification which makes it possible for them to march with swelled forces along a single path and under a single banner. Joined together, the two organizations are now taking the last steps preparatory to the formal launch ing of the new party in the United States, the party of revolutionary Marxism.

rallying center.

Founded on Marxism

For the first time in many a year, a party will appear on the scene in this country which can ing rejected a united front with must take a monumental effrontery tionary Marxism, were communiboldly assert and prove its claim the Communist party? to be the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. It will not be the issue of a bureaucratic combin- not exactly conducive to clarity. after the world-wide trail of devasation, but a solid structure based At any rate, we may be permitted tation they have left in the workupon a thoughtfully worked out to doubt the effectiveness of such ing class movement in the last ten of the leading committee, who inprogram. This program will be appeals made by the Stalinists to years with their scourge of bureaufound to contain those fundamental the honest scoundrels and rogues cratism.

ideas of Marx and Lenin which of the rank and file. guarantee the revolutionary integrity of the party and its driving ging up the body of Trotskyism, the of our League, but they are as in- yet by vote on the fundamental Marxism, they are determined to the militant school of communism order expires, the stocks-on-hand force. These ideas will not be di- Stalinists have exhumed the corpse comprehensible, simply and literal- question until he had had the build in this country the Great luted or perverted, as they have of Alexander Bittelman and ly as incomprehensible to him as greatest opportunity to reflect on been by the existing radical parties brought it into play against the though he were examining the cune- the matter and to study all the of labor, but reinforced by the new party. Asking Bittelman to iform script on the Rosetta stone. documents involved. In our main lessons of the struggles, the victor- lead the campaign is like calling It is physiologically impossible for branch. New York, direct oral reies and defeats, that the world pro- the members of the Grand Army the mind of the Stalinist official to ports on each step in the progress letariat has experienced in the last of the Republic to the colors for a grasp what such letters represent. of the negotiations and discussions twenty years. From the very outset, therefore, the new party will generally thought (by some, with vailing in the Stalinist party is delivered by the National Commit- of the S.Y.L., articles on the curbe equipped with an invincible a feeling of relief), had been per- considered by its leaders as the nor- tee, with every member having rent events here and abroad, a sumsword, and it will confidently manently silenced after the Stalin- mal state of a working class or- ample opportunity to present his mary of the latest developments in the youth organization is a highly turn entails the greatest slavery for challenge the existing parties for ists exiled him to the Kirghis Sov- ganization. It is a unanimity vio- view more than once. In addition, the world youth movement (France, political organization, necessitating the workers. the leadership of the American iet Republic in 1929 for having lently imposed from above, rigidly a complete thesis giving our fun- Spain, Belgium), articles on the Y. working class.

equires us to take. In the United dition exists and makes it possible and necessary for the revolutionary

launch their own independent political party. No serious person would in the movement for a new party and a new International in the United States. We are on the eve of the consummation in this came front page should not know what of the membership, from bottom to

Bittelman's Lies

3. "It is a fact," writes Bittel- able to witness the warm, vigorous though the gift is not ours to ding to the respective organizations "A. J. Muste, purveyor of Fascist man, "that Cannon peddles around and intensive ideological and politi-

organization declares that the Trot- voted against it, for the simple reafore should not be included in the put before the membership.

abuse and foam at the mouth are even to talk about party democracy,

Bittelman reads a number of the reminder that no comrade was and sure-footed, armed with the and trade unions, Soviets and other be "stretched-out" completely. Not satisfied, however, with dig- letters dealing with internal affairs called upon to commit himself as invincible weapons of revolutionary labor organizations. This is what On February 1, 1935, when the

war in 1935. Bittelman, it was The "monolithic" unanimity pre- with the A.W.P. were periodically

labored too effectively to wreck the enforced by bureaucratic machina- damental view in favor of the im- P.S.L. reprinted from the special (as some comrades in the United the bosses and their friend in the Whatever doubts may have ex- American Communist party. He is tions which strangle the party and mediate launching of a new, inde- New York issue as well as light States wish to do) is to misunder- White House-is not coming to an isted on this score have been ban- making up for that silence now. deteriorate all who breathe its poi- pendent revolutionary party in educational features.

nowadays. But this will do for the the C.P. moment, especially when contrasted Bittelman is right on one point. with the procedure in the C.L.A. we shall "seek to install" in the

Negotiations in Open

new party. Bittelman, who has Our negotiations with the comlong ago lost the right, the ability, rades representing the A.W.P. have and finally the desire, to express not only been public (even to readan independent opinion in his party, ers of the Militant) from the very and is consequently completely beginning, but have been the subdumbfounded to see one expressed ject of an extensive and intensive elsewhere, is entitled to the kind discussion in our ranks which has of regime that prevails in his orproduced that firmness on the quesganization. Without envy or reser-

tion which prevails throughout the League today. (Were Bittelman

(Oops!) doctrines" and James Can- the idea of the 'reform of the Sec- cal internal life of our League, in non, "Trotskyist renegade", and ond International'." What Bittel- contrast with the tomb-like "calm" that "textile worker after textile man calls a fact is properly called and listlessness of the C.P. units worker made clear his distrust of in comrade Spector's letter "wholly about which the Stalinists themthe two armyless generals of social unintelligible"; to be more accur- selves complain with some bewil-

Now, if no armies are involved, ufactured out of the whole cloth. shocked into an even greater incowhat is all the disturbance for? An equally stupid lie is the story herence than was produced in him rank and file" of the two organiza-In its letter to the young Socialists that the New York membership by the purloined letters!) Our tions are meeting with the ridicule explaining why it is opposed to in- "voted against a proposal for entry communications to the A.W.P., they merit. They are not dealing SPECIAL FORM OF THE LABOR cluding the young Trotskyists in into the Y.P.S.L.". The member- their replies, our mutual criticisms the united front, the Stalinist youth ship never voted for it and never -- all appeared in the columns of frightened by bogeymen, or with our press, where the working class what is going on. The views of

and Musteites are armyless, why the lack of democracy in the C.L.A. of the speediest possible merger the plaintive wail of the Daily as copiously and genuinely as a with the A.W.P. to found a new Worker against the latter for hav- Hollywood actress. In general, it party on the principles of revolu-It becomes increasingly clear that brass for Stalinist functionaries branch, many months ago, in the reformism on one side and Stalincourse of a tour by a N.C. representative who met with every comrade, who put forward the position

vited and received the broadest are ready to break with the Great discussion, and who ended up with Organizers of Defeats. Confident

Organizer of Victory.

-MAX SHACHTMAN.

It will include the major draft resolutions for the national convention

the creation of "broad youth clubs"

directly to the tendency toward The Basis of the directly to the tendency toward creating a "youth party". In reality there is no need to create spe-11 cial "Marxian Educational Clubs", as a bridge to the young communist organization. At best the separation is artificial: at its worst, it ing class, it has not a policy of its creates a decidedly false concepown, a special economy, etc., which tion of the character of the youth vations, we grant it to him freely would demand a formation of speorganization. The youth organizacial youth organizations correspontion is a BROAD one; it is a TRAINING GROUND! But while of the whole class. To bring one broad in the sense herein described, section of the class in so sharp a it is not a loose, amorphous body contrast to the other, would be a open to consciously hostile political Meanwhile, it is not fair to al-peculiar syndicalism. The youth elements among the youth. It must be so constructed as to permit in its ranks all types of working youth, making possible to train them for the Party. In this way the youth organization constantly supplies reserves for the Party.

Stretch-Out Okayed (Continued from Page 1)

Sept. 21-there is no cause for great rejoicing. This order must be plovers are willing there will be investigation.

But our guess is that even George ("twist-the facts") Sloan will not raise too much of a howl at this "order". The great surplus of tex-

munist League has taken up poli- tile goods in the stockrooms and tical and educational work as also warehouses will tend to make the the economic struggle. It partici- mill owners favorably inclined to pates in the activities of the parties the order and the workers will not

stands for, what the young commu- will probably be exhausted and the bosses will need a new order of

The youth organization must be stretch-out and speed-up. On this broad enough to draw into its ranks date the Board will "develop a wide masses of young workers. One sound method and adequate organneed not be a communist in order ization for work assignments. . .

to become a member of a young | If we can judge by present standcommunist organization. It is only ards "sound methods" to any Roosnecessary to accept the class strug- evelt Board means the highest rate gle. To construct the theory that of profit for the bosses which in

The speed-up-if it depends on stand the youth question, and leads end, but just beginning.

The regular October number of Young Spartacus is on the press.

low the Stalinists to nurture illu- movement need not look for a parsions which will produce nothing rallel in all the adult labor organate, this "fact" is a stupid lie man-derment, he would undoubtedly be but disappointment. Their panic- izations. The young communist stricken appeals to the "honest | leagues are by no means young communist parties. THE YOUNG COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IS A

MOVEMENT, a school of commuwith little infants who are easily nism, where the young proletariat deluded serfs. In both organizais educated with the idea of being skyists have no masses and there- son that no such proposal was ever public could read them and know tions, they are confronted with ser- able to understand and PARTICI-

ious revolutionary workers, who PATE IN ALL THE OTHER united front. If the Trotskyists 4. Bittelman sheds tears over our National Committee in favor have not jumped quickly at conclu- FORMS OF THE LABOR MOVEsions, but who have reflected earn-MENT. In this work the Young enforced, which means if the emestly and long and with open eyes Communist League takes care to and minds. If it is traps they are emphasize what are the tasks of no further speed-up and if not-an to avoid, they know that the traps the other forms of the labor moveand a forehead triple-sheathed in cated in detail to every single are the ones represented by social ment which are nearest to, and

most readily understood by the ism on the other, traps in which youth. the mangled bodies of the Chinese "For this reason the Young Com-

German, Austrian and other workers have already been caught. They

nist movement stands for."