

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America

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Movement in Behalf of Four Deported Germans Grows

Non-Partisan Defense Committee Initiates the Movement in the United States

Aroused by the recent deportations from Holland to Germany of four German workers, one a member of the International Communist League, American labor groups and advocates of civil liberty plan to do the Dutch government through its local Consul General for asylum for political exiles. A joint statement of protest against the Dutch government's policy of acting as deputy for the Hitler Fascist police will be presented to the Dutch Consul General in New York.

The organizations signing the protest include, in addition to the Communist League of America (by its National Secretary, Arne Swaback), the Young People's Socialist League of America (Arthur G. McDowell, Chairman), the League for Industrial Democracy (Mary Fox, Secretary), the National Unemployed League (Louis Budenz, Organizational Director), the Spartacus Youth Clubs (Joseph Carter, National Secretary), the Communist Party Opposition (Jay Lovestone, Secretary), the American Civil Liberties Union; Carlo Tresca, editor of *Il Martello*; James P. Cannon, editor of *The Militant*; Herman Gund, General Organizer of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union.

Protest Movement Grows
The statement will be presented to the Consul General by a deputation from the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, a recently formed independent group supporting militant mass defense activities on a non-partisan basis. According to Herbert Solow, secretary of the group which drew up and circulated the statement, they will continue to seek further adherents to the movement on behalf of the four German workers and the demand for asylum for all future refugees from the Hitler dictatorship.

The movement of protest continues to grow on an international scale. Recently a mass meeting was called in Paris by a united front youth committee composed of representatives of the Young Leninists (formerly Left Opposition youth), the Young Socialists, the Socialist student organization, the youth organization affiliated with the P.U.P., and the anarchist youth organization. The Young Communist League was invited to participate but refused and called a competing meeting in another hall in order to draw workers off from the mass protest meeting.

Among the other European or-

ganizations which have lodged protests with the Dutch government are the Socialist parties of Germany, France, Italy and Holland; the British I.L.P.; the Norwegian Labor Party; the International League of the Rights of Man; the League of Communist Internationalists (Bolshevik Leninists); the French General Labor Confederation. The Dutch Independent Socialist Labor Party and the Dutch Revolutionary Socialist Party have jointly retained Attorney B. J. Stockvis to go to Germany on behalf of the four deported workers. Thus far, however, no information has been obtainable as to their disposition by the police.

A fund will be raised to aid in the defense fight.

Order May Day Special Edition Of the Militant

Bundle Orders. Now in preparation is the SPECIAL MAY DAY EDITION. It will be crammed full of high-powered political material most effective for the covering of May Day mass meetings, parades, demonstrations and all working class gatherings. Comrades should not wait but should plan their distributions now and send in their bundle orders immediately. Undoubtedly you will need more Militants this year than before especially with our urgent message of the New Party and the drive for the Fourth International.

We want a really impressive list of revolutionary greetings this year. It will add appreciably to the political force of the issue to see nation-wide expressions of revolutionary good will from the movement. Naturally we expect the branches to act first. There should be a sort of roster of Left Opposition units throughout the country.

Then sympathetic organizations, those who appreciate the significance of our drive for the New International should be approached to send in their greetings.

And finally, we will make room for the host of individual comrades, friends and sympathizers who desire on May First to express their solidarity with the movement. Start immediately. Make a systematic canvass for greetings, explaining that pseudonyms or initials will be used on request.

Rousing Meetings On Shachtman Tour

The national tour conducted by comrade Shachtman is now reaching the Pacific coast. There it will take in the cities of Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Since comrade Shachtman started out from New York on March 4th, practically every day has been taken up with meetings in a number of important industrial cities and new and valuable contacts have been gained for the League.

Chicago had a record audience at the main meeting where comrade Shachtman spoke on the New Party project. It was not like the meeting held on the previous national tour of comrade Swaback which had an extra large turn-out of Stalinist hooligans who attempted for several hours to break up the meeting. It was in vain. But that failure, plus the good preparations now made by our three Chicago branches, prevented the repetition of such a dastardly performance and secured this time an excellent meeting. Various tendencies in the labor movement, the Stalinists, the S.L.P., the Yipsels' the United Workers Party and its minority group, participated in the discussion and all remained to the end.

Several Meetings in Chicago

Another meeting on the developments in Austria was held on Chicago's West Side. The audience numbered a little above a hundred, which was all that could be packed into the small hall. On the South side a meeting was addressed by comrade Shachtman on the subject "The future of the New Deal" with

a similar turn-out. All these meetings were held under the auspices of the League.

On his return trip comrade Shachtman will make another stop-over in Chicago and be available for a May Day meeting. At the same time he will make a visit and speak at Waukegan Ill., where a new branch of the League has been organized during the last couple of weeks.

After leaving the Twin Cities, comrade Shachtman put in a busy week in Winnipeg, Canada. He addressed a delegate conference of unemployed organizations representing some 7,000 workers. He addressed the main League meeting held at which 350 workers were in attendance. In addition to this he also addressed the Workmen's Circle Club and the Fort Rouge I. L. P. open forum. Since returning once more to the States, comrade Shachtman had meetings scheduled in Williston N. D., and Plentwood, Montana, from which we have no report as yet.

On the whole the national tour so far has been most successful. It has brought home in a striking manner the constant advance made by the League. The tour has been an enormous help in laying a preliminary basis for the actual creation of a new party. It has strengthened the League in every important city taken in, expressed most concretely, in new membership gains.

The remaining schedule of the tour appears on page four.

AFTER THE C. W. A.

With official figures revealing that the supposed 4,000,000 on CWA jobs had dwindled to about 2,000,000 by March 22, mass dismissals since that date show that the Government program involves the most complete liquidation of relief work. The local authorities were merely supposed to "take over" the CWA projects and payrolls; the liberal press, like the *New Republic*, pronounced the change merely "a change in name"; Hopkins, Federal relief administrator, declared about 2,000,000 would still be employed. But the first day the La Guardia regime in New York took over the payrolls, at least 400,000 out of 150,000 were fired. Similar wholesale dismissals are occurring everywhere.

In sharp contradiction to Hopkins' promises are his own official estimates that \$85,000,000 would be the total cost for work and relief in April—just one fourth of the average cost for each previous month since CWA began.

The honeymoon of Roosevelt and

the unemployed is over. With the anniversary of the New Deal "celebrated" by an army of unemployed as large as that of the Old Deal, liquidation of relief work and cutting down of relief means a ghastly future for the workers, unless they fight back. New York figures indicate what the Government plans. According to Welfare Council statistics, 187,000 families were receiving home relief in February, and about 160,000 were on CWA jobs. That is, 350,000 families, numbering at least 1,500,000 persons, were living on relief or CWA wages. Even at this point, the peak of the Rooseveltian honeymoon, home relief (for the 187,000 families, approximating 845,000 persons) amounted to the munificent sum of \$8.50 per person per month. (The total disbursed for home relief in February was \$7,216,000). Now, however, with no rise in employment in industry, both CWA and home relief rolls have been cut ruthlessly. During the past month in New York City at least 60,000 have been dismissed from CWA jobs and more than 50,000 dropped from the relief rolls, so that officially the "relief" have dwindled to less than 250,000 families. And these will now receive sharply curtailed relief wages or home relief. Even the social workers do not pretend that these facts and figures indicate improvement in conditions. As Jane M. Hoey, director of the Welfare Council, cautiously puts it in her report: "It should not be assumed from these figures that there has been any decline in the amount of need; there has been a decrease only in the amounts available for relief."

Disproof of Roosevelt's Claims
This attack on the relief workers and unemployed is sufficient disproof of Roosevelt's avowed claims that he seeks to raise the wages of workers. One of the best guarantees of high wages for the employed is a decent standard of relief for the unemployed; this was, in fact, the basis of the reactionary objections to CWA when it was first begun. Roosevelt's new curtailment of relief means that the New Dealers have come to see eye to eye with the most reactionary industrial elements.

Undoubtedly among the reasons for hastening the dissolution of CWA was the fear of bosses and government that if millions of workers were permitted to be grouped together for any length of time they would become organized.

(Continued on page 4)

Railroad Robins and Gras for Work in Hotel Strike

The Hotel Owners' Association exacted vengeance for the militant strike of the hotel workers last Friday in Robins and Gras for work on charges of second degree assault in the court of General Sessions. The conviction, which carries with it a penalty of two and one-half to five years in the penitentiary, was the outcome of one of the rawest frame-ups yet perpetrated in the court presided over by the notorious labor-hating Judge Corrigan.

Sentence April 16
Sentence is to be passed on April 16. Friends of the two victimized workers are now making plans to appeal the case.

Robins and Gras had been among the active spirits of the union picket committee and, as such, were marked for persecution. A previous attempt to "get" comrade Robins fell through as a result of the clumsiness of the frame-up and inept coaching of state witnesses. In the present case, with Corrigan on the bench, the wheels were oiled and the conviction railroaded through.

At the trial a man named Bonafaux claimed that five men had assaulted him. Robins had four witnesses who testified that he was home at the hour of the alleged attack. Gras had his wife as witness to the same. With the vicious attitude of the Judge, the conspiracy of the Hotel Association and the complaining witness (who has been paid "wages" by the Hotel Assn.) and the District Attorney, they were found guilty.

Hostile Rulings of Judge

The Judge refused to allow testimony regarding the payment of "wages" to the complaining witness by the Hotel Association. He also refused to allow testimony to impeach the character of the complaining witness—which would have established the best possible motive for an attack on him by others than the strikers. For years he was "shaking down" men who worked under him and depended on his favor for their jobs.

Detectives and police on the witness stand accused Robins of being a Communist and strike agitator as part of the process of prejudicing the jury. Despite this, the jury was out over five hours before arriving at a verdict. The biased rulings of Judge Corrigan and his hostile instructions to the jury undoubtedly had a determining influence on the result.

Fascists Attack Rivera

The bloody hand of Fascist terror has openly shown itself in Mexico. On April 2, two gunmen invaded the home of the world famous revolutionary artist, Diego Rivera, and fired two shots through his bedroom window. Police investigation disclosed that Rivera had been the recipient of threatening Nazi letters because of his treatment of Hitler in his American murals.

Attempted assassinations of this sort can only serve as occasions to emphatically reaffirm our position on anti-Fascist activity. We can not, we dare not wait until Fascism begins to consolidate its forces in the western hemisphere.

Minneapolis Workers Fight Starvation Program

Important Notice

An important meeting of all members and sympathizers of the Communist League in Greater New York will take place this Sunday, April 15, at 8 P.M.

Comrade James P. Cannon will report on the developments in movement for a new Communist Party in this country, our relations and negotiations with other groups and next steps. Discussion will follow the report.

The meeting will be held at the Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place. Sympathizers will be admitted on special invitation cards to be secured at the City Office of the Communist League, 126 East 16th Street. You can call for these cards at the office all week, prior to Sunday, April 15.

Militant Demonstration of Ten Thousand Unemployed at City Hall

Minneapolis, Minn., Friday, April 6.—In the largest and by far the most militant demonstration here in recent years, over 10,000 unemployed workers voiced their opposition to the starvation program of the Roosevelt NRA administration. This demonstration, which marks a new stage in the development of the struggle of the unemployed, came as the result of the ending of the CWA work and its replacement by the RWA scheme of work relief on a pauper basis. The endless reel of investigations, the discriminations and the arrogant hostility of the welfare board, particularly of I. S. Joseph, a member of this

board, added greatly to the dissatisfaction of the unemployed.

Last Tuesday morning at the regular meeting of the Welfare Board in the Court House, some 5,000 unemployed workers led by the United Relief Workers Association gathered and sent its committee of 23 to present the following demands:

A 40% increase in relief; No discriminations; Continuation of the CWA on a cash basis; No RWA or other forced labor schemes; Immediate relief for all dismissed CWA workers formerly on relief without investigation.

Refuses to Receive Committee

The Welfare Board refused to receive the committee on the pretext that "23 were too many". The workers who crowded the corridors were infuriated at this reply and crashed through the locked doors of the Mayor's Reception Room, where the Board was in session, sweeping aside the police massed there and were greeted by the retiring backs of the Welfare Board members who had hastily adjourned.

The leaders then announced that on Friday morning a demonstration would take place at the City Auditorium, where the Welfare Board was asked to be present and hear the demands of the workers. If the Board was not present the workers would then march to the Court House and again attempt to present the demands. At 9 o'clock Friday morning a large number of unemployed gathered outside the Auditorium. The Welfare Board failed to show up. Orderly lines were formed and the demonstration proceeded. Although all traffic cops had been brought into the police concentration at the Court House the march throughout was characterized by its orderliness, attesting to the mood of the workers. As the demonstrators circled the Court House the police were much in evidence, massed inside and outside the numerous entrances.

The marchers and onlookers, by this time numbering over 10,000, completely surrounded the building which occupies a square block. Mounting the low stone wall which runs around most of the building, the leaders, after a short speech or two, called upon the committee of 23 to assemble on the wall. The committee then proceeded and entered the courthouse, without any interference from the police, to present the demands to the city council which was then in session. The crowd remained orderly and listened to the speakers.

Cops Throw Tear Gas Bombs

A few minutes later a file of cops began to push through the crowd to

(Continued on page 4)

N. Y. Conference Against War Is Pacifist Affair

Anti-war conferences, sponsored by prominent individuals, which substitute generalities and futile pacifist fulminations against war for a concrete program of united action by workers' organizations, are the order of the day. The Stalinists set the fashion for these mass-querades. Now they have encountered the rivalry of the socialists in this field.

Following the departure of the socialists from the "League Against War and Fascism", separate conferences, engineered by individual socialists and pacifists, have been formed in various cities. The New York session held a three-hour conference at Town Hall Friday, April 6th.

Like the Stalinist conferences on the same subject it had more the character of a ceremonial mass meeting than a gathering to discuss and plan a serious fight against imperialism war. Also like its Stalinist prototype, the Friday conference was consecrated to the spirit of pacifism.

Extending the collaboration of the Communist League and the American Workers Party a step further, the two organizations presented a joint resolution, read to the conference by James Burnham of the American Workers Party and in a speech on the resolution by James P. Cannon of the Communist League the Communist point of view on the question of war was briefly outlined for union front action of the workers' organizations, with political parties and groups taking the initiative in their own names.

No action was taken on the resolution except to refer it to a continuation committee for consideration at its first meeting. In view of the provisional nature of the conference and the possibility that exists of securing a continuation of the resolution in the continuation committee, which will contain representatives of all the participating organizations, the Communist League decided to remain with the conference in order to bring the revolutionary standpoint forward.

A notable feature of the conference was the failure of the Left Socialists, in particular the Revolutionary Policy Committee, to appear and present an independent point of view on the question of war.

Without saying. It is only through the assistance of the regular contributions of the Pledgers that that we are able to supply the paper to the thousands who want it but are not able to pay the full rates.

ON TO A NEW 1,000 SUBSCRIBERS!
BUY YOUR CLUB PLAN CARDS WITHOUT DELAY!

THE INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN

The English edition, printed form, eight pages, is now off the press and can be ordered directly from the national office. It is 10 cents a copy and cash must accompany all orders.

Cannon to Speak On War and the 4th International

"War and the Fourth International" will be the topic for a lecture by comrade James P. Cannon on Sunday, April 22, at 8 P.M. This is the first of a new series of lectures on the international program.

In his lecture on the program of the Fourth International several weeks ago, Comrade Cannon dealt with the question of war very briefly since the time did not permit an extensive treatment of the subject. Following that lecture, we have received many requests that the more important phases of Cannon's programmatic lecture receive special treatment in separate lectures.

In complying with these requests, we have chosen the question of war as the first lecture in the series. War is the primary touch-stone of a revolutionary party. The Second International was put to test in the World War and it revealed its complete bankruptcy. The policies of the Third International, in combating the danger of war through the so-called anti-war congresses, in which it uses all sorts of liberal intellectuals and pacifists as its front, reveal that there is nothing to be expected from this quarter in the fight against the impending war.

Other lectures to follow in the series will deal with the Trade Union question, Fascism and the United Front.

The lectures will be held at the Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place. Questions and discussion from the floor will follow the lecture. Admission will be 15 cents.

Anti-Fascist Dinner For Bellussi

A dinner to Anthony Bellussi, trade unionist and anti-Fascist, who has been ordered deported for his activities by the Federal authorities, is to be given by a committee of his comrades and friends at Stuyvesant Casino, Second Avenue and Ninth Street, Friday, April 20, at 7:30 P.M.

The committee includes Roger Baldwin, Louis Budenz, James Burnham, James P. Cannon, Elliot E. Cohen, Max Eastman, Herman Gund, Sidney Hook, Rose Karsner, A. J. Muste, Ellnor Rice, James Rorty, Herbert Solow and Carlo Tresca.

Bellussi had to flee Italy in 1924 because of his opposition to Mussolini's regime. He came to this country and worked as a coal miner in Pennsylvania. He was active in the United Mine Workers Union.

Arrested June 17

On June 17 of last year, Bellussi was one of a crowd listening to an open air meeting held by "General" Art Smith in Wilkesbarre, Pa. Smith is the same khaki shirt leader who now faces trial in Brooklyn for his perjury attempt to railroad a worker, Terzani, to the electric chair.

Federal agents, scattered in the crowd, pounced upon Bellussi when he sought to argue with the speaker. He was "detained" for questioning. His home was searched and radical literature found. Bellussi was ordered deported.

Bellussi spent 10 miserable months in jail, and was finally ordered deported to Italy, where death or torture in the hands of the Fascist butchers awaits him. Through the intercession of friends and militant labor organizations, he is temporarily spared this fate.

He has been granted the right of voluntary departure to South America. Unless the fare can be raised, however, this right will be lost, and he will be sent to Italy. He must leave before May 1.

Speakers at Dinner

To raise his fare, and to protest against the deportation policy of the Government, the dinner is being held, under the auspices of the Bellussi Anti-Fascist Dinner Committee.

Bellussi—at present free on bail supplied by the Civil Liberties Union—is to speak at the dinner. Other speakers will be James P. Cannon, of the Communist League of America; A. J. Muste, of the American Workers Party; Quincy Howe, editor of the *Living Age*; Herbert Solow, of the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and Carlo Tresca, editor of *Il Martello*.

Tickets are 50 cents each, and may be obtained through Ellnor Rice, treasurer, 151 E. 83rd Street, New York City.

Foes of Fascism, enemies of reaction, friends of the working class, of whatever shade of political belief, are urged to attend.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

The C. P. Convention Judging by reports in the "Daily Worker", ovations and the singing of the International was the main purpose of the C. P. convention.

Convention Highlights (Extracts from the Daily Worker's report of the Convention) "When we make mistakes let them be new ones."—A Delegate

"I don't know whether I have a parliamentary deviation or not, but I really have an ambition to go to Congress. I think we can find five or six who ought to be convinced of the necessity of making a really serious election campaign."—E. Browder.

"The largest number of delegates joined since the Open Letter was issued last summer" (And will no doubt be out in time for next summer's self-criticism.)

Horse Thieves and Politicians Assemblyman Lawrence M. Hamilton, nephew of J. P. Morgan, denied last week that the legislators at Albany were "horse thieves".

LaGuardia—S. P.—C.P. Thanks to the leadership of the S. P. and C. P. the working class of New York is shown the edifying spectacle of the mayor being called in to settle disputes between these two "revolutionary" parties on the question of the use of Union Square on May Day.

Suicide "The problem of unemployment, the constant anguish of increasing poverty, the losing struggle to keep a home for his children ended today for Richard Fairservice. He had lost his job, his money, and saw his two children sent to live with relatives. Today he was handed an eviction order—He stretched himself on the floor and fired a bullet through his brain"—N. Y. Evening Post, April 3.

Another one in the endless stream of suicides, workers driven to despair by the insane capitalist system. Is it not about time that "the problem of unemployment, the constant anguish of increasing poverty, the losing struggle to keep a home for his children" be ended for us all? Not by stretching out on the floor and firing bullets into our own brains but by standing up on our feet and collectively blowing out what passes for brains in the insane head of rotting capitalism.

SEND A DOLLAR FOR FOUR PREPAID SIX-MONTHS SUB CARDS ON THE CLUB PLAN.

Letters to the Editor

The Furriers Again

To the Editor of the Militant: The majority of fur workers loathe the International not only because its leadership is (or was) corrupt, stupid and ineffectual, but because the Union was FORCED UPON THEM BY THE BOSSES.

Today, for the sake of argument, I'll grant Koenig that the leadership is more honest, but this does not negate the fact that once again the council had to depend on an agreement with the Association to FORCE workers into joining it.

The question, then, centers down to this: Should the Communist League be a party to herding workers into a union they correctly regard a bosses' agency? To do so, I think, would be a fallacy, for any group which proposes such a step, will be viewed with suspicion by the more class-conscious elements among the furriers.

The duty of class conscious elements, it can be argued, is to form the vanguard of wherever the masses are. If they are in the A. F. of L., then that is where the Left Wing should also be, not divorced from the masses, but in its midst.

With this premise, I think all factions, including the Party, will agree. Speaking of the Party, it is possible that from the current Cleveland convention, such an orientation will be more clearly developed. In that event, the troublesome situation among the furriers will be cleared up instantly. For, if the Industrial Union proposes unity with the International on the basis of free elections, it is a 90 to 9 bet that the Communist-led slate will be swept into office. Then and only then will the seemingly impossible One Union be achieved.

—JACKINSON.

Expulsion from I.L.D.

To the Editor of the Militant: Following is a report on the expulsion of Sam Silvers from the Newark I. L. D.

Sam Silvers, one of the two I.L.D. delegates to the Newark branch of the League Against War and Fascism, was expelled from the I.L.D. for demanding that the party substantiate the false charges on which it excluded the Communist League of America from the L. A. W. & F.

At the first Executive Committee meeting of the League Against War following the exclusion of the Communist League, Silvers and others raised the demand that the party introduce evidence to support its charges. This demand was carried and referred to the next Executive Committee meeting.

Help us send the Militant to all of them. Demonstrate concretely that you are interested in the life of the Militant.

MAKE YOUR CONTRIBUTION OR PLEDGE TO-DAY. SIGN THE BLANK BELOW

WAR AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL The First of a New Series of Lectures on the International Program with Special Reference to America By James P. Cannon At IRVING PLAZA HALL 15th Street and Irving Place SUNDAY, APRIL 22nd at 8 P.M.

ADMISSION 15 CENTS QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION Other lectures to follow on successive Sundays: Fascism; the Trade Union Question; the United Front.

no black-list. These provisions will only be strictly enforced in those shops where there are a sufficient number of the union members to enforce them.

—SAMUEL MEYERS

A Pacifist Morass

New Haven.—The New Haven League Against War and Fascism held an anti-war meeting on April 8th in Central Parish Church. This meeting, together with the entire program of the "anti-war" week, was endorsed by various ministers and rabbis of the town.

The usual Stalinist argument for the League is that it gives the Communist Party a chance to present the revolutionary program before a larger audience to the discredit of the pacifist program. Such an argument, however, would never suffice to justify this meeting as no "Communist" speaker was allowed to present his position.

The chairman, B. P. Murphy, a divinity student at Yale, opened the meeting and introduced the main speaker, Dr. Mendenhall of Columbia University. The latter gave a plea for anti-war activity, intimated that wars were caused by armaments manufacturers, and asserted that we could prevent war if we followed the program of the League.

—NEWARK WORKER.

Los Angeles Milliners

To the Editor of the Militant: In their sectarian antics the Stalinists do not consider the interests of the workers.

Altho several hundred workers belong to the local of the International Millinery Workers Union, Local 48, the policy of the Stalinists has steadfastly been to estrange and isolate the handful of active unionists at their command from the workers of the International by maintaining the Millinery Branch of the N.T.W.I.U. in a sectarian form.

The criminal results of this policy came out most clearly in the one day general strike called by the International Millinery Workers Union, Tuesday, March 21, 1934. Instead of furnishing leadership to the workers on strike the members of the Stalinist union were in many cases excluded from shop-meetings of the strikers.

In the pen shop town of Los Angeles the conciliatory policy of Zaritsky did not arouse any enthusiasm among the bosses until several hundred workers walked out on a one day strike.

Disruptionist Policy

The disruptionist policy engineered by Miller of the N.T.W.I.U. weakened the strike. The dragging of workers to the Industrial Union hall instead of strengthening the picket lines was the result of Miller's directives. Most of these workers joined the International and turned against the Industrial Union.

The settlement registers a slight gain for the workers that can be greatly improved upon by the workers in the shop if they will take a stand to enforce the provisions of the Agreement, which include: Equal division of work, Recognition of the shop committees, raises of from one to four dollars and

Pledge Fund

An Appeal to Our Sympathizers

It is easy to be a sympathizer of a movement if all it means is "platonic friendship". We feel, however, that our readers and sympathizers are more than that. That they are ready to participate actively in the life of the organization, whenever and wherever possible. One way of doing this is to help in our efforts to stabilize the Militant. To make it possible for us to broaden the circulation. To enable us to send the paper to all who want to read it regularly but cannot afford to pay the full rates.

Help us send the Militant to all of them. Demonstrate concretely that you are interested in the life of the Militant. MAKE YOUR CONTRIBUTION OR PLEDGE TO-DAY. SIGN THE BLANK BELOW

Table with columns for Name, Amount, and Frequency. Includes entries for Brooklyn, Manhattan, Harlem, Bronx, Boston, and Newark.

Shachtman on Tour

Williston, N.D.

Williston, North Dakota.—Comrade Shachtman delivered a lecture in the courthouse at Williston, North Dakota, April - at 8 P. M. Over two hundred city workers and farmers listened attentively for more than two hours while he delivered his lecture on "America Heading Toward Another War."

He blamed the official Communist Party (Stalin group) for its false policy and indifference while the Fascist bloodhounds were organizing their forces to crush the workers.

Comrade Shachtman showed how inactive the nationalistic Stalinists were in this fight. The next morning we heard he was hired by Wall Street to fight the American C. P. This of course came from a bit mind of the party. We want Comrade Shachtman to come back to Williston again in the near future.

—A. G. MILLER

Minneapolis

Minneapolis.—The meetings arranged by the Minneapolis branch for comrade Shachtman were very successful. Three public meetings were held, two in Minneapolis and one in St. Paul. All three meetings were well attended and were followed by interesting discussions, testifying to the increasing interest of the workers in the program of the League.

The house party was attended by 70 people among whom were several new contacts. Comrade Shachtman gave a short talk on the history of the Communist League of America and its perspective for future developments of the labor movement as a whole, and the need for a new International as well as a new revolutionary party in America.

Speech on "Austrian Events"

Sunday morning, March 25th, comrade Shachtman spoke at the Labor Lyceum. The subject of this lecture was the "Lessons of the Austrian Events". This meeting was sponsored by the Labor Lyceum Open Forum Committee. About 75 people listened attentively to the lecture. Shachtman traced the history of the Austrian Social Democratic Party and its leadership, showing how at the crucial moment it was unable to defend even the most elementary "rights" and the very existence of their organizations themselves which the workers had built up through many long years of struggle.

He also demonstrated how the pernicious theory of the gradual transformation of capitalism into socialism, when applied in practice, lead to the blackest reaction. Several S. P. members and sympathizers were in the hall but only one was so unaffected by the arguments as to defend and try to justify the Socialist policies. It was quite clear to the audience, however, that despite the heroism of a small minority of the Austrian leaders who stood beside them on the barricades the leadership and policy of the Austrian Social-Democracy stand condemned once again in the eyes of the world's working class for this colossal betrayal of 1934.

Downtown Meeting

At the downtown mass meeting comrade Shachtman addressed an audience of 250. Speaking on the subject of "Do We Need a New Revolutionary Party in America", he went into a detailed description of the birth, the life, and the death of the last two Internationals and gave the reasons for the necessity of building a new revolutionary 4th International.

PREVIOUSLY REPORTED

- 1. Paul King \$.25 weekly
2. Subway Worker 1.00 monthly
3. G. Wright .50 weekly
4. E. Konikow .25 weekly
5. M. Beardsle 1.00 weekly
6. F. Victor .50 weekly
7. J. Weber .50 weekly
8. S. Gordon .50 weekly
9. M. Kling .50 monthly
10. S. Bleeker .50 monthly
11. A. Kujawsky .10 weekly
12. M. Spithos .25 weekly
13. A. Tamas .25 weekly

Once again, we had the good fortune to have with us a certain Walter Frank, who attempted to discredit the work of our comrades in the recent coal strike by some cheap demagogy and factual dis-

- 35. Becker .25 weekly
36. A Clerk .10 weekly
37. A Social Worker .25 weekly
38. A Sympathizer .10 weekly
39. A Friend 2.00 monthly
40. P. V. 1.00 monthly (paid for 10 months in advance)

Name Address City Amt. enclosed \$ I pledge \$ or, I contribute \$ State whether we may print your name in full. The Militant 126 E. 16th St.

UNDER THE NRA

Federal Unions and Company Unions

The two outstanding types of new organization forms developing under the NRA are the Federal Unions of the A. F. of L. and the Company Unions.

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Wm. CURRAN.

Davenport Meeting

THE COMING WAR Fascism or Communism? Lecture by MAX SHACHTMAN Member of the N. E. C. at Unity Center Hall, 3rd floor Whitaker Bldg., 3rd and Brady Sts. Davenport, Iowa. Monday, April 30, 1934 at 8 p.m. Admission 10c. Tickets obtainable from Betty Rowland, 2224 1/2 Rockingham Road, Davenport, Iowa.

Shachtman Tour Salt Lake City

Wednesday, April 18th 8 P.M. I. O. F. HALL Salt Lake City, Utah Subject: "THE FUTURE OF THE NEW DEAL" Admission Free Questions and Discussion On the following day, April 19th, Shachtman will address a group of Salt Lake City university students on the subject, "The Events in Austria."

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UNDER THE NRA

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THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1923, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published Weekly by the Communist League of America 126 East 16th Street, New York, N.Y. Phone: Gramercy 5-9524 Vol. VII, No. 15, (Whole No. 219) Saturday, April 14, 1934 EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year \$0.50 per half year — Canada and Foreign: \$1.50 per year; 75c for six months. Bundle rates one cent per copy.

The Cuban Situation After Grau

Grau's government has crashed, and with it all the "groups" and "sectors" that chorused its shouting for the four hectic months. In spite of its war apparatus, in spite of its menacing gestures, in spite of its appeals for "Law and Justice," it was displaced from power without a serious attempt at resistance on its part.

A simple diplomatic maneuver by Caffery with Batista's avowed complicity was sufficient to sweep out, like a little heap of refuse, the Government of the "True Revolution." All the demagogic adulation of the people, all its decrees for the "nationalization of labor," all of its criminal legislation dealing with the famous 80 per cent move, was of no use to Grau's government. Upon the first threat of a change, the groups directed by Bringer and the "National Reconquest" mob, the loud-mouthed legion of professional "Cubansists," which, backed by the armed forces, made a practice of attacking work centers, decamped leaving to its fate the "authentic revolutionists." And the jumpen proletariat, always ready to back new masters, is again going thru the contortions ordered by the old politicians of the bourgeois parties.

The Petty Bourgeois Farce

The first act of the petty bourgeois farce is ended. As the curtain falls, new political experiments appear before us. There are Menocallists, clever at all sorts of tricks and ready for all crimes, old Machadistas, enunciated nationalists, in short, the entire assortment of political dabblers, who are now repeating the maneuvers they tried in the days of Cespedes, who are now walking arm in arm with Caffery as they did yesterday with Welles. At their head is old Colonel Mendieta, who bends his back loyally in the service of Yankee finance in the name of "peace and friendship." Behind these puppets is the omnipresent American ambassador and Batista with his iron hand, utilizing the U. S. ambassador for the imposition of his designs on the country. Camp Columbia rules today more effectively than in Grau's days. Ulsiceno is in the Palace; Colonel Mendieta reigns but does not govern.

The liquidation of the Grau government is complete. It is our task now to draw up a balance sheet for the Cuban proletariat, indicating the lessons to be drawn from the tragic experience with the petty bourgeois rulers. These lessons will be of value in future battles.

Position of the Bolshevik-Leninists

From the very first days of September, we Bolshevik-Leninists said that the insurrection of September 4 had a profound revolutionary content. The very technique employed, bringing the intervention of the soldiers and classes, and the demagogic program flaunted by the petty bourgeois of the Junta of Five obliged the government to certain measures that might have made possible the broadening out of the revolutionary movement. We affirmed that the hegemonous role of the petty bourgeoisie led the government to an indecisive policy of zigzags. The ascendant march of the Revolution, the formidable strike struggles of the proletariat forced the Government to aggressive acts against the bourgeoisie and imperialism. This did not exclude, as we said a hundred times, repression against the proletariat, and even barbarous acts, against which we should always fight.

The correct position of the vanguard of the working class hinges on an understanding of a situation. The tactics followed had to be conditioned by living reality, and had to follow the ascendant rhythm of the revolution.

The Fight for Revolutionary Juntas

To ardently continue the work of regrouping the proletariat, to exact from the petty bourgeois Government the fulfillment of its own demagogic program (Revolutionary tribunals, the distribution of land, the Constituent Assembly, etc.); to fight for the constitution of Revolutionary Juntas, as a step to the organization of Soviets, and at the same time carry on intensive work among the masses to prepare the latter for defense against the aggression of the Government, such were the tasks set for itself by the Bolshevik-Leninist Party.

We continued to maintain that such tactics would maintain the movement on the upgrade, and as a result the Government would soon pass from words to compromising acts. The day would come when the cowardly petty bourgeoisie would have to turn against the masses. The entire effectiveness of our tactics lay in that we insisted on making use of this period to give the workers the force necessary for further advance.

But stupidity and the inability to understand is characteristic of Stalinism. Devoid of any critical judgment of reality, they launched the slogan of Soviets as soon as the

DeCespedes government fell. They screamed against the "murderous Grau-Batista-Carbo government" describing it as a "bourgeois-feudal landowners-imperialist block." And then they called for the insurrection. The official Communist Party, taking a schematic and sectarian stand, led the proletariat to massacre, and caused it to lose confidence in its own revolutionary capacity. The 29th of September was the culmination of that political imbecility. The day of Mella's burial was decided on as the day of the insurrection, and then the army, which had already begun to fraternize with the workers, massacred the latter in the streets of Havana.

C. P. Loses Its Bearings

Then the Party, losing all its bearings, launched the call for a general strike. This would have led to the most complete rout of the workers if the Labor Federation of Havana, foreseeing the disaster, had not then shown the way. The Bolshevik-Leninists succeeded in having the workers return to their positions, and this is the reason why the present period of struggle is not closed.

But this was not sufficient to heal the wound made by the adventurers. The disorder provoked in the proletarian ranks enabled the Government to stop short the workers' offensive. The sectarian adventures of the Stalinists explain in part the harm produced by the 50 per cent law and other decrees of fascist nature. The weakness of the proletariat in opposing such decrees, and the cowardice of the official party are results of the adventure of September 29th.

The Duty of the Vanguard

Therefore the displacement of the Grau government by a rightist block, manufactured by Caffery finds the proletariat in a defensive attitude. It is the duty of the revolutionary vanguard to take careful cognizance of this fact: The immediate task of the day is a fight without quarter against the fascist laws and in defense of the conquests won such as the eight-hour day in all industries. In these battles, which will assume gigantic proportions in the sugar mills, it is possible to build more firm resistance for the beginning of greater struggles by the union organizations. A realistic acquaintance with our past acts and methods are essential in guiding our future revolutionary activity.

Translated from "Rayo," organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Cuba.

A Centrist Attack on Marxism

LEON TROTSKY

Dear Comrade Sneevliet:

I was much interested in the theoretical article of Comrade de Kadt ("A few Remarks on the Program of the New International") as it represents a very important theoretical avowal of one of the leaders of the O.S.P. (Independent Socialist Party of Holland—ed.), I thought at first of waiting for the completion of this article in the "De Nieuwe Weg." But as I note this article still remains unfinished. But even what has appeared suffices. We know that centrism always holds back with its strength from entering the field of "gray theory" precisely because it does not want to reveal itself clearly. De Kadt found himself impelled by the whole situation to take a stand on the programmatic problems of the New International, and this step of his can be regarded as nothing short of ominous.

In this letter I wish to touch on only a few points which, though lying in different planes, are equally characteristic of centrist thinking.

A "Non-Orthodox Point of View"

"It is not our task," de Kadt writes, "already to present today the formulations which we consider necessary. The aim of these remarks is to establish in advance our right (!) to defend a non-orthodox point of view in the coming programmatic discussion." Here it is a question—is it not?—of working out the fundamental principles of the New International. It would be difficult to conceive in this epoch of a more important document. Under the circumstances what should be the most urgent, immediate, deepest need of every Marxian revolutionist? At the least, the formulation of the most important observations, generalizations, statements and slogans which should be incorporated in the program precisely because it concerns the vital matter of giving the uprooted, disoriented, disappointed, groping workers the answer to the burning questions of our period. At least so the question appears to us, "orthodox" Marxists.

Not so, however, to de Kadt. He approaches the problem in a purely individualistic, subjective, dilettante fashion. For him it is not a question of formulating definite ideas, but of reserving the "right" to present a "non-orthodox" point of view in the future. The question of program is however not a question of right. What needs to be presented is the point of view

and not the right to the point of view. Nobody in the working class world is particularly concerned about whether anybody has the "right" to bring to light at some later day a non-orthodox point of view. What one wants to know is the point of view itself so as to test its real content. But the secret lies in the fact that the centrist has in general no definite, clear-cut, well-thought-out point of view. Therefore, he remains content with the right . . . to have no point of view.

The Class Theory of Society

Immediately following the above words of de Kadt, the latter continues as follows: "To give an example: must we continue to speak of the 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat' when in reality the dictatorship can be exercised only through the socialist portion of the proletariat and the non-proletarian elements that are devoted to socialism? In reality we have to deal with a 'socialist dictatorship,' a dictatorship exercised through socialists for socialism." Well said indeed: "to give an example!" The critic does not notice at all that by his "example" he attempts to sweep away, in passing as it were, the whole structure of Marxism. For here it is not a question of the name dictatorship of the proletariat but of the essence of the class theory of society. Marx who at any rate was not satisfied with the mere right to ideas but had many a good one, considered the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as precisely his most important contribution to the science of society.

Back in 1852 Marx stated to Weydemeyer that the class theory of society had been discovered and formulated long before him by bourgeois scientists, that he—Marx—applied this theory to the further development of capitalist society, carrying it to its final conclusion, that is to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin wrote his book ("State and Revolution") in which he clarified this fundamental Marxist tenet and freed it from the "non-orthodox" revisionist fog of Kautsky, Otto Bauer, etc.

Now comes de Kadt with his "right to a point of view" and makes plain to us "for instance" on the dictatorship of the proletariat: "Nothing of this sort exists at all," since in reality "the dictatorship is realized only through the socialist portion of the proletariat" and what is more, non-proletarians participate in it too. In other words, it is not a matter of the dictatorship of a class, but of a rule of a like-minded group, a gathering of people around the idea of socialism. Thus we see that not classes decide in history but ideas. It follows therefore that every self-respecting person must safeguard his right to ideas. De Kadt counterposes to Marxism "for instance" a through and through idealistically metaphysical philosophy of history. A dozen lines suffice for him to break from the fundamentals of Marxism.

Ideas and Classes

We poor "orthodox" ones believe even today that not ideas determine the fate of society but classes; that social ideas—as the old, wise Italian Antonio Labriola said—do not fall from heaven, but give expression to immediate or historic interests of classes. The "idea" of socialism is the theoretical expression of the historic trend of the proletariat coordinated with the logical development of capitalist society. The relation between class and "idea" is not mechanical but dialectic. The class attains self-consciousness not through revelation but through difficult struggle which takes also the form of an internal struggle within the proletariat itself. So—by your leave—our struggle against centrism is an important component part of the struggle of the working class for self-knowledge. It is inevitable

The Austrian Constitution

The new Austrian Constitution, according to recent press dispatches, is basing itself on the papal encyclical issued by "His Holiness," Pope Pius on May 15, 1931. There will be a "legislative" chamber composed of 59 delegates—all elected by State officials and the church. The duties of the "legislature" will be limited to accepting or rejecting measures submitted by the government.

Correspondent Gedy, of the N. Y. Times, summed up the situation as follows: "Other autocracies, even Hitlerism, preserve the outward form—however worthless it is in practice—of a popular vote. In the new Austrian autocracy general elections find no place in the constitution." The Dollfus government has also issued a decree that anyone is liable to detention in a concentration camp on suspicion of having worked for a forbidden political party.

therefore that in the process of development of the proletariat a crystallization of the most advanced, far-sighted, courageous, of the elite, of the real vanguard, should take place. And only through the aid of this, its most important organ, can the proletariat fulfill its historic mission, that is to conquer power and maintain it in the form of a dictatorship until the complete liquidation of all antagonisms. That it is a question of a dictatorship of a class is proved by the relation between the class and its vanguard: without the support of the vast majority of the class the establishing of a workers' state would be impossible. That the proletarian revolution is however accomplished through the intermediation of the vanguard is explainable by the heterogeneity of the proletariat as it is given us by history. Marx operated not with bare abstractions—"Class," "Socialism"—but with historic realities, their actual interrelations and their effects on each others.

Historic Role of Classes

That deserters from other classes participate in the dictatorship is explained by the fact that we deal with living social matter in which classes merge into one another, affect one another, and not with the druggist's compartments in which each preparation has its special packing and label. It is precisely the decisive historic role of classes that imparts to the progressive class the ability to carry along with it the best elements of other classes. To declare the class theory null and void on this account, as de Kadt does, is the same as denying the law of gravity because a balloon travels up and not down.

De Kadt takes next another "example," this time not against Marx, but against Lenin: "Why must we," he asks, "accept in our program the 'Soviet principle,' since not even a trace of proof exists that the 'Soviets' were anything (!) proved temporary (!), improvised (!) forms of organization in which the masses unite immediately prior to and immediately after the struggle for power." The idealist and metaphysical is not inclined to attribute to the "Soviet principle" any great importance, for Soviets are nothing more than "temporary" forms of organization; they serve the proletariat only "immediately prior to and immediately after the struggle for power." We Marxists are not at all set upon including in our program "eternal," "everlasting" values; we are satisfied just with "temporary" things like Soviets, which—and de Kadt admits this too—are instruments of the seizure and maintenance of power by the proletariat. So far that is completely sufficient for us. We are willing to grant the "right" to de Kadt and his co-thinkers in future to invent far more "eternal" form of organization; first however let them try at least to create "temporary" soviets and to conquer power.

Echoes of Bernstein

In this fashion I could take up the whole article sentence by sentence to prove that—excepting for meaningless platitudes—de Kadt's article consists only of horrible mistakes against the fundamentals of Marxism. De Kadt never mentions the lights that have given him inspiration. Certainly they are not Marx, Engels and Lenin. But in his latest, revisionist revelations we find only echoes of Bernstein, of the German Neo-Kantians and also of the Austro-Marxists. And all that should serve for the setting up of the program of the New International? Oh no! De Kadt will have to look for some different application for this.

Our critic is very harsh with regard to Bolshevism, even the genuine—Lenin. He does not want to "idealize" it. That is not at all necessary. But what de Kadt says on Leninism is truly lamentable. We are faced here not with principled criticism but with distorted facts, anachronisms, misunderstood relations, false, personal estimations, etc. Refuting all this would, without being of any great value, take up too much time. It is sufficient to establish here, that de Kadt criticizes most severely the "system of Lenin-Trotsky," in order to attach himself to the system of . . . Trammel. Hand in hand with the Norwegian social-democracy which is only the diluted edition of Austro-Marxism de Kadt wants in a "revolutionary" manner to reconstitute the international working-class movement . . . on the basis of principles which will be revealed to us only later.

We do not want to dispute anyone's "right" to a distorted point of view. But to the Dutch workers we want to say with full conviction: To build a party on the philosophy of de Kadt is to build on sand. Beware of doing so; build on Marxist granite!

—L. TROTSKY.
March 16, 1934

A Year of Roosevelt's New Deal

Article III

Industrial recovery is now under way with "irresistible force," says Alfred F. Sloan Jr., president of the General Motors Corporation, in his report of the corporation's business for 1933. He also added that the labor section of the NRA must be clarified "or there is the certainty of industrial strife the equal of which this country has not yet seen."

Nobody needs to doubt that Sloan spoke from the point of view of his class. As the president of the General Motors corporation he represents the most hard-boiled section of monopoly capitalism. They definitely oppose union organization in any form, save the company union, as long as union organization can possibly be prevented. But that is not exceptional. All employers do; only they are not all equally as able to resist as the General Motors corporation is. Yet in face of this fact—no one will deny—Section 7a of the NRA, which was sponsored by the Roosevelt administration, recognizes the right of collective bargaining to the workers. Does this mean a conflict of viewpoint and policies within capitalism?

The NRA Illusion

From official A. F. of L. circles this is actually the way in which the matter is presented. According to these labor agents of capitalism, the Roosevelt New Deal is a new deal for labor. According to them the policies of his administration are friendly to labor and fighting for its rights against such hard boiled concerns. At the inception of the NRA this presentation was accepted among the broadest working class strata. They had implicit faith in the NRA.

Now practical experience teaches them something else. The automobile workers learned to their regret that there were no great differences at the recent Washington conference. The automobile manufacturers and President Roosevelt, together with their special agents, Green and Collins, succeeded in spiking the automobile workers' strike for a union, at least for the time being. And since then the President appointee on the automobile labor board cooperated consistently with the manufacturers to stall the movement further until the busy season is over and thereby disorganize its attempts to get action.

Unionism the Issue

Throughout the whole of the NRA experiences so far the main issue of ever sharpening conflicts concerns the question of union organization. Today it is most acute in the automobile industry, tomorrow it will come to a head in other industries. Everywhere the mechanism created by the New Deal program, the industrial codes, the labor boards and the arbitration schemes, appear in operation as means to harness the labor movement within definitely laid out channels. In that there is a specific function assigned to the reactionary trade union leaders.

During the crisis the general wage standard had become vastly reduced, as was the standard of living for the working class as a whole. How to maintain this crisis level—or keep near as possible to this level—while advancing commodity prices in order to restore the profit inducement and finally set the wheels of industry into motion,—this was the problem which the owners of capitalist monopoly concerns set out to solve in their reorganization for "recovery."

Peaceful class relations would be the main prerequisite. Restlessness from the millions of unemployed had to be allayed, actual convulsions ensuing from their desperate position had to be prevented. Some measure against a resurgence of labor militancy had to be found. But the general leveling process by which the formerly privileged skilled sections became further reduced, left the conservative unions, composed almost exclusively of these skilled crafts, almost entirely out of the picture.

Role of Craft Unionism

In the past their officials could be relied upon to uphold their end of the system of cooperation with capitalism. They had been able to turn the conservative craft unions into an instrument to hold the rest

of the working class in subjection by attaining special privileges such as higher wages for their specific crafts, by keeping the unskilled without organization and, thereby, also on a much lower wage level.

These officials have not changed; but on the old narrow union basis they could no longer furnish the guarantee of holding the masses in check—a condition required for capitalism to issue out of the crisis on the backs of the workers. It therefore became necessary to permit a broader scope of the conservative unions in order to make possible the extension of the system of class collaboration and make of it a permanent institution. That is what is really meant by Section 7a of the NRA. The labor agents of capitalism were given a wider field in which to function as salesmen for the New Deal.

Basic Policy of Capitalists

It is this social relation feature which is the most fundamental aspect of the New Deal Program. While the hard boiled monopoly concerns, such as now the General Motors corporation, put the most stubborn resistance to union recognition—for that is what Sloan means when he demands "clarification"—this cannot shield the fact that there is agreement in the main amongst the various capitalist representatives in the matter of basic policy towards labor. While each section will fight for special advantages and special modifications for their own benefit, in principle they will support the idea of recognizing and extending the conservative A. F. of L. unions as a means of preventing more militant organization and action.

In permitting the general extension of the conservative unions it is hoped thereby to draw a line of division more effectively between the employed and unemployed workers. The class collaboration system of which these union officials are to be the guardians is to become a more effective instrument to check the unemployed and keep them in subjection.

Force for Union Organization

But intent is one thing, the realities of life may be another. With the first steps toward a turn in the business cycle the economic pressure upon the workers increased enormously and rapidly. That itself was a powerful motive force for union organization. The workers entered the unions in masses but for quite different objectives than those intended by the NRA. For them it was a matter of regaining a standard of living.

And while today the masses from the very heart of basic industry flock into the existing unions, at the same time, due to the changes in the business cycle, the NRA regulations begin to impose severe restrictions upon them. Resentment is held back only by still lingering hopes, or it is diffused by the various mechanisms of arbitration. But this can succeed only in postponing the decision of what course the working class will take. The resentment is bound to accumulate and is due to be let loose in a series of explosive class battles. The longer they are postponed the more turbulent the explosions will be.

Unions at Crossroads

The conservative unions will be at their crossroads. Recently they have had a big influx of proletarians from the heavy industries. Their composition is being transformed. In that same measure the general working class interests will become more directly reflected within the unions. The more this is held back the more the resentment will accumulate within the unions.

At the same time every collision with the NRA code regulations and every conflict with the state forces, which are now much more integrated with the economic organs of capitalism, will be reflected within the unions in collisions between the rank and file workers and the reactionary officials. To the extent that the unions fail to adjust themselves, in objectives, in policy and in organization forms and methods, explosions will occur within them. But with that also a formidable basis for new unionism will develop.

—ARNE SWABECK.

«BRAIN TRUST» CONSPIRACY

The greatest issue since the Civil War has been brought into the open by Dr. Wm. A. Wirt, says James H. Rand Jr., who reads the revelations of the aforementioned Wirt to the House Committee on Interstate Commerce on Friday, March 23, 1934. The issue is whether the Brain Trusters are going to succeed in their sinister plot to supplant the Kereanskian Roosevelt with an American Stalin, or shall liberty prevail.

Through a series of machinations a resolution is to be engineered in the United States by the members of the Brain Trust. Legislation to thwart the recovery program is to be introduced, the government is to assume the operation of industry and banking, and the press to be prevented from protesting by threatening it with measures which compel the unvarnished truth in advertising. Finally, when the moment is ripe, Roosevelt is to be replaced by a Brain Trusting Stalin.

Patriots to the Defense

Menaced by this insidious and subversive conspiracy, striking like a snake in the White House bosom from men trusted by the President, all Washington has been agitated like shivering gelatin. All patriots have sprung like a man to the defenses. What's to be done? "Let's get out the firing squad," demands Senator Schall, Republican, of Minnesota. "It may be an ancient custom," he says, "but we may have to revive it under the New Deal."

"It's treason!" exclaims Speaker Rainey. "The matter should be investigated by the Department of Justice."

Representative Bulwinkle of North Carolina demands a Congressional investigation, Wirt to be summoned before a special committee and the Brain Trust to be put under the spotlight.

The Brain Trust should be investigated. There can be no objections to such a probing into the gray matter of these intellects who believe that juggling the letters of the alphabet is going to make us all prosperous.

Wm. A. Wirt from Gary
The author of all these hair-raising sensations is Wm. A. Wirt, superintendent of schools in Gary,

Indiana. Although he has been an educator for several decades, the New York Times has the temerity to undertake to educate the learned doctor from Indiana. It was not Stalin who supplanted Kereinsky, the New York Times informs Dr. Wirt: no, it was Lenin.

The doctor must have been reading the Daily Worker.

In the investigation of this momentous Brain Trust problem it might be interesting for the sake of science to peer into Wirt's skull to determine whether the day of his appointment to school superintendent in the Steel Trust town of Gary coincides with the day his brain ceased operation.

The plot of the Brain Trusters, shrouded in the darkest mystery, might remain unsolved, and what is of greater concern, succeed, did not the country possess an individual who sees deepest and lowest into such plots. Hamilton Fish appears on the scene. Everything becomes transparent. It's this way: There are twelve Brain Trusters who are Socialists, because they belong to an organization which is closely affiliated to the Communist movement in the United States. This organization is (beware, Hamilton knows all) the American Civil Liberties Union. Now we know. It looks very much like Roger Baldwin is behind the whole conspiracy.

Representative Foulkes of Michigan has his own opinion of the matter. He says of Dr. Wirt: "He is either a faithful servant of the sinister forces of predatory wealth or a consummate ass."

Why can't he be both?

—G. R.

CLASS IN TRADE UNION PROBLEMS

Every Wednesday 8 P. M.
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This course takes in a survey of the history and development of the American labor movement, and problems of strategy and tactics.
Instructor—ARNE SWABECK

Just Off the Press!

I Accuse Stalinism!

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MARIA REESE

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PIONEER PUBLISHERS, 84 East 10th Street, New York City, N. Y.

Minneapolis Workers Fight Hunger Program

(Continued from page 1)

the corner of 5th St. and 3rd Ave. where the speakers were. With little resistance from the workers the cops cleared a small space in front of the speakers. Suddenly a shower of tear gas bombs came sailing down from the upper windows of the courthouse. The workers, taken by surprise, began to fall back to escape the fumes.

But now it was the cops' turn, and they got the surprise of their lives! Instead of dispersing the demonstration, which was the purpose of this deliberate attack, the workers, giving way to the feelings of anger and indignation, brought about by five years of misery and the shattering of NRA illusions, began to fight back. Seizing the hot bombs with their bare hands they flung them back at the cops with such telling effect that the police ran like scared rats into the courthouse. The battle continued for some time with the workers bravely defeating the attempts of the cops to disperse them.

Bombs thrown back by the militant workers crashed through windows of the building, forcing judges to adjourn their courts. These judges, according to newspaper reports, demanded that the police use machine guns and a number of these were set up inside the entrances. Fire apparatus, which was called to the scene, was not used as it was feared that the demonstrators would wreck it. The firemen clearly showed a reluctance to join in this despicable assault upon working men and women.

Arrest of Committee

In the meantime the committee of 23 had presented the demands to the City Council and after much wrangling the Council voted their approval. Upon leaving the Council room the committee was arrested. Outside, the workers, not knowing the fate of the committee, were now waiting for its return. The police, falling miserably in their attack, adopted the policy of watchful waiting. The leaders now made a serious mistake. Instead of raising a demand for the committee which had been gone two hours, and making preparations for an orderly adjournment, they allowed the demonstration to drag along for an hour more. By this time the crowd was tiring and getting restless.

A committee of five was selected to find out what had become of the committee of 23. Two of these men were also arrested. Seeing that the workers were restless the cops started to drive wedges into the crowd and succeeded in splitting it up. But not without fierce hand to hand fighting in which more cops than workers were injured. Cops who were foolish enough to leave the protection of their squads were severely beaten. Once separated, the demonstrators were quickly dispersed. 38 workers were arrested, including most of the leaders, on charges of disorderly conduct. Seven workers and 8 cops were injured in the fight.

Fighting Qualities of Workers

This demonstration which again reveals the admirable fighting qualities of the American workers, once aroused, indicates that a new stage of the struggle of the unem-

ployed has been reached. These workers in ever-increasing numbers are beginning to see that the "New Deal" is even worse than the old one. They are beginning to realize that the unemployed army is a permanent one under capitalism and that it is necessary to organize to defend their interests. To every serious worker the question of HOW to organize the unemployed is surely the most important one.

In this period, in which one of the greatest strike waves in the history of the American workers is developing, the greatest need is that of united action of all workers, employed and unemployed, organized and unorganized, on all fronts against the boss class. The only means of achieving this united action is through the policy of the UNITED FRONT. The united front tactic is simply the joint action of various labor organizations, trade unions etc. on a specific issue, such as for example, increased relief for the unemployed. These organizations, irrespective of their different opinions on other questions, come together, agree on a common program and carry it out.

Such a policy can weld the employed and the unemployed here in Minneapolis and elsewhere into a solid front to the advantage of both. Workers can readily understand this idea and should subscribe to it.

Stalinist Policy

From this point of view it is imperative that we examine the policy of the United Relief Workers Assn. and the Unemployed Councils. These organizations, controlled by the Stalinists, reject the united front tactic. Their method of organizing the unemployed into organizations without connections with the labor movement in general, results in a division of the working class. Many workers are deceived by the Stalinist policy of "United Front from Below". This policy is false because it prevents labor organizations as such from participating and calls upon individual workers to leave their organizations and leaders. Further, they demand absolute control of their "united front" and the acceptance of their policies in advance. This is a perversion of the genuine United Front in which all organizations collectively, decide what policy shall be pursued.

Here are two concrete examples of this perversion: Last Thursday morning a delegation from the Minneapolis Central Council of Workers went to the United Relief Workers Assn. and proposed united action of the two organizations in the demonstration. The M.C.C.W., which represents a number of labor organizations in the city working on a united front basis for the unemployed, asked for representation on the committee of 23 and a speaker at the demonstration. These were logical and fair requests, the granting of which would have been of great aid in broadening the representation from the labor movement as a whole. They were turned down.

For the United Front

The U.R.W.A. demanded that the M.C.C.W. sign a statement endorsing the U.R.W.A. policy and its demands. The M.C.C.W. delegation stated that it could not sign such a statement since the policy of the U.R.W.A. was not that of the unit-

ed front. They stated that the members of the M.C.C.W. would, nevertheless, participate in the demonstration in support of the demands.

At the demonstration a member of the M.C.C.W. volunteered some information to one of the speakers. Instead of welcoming the information, which was valuable at the time, and asking the support of all organizations of workers, the speaker launched into a violent and slanderous attack on the M.C.C.W. This is the Stalinist "united front from below" in action.

The Minneapolis Central Council of Workers has as its corner stone the idea that the interests of the organized and the unorganized, the employed and unemployed workers are identical. It is convinced that the policy of the united front will enable the workers to cope with the problems that confront them. It believes that the struggle of the unemployed has only begun and it attempts to bring the entire working class movement to the active support of the unemployed.

Trade unions workers especially, should urge their organizations to action in building a united movement of this character. The instinctive desire of every worker is for unity of the class and the united front points the way.

—W. K.

Brownsville Branch

OPEN FORUM

"The United Front from a Socialist Viewpoint"
Speaker: HAROLD LUXEMBURG
Friday, April 13, 1934

SOCIAL AND DANCE

To Celebrate the opening of our New Headquarters at 1776 Pitkin Avenue.

Extra, Comrade Sarah Meyer, formerly secretary to Leon Trotsky, will give her impressions of the life and work of the Exiled Revolutionist.

An apology to our comrades. The social and lecture by comrade Meyer scheduled for April 7th was called off due to conditions beyond our control. Comrade Meyer will positively appear Saturday, April 14th. You are cordially invited to attend.

The Labor Front

Reports from every section of the country seem to indicate that a new strike wave, unprecedented in the history of American labor, is in the process of fermentation. Whether this movement will take on a militant character or will be bottled up by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy depends on how effectively the conscious elements work in the mass trade union.

At a meeting of the Arrangements Committee held later, it was unanimously decided to drop the name "Socialist" and to call the Committee "The Labor Committee for May Day". Committees were elected to draft the program, draw up banners, make complete arrangements for the demonstration, etc. Despite the continued refusal of the majority of the Committee to make an effort for a real united front, with the Stalinist Conference, they were compelled to elect a committee to meet with the C. P. and work out an amicable settlement for the use of Union Square without the "mediation" of the mayor, if at all possible.

Canteloupe pickers in Imperial Valley are refusing to load melons unless their wage demands are met. The bosses' "Protective Association" has organized vigilante bands to break up workers meetings and have kidnapped and beaten up active organizers in an attempt to stem the discontent of the workers.

In Camden, N. J., the bosses' company union was unable to intimidate the 2,200 workers of the Campbell Soup Co. who voted to strike for recognition of their union and increase in wages.

7,300 C. W. A. workers in Syracuse and Onondago County won a wage increase from 40 to 50c after being out 3 days. While strike leaders were meeting with the Administration the strikers were preparing to march on Welfare offices and demand direct relief if their demands were not met. Similar walk-outs have been reported from Utica, Auburn, Rome, Birmingham, Ontario County and Seneca Falls.

10,000 newspaper workers in Canada are demanding a 6-hour day with no reduction in wages upon expiration of their agreement with the bosses April 30.

In Cleveland 800 workers of the Addressograph-Multigraph Corporation and 500 workers at the Sherwin-Williams plant are on strike. The situation was described by an A. F. of L. organizer as "like a charge of dynamite with fuse already sputtering."

While the auto workers' strike was temporarily headed-off by the NRA-Roosevelt-Green combination, the workers will soon learn that they can get nothing from this crew and will take matters into their own hands. The experience of the auto workers will be a lesson for the whole American labor movement. The NRA, the Labor Boards and the Greens will be exposed in their true colors—as strike breaking, reactionary outfits to be shunned by all workers.

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N.Y. MAYDAY CONFERENCE

The New York May Day conference held in the Rand School April 7th, after a lengthy discussion, elected a broad Arrangements Committee, representative of all major organizations and political tendencies present to arrange for what promises to be the largest May Day demonstration ever held in New York.

The call for the conference which was issued by the S. P. was addressed "to all trade union and fraternal organizations," thus ignoring all other political parties and groups. The delegates of the Communist League of America, the Spartacus Youth, and the American Workers Party were stopped at the door and not allowed to enter the hall until the credentials report was made at 10:15 P.M. A motion to seat all delegates was then carried.

The early part of the conference revolved around a discussion over an indoor meeting or an outdoor demonstration. The I.L.G.W.U. and some other unions had decided in favor of holding an indoor meeting at Yankee Stadium. The decision of the Conference was to go ahead with preparations for an outdoor demonstration and at the same time to try to convince the I.L.G.W.U. to take part.

A motion was made by a delegation of the I. W. W. to send a delegation to meet with the Conference called by the Communist Party. The chairman ruled, amid some disorder, that one speaker for and one against would be allowed. Wm. Matheson, a delegate of the Communist League, offered as a supplementary motion a series of proposals for a united demonstration in line with the statement issued to the delegates and published in the last issue of the Militant.

The chairman ruled this out of order. The motion was then put and defeated by the overwhelming majority composed of Socialist and trade union delegates. A motion by Zimmerman of the I.L.G.W.U. that the name of the conference should be "The Labor Committee for May Day" was defeated. An amendment by Hendin of the Socialist Party that the Conference should be known as "The Socialist and Labor Committee for May Day" was carried. With the passage of this motion the delegates became a bedlam, many delegates demanding the floor. Representatives of the trade union movement withdrew from the Conference, many others were striving to get the floor as the Conference adjourned.

At a meeting of the Arrangements Committee held later, it was unanimously decided to drop the name "Socialist" and to call the Committee "The Labor Committee for May Day". Committees were elected to draft the program, draw up banners, make complete arrangements for the demonstration, etc. Despite the continued refusal of the majority of the Committee to make an effort for a real united front, with the Stalinist Conference, they were compelled to elect a committee to meet with the C. P. and work out an amicable settlement for the use of Union Square without the "mediation" of the mayor, if at all possible.

The demonstration had been consciously sabotaged by the Stalinist Unemployment Council which arranged a counter-demonstration for the same day only a few blocks away. The demonstration was arranged by the Workers Unemployed Union of Brownsville and East New York. A number of working class organizations cooperated, including the Communist League of America, Spartacus Youth Club, Socialist Party, Y.P.S.L., Workmens Circle, etc. This demonstration was only the beginning of an extensive organizational campaign inaugurated by the Workers Unemployed Union which aims to bring in every unemployed worker in Brownsville into its ranks.

Shachtman Tour

Schedule

Wed., April 18—Salt Lake City, Utah.
Thurs., April 19—Salt Lake City, Utah.
Fri., April 20—Denver, Colo.
Sat., April 21—Denver, Colo.
Sun., April 22—Kansas City, Mo.
Mon., April 23—Kansas City, Mo.
Tues., April 24—Kansas City, Mo.
Wed., April 25—St. Louis, Mo.
Thurs., April 26—St. Louis, Mo.
Fri., April 27—St. Louis, Mo.
Sat., April 28—Springfield, Ill.
Sun., April 29—Davenport, Ia.
Mon., April 30—Davenport, Ia.
Tues., May 1—Chicago, Ill.
Wed., May 2—Chicago, Ill.
Thurs., May 3—Chicago, Ill.
Fri., May 4—Waukegan, Ill.
Sat., May 5—Detroit, Mich.
Sun., May 6—Detroit, Mich.

RUSSIAN BULLETIN

We are glad to announce that we were successful in securing a small number of additional copies of the Russian Opposition Bulletin No. 38-39 containing Comrade Trotsky's articles "On the Eve of the Congress," "Where are the Limits of Fall?" "Summary of the 13th Plenum of the ECCI" and others. Write or call for your copy at the Militant office, 126 E. 16th St., N. Y. C.

After the C. W. A.

(Continued from page 1)

into powerful unions. As in the factory of an individual capitalist, so in the government's relief set-ups, there is a systematic and conscious aim of keeping the workers in changing relationships, uncertainty and flux, instability and demoralization.

As workers in the factories fight this aim by organizing and stabilizing their status, regulating the amount and cost of wage labor available to the bosses, so the unemployed must take as their chief task of the immediate future the regulation and legalization of their status. Instead of shifting relief schemes, with changing schedules of amounts of relief, there must be a stable form of Federal unemployment insurance at living wages for all those to whom capitalist industry and government do not make work available.

Need of Unemployment Insurance

For this task there must be unity of workers and unemployed. The best immediate assurance that workers on the job can have that the unemployed will not be driven to underbidding them or scabbing on them is Federal unemployment insurance. If the employed workers fight for the interests of the unemployed, the unemployed will help them when they strike, by fighting scabbery and joining on the picket line.

The fight for Federal unemployment insurance at the expense of the employers and the government, at living wages for the duration of

Brownsville Relief Demonstration

On Saturday, April 7, the streets of Brownsville and East New York resounded to the march of 500 indignant unemployed workers. Most of them having been recently fired as a result of the discontinuation of the CWA dole agency. The demonstrators, enraged against the "New Deal" government and its hunger program, marched through the streets, shouting militantly for adequate relief, an anti-eviction law and unemployment insurance.

The demonstration having reached Loew's Square, it halted and held an open air meeting, which was addressed by the delegates who were elected to visit the assemblymen and aldermen of the community. The spokesman for the delegation, a member of the Communist League of America, properly exposed the fake "representatives of the people" for what they really are: capitalist flunkies, who neither can nor will take up the struggle in behalf of the workers.

The demonstration had been consciously sabotaged by the Stalinist Unemployment Council which arranged a counter-demonstration for the same day only a few blocks away. The demonstration was arranged by the Workers Unemployed Union of Brownsville and East New York. A number of working class organizations cooperated, including the Communist League of America, Spartacus Youth Club, Socialist Party, Y.P.S.L., Workmens Circle, etc. This demonstration was only the beginning of an extensive organizational campaign inaugurated by the Workers Unemployed Union which aims to bring in every unemployed worker in Brownsville into its ranks.

Harlem Workers Club

Harlem Workers Club

We have just received word that a general Workers Club is being organized in Harlem. "The workers in Harlem are always constituted some of the lowest paid labor in this country," the announcement reads, "and now, after five years of unemployment, living off charity and home relief bureaus, thousands of workers are feeling the need, as never before, of belonging to an organization of their own kind, which will enable them to study their problems and needs and to spend their spare time in closer company with their fellow-workers."

The Harlem Club plans to conduct forums on all events of interest to the working class, invite well known speakers of the labor movement for lectures, hold classes on the important problems of the labor movement, and conduct general social and educational activities.

"We hope," the announcement concludes, "that this club will become the headquarters of the Harlem workers, and will be a decisive factor towards uniting all of the working class men and women of Harlem, irrespective of creed, nationality or religion." All those interested in participating in this club or aiding in its work, may send in their communications to the Militant.

unemployment becomes now the most important issue in the unemployed movement, to which all immediate struggles—for reinstatement on relief work, cash relief, no discrimination, etc.—must be joined.

Despite the grim realities which show through the Roosevelt demagoguery, many illusions are current among workers as to the intentions of the Government. Many believe, for example, that the new shift of administration of relief to the local authorities is merely a technical change. Actually it means that the Government in abandoning its previously asserted responsibilities to the unemployed, is covering up its broken promises by turning over to the municipal and the relief curtailment officials. In most cases, as in New York city and state, the same officials do the firing and cutting, only now they have municipal titles.

The belief that Roosevelt will, under whatever name and set-up, take care of the unemployed, is assiduously cultivated by the majority of the capitalist press, which continues to picture Roosevelt as a humanitarian who, though bent on saving capitalism, will save the workers, and especially the unemployed, from any attendant hardships.

No less phillistine is the picture of Roosevelt policy expressed by the liberal press. The New Republic, in a long editorial of April 4, takes the following attitude toward the new relief scheme:

"It is now quite clear that the CWA has died only to be born again under another name. Everyone in actual need throughout the United States and heretofore employed on a CWA project is to be cared for through local authorities."

So assured is the New Republic in its tone, one would think it a government organ. And, in fact, the editorial goes on to countermand the orders of Federal Relief Administrator Hopkins:

"Since very few have worked for the CWA if they could get a

job anywhere else, this means that the numbers will probably continue almost as large as ever, despite Mr. Hopkins' assurances that only 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 of the 4,000,000 will continue to need help."

Not only does the editorial completely ignore the actual facts, of mass dismissals from relief work and home relief, of curtailment of relief funds, but goes to the length of wondering why—since, by its own theory, the change from CWA is no real change—

"The President and Mr. Hopkins certainly knew when they made their dramatic announcement, that the CWA workers would still be cared for, and that no one would be allowed to starve. Why was it necessary, then, to frighten all these men and their dependents nearly out of their wits by neglecting to emphasize this important fact?"

The President neglected to emphasize the important fact that everyone would be taken care of, for the simple reason that they are not going to be taken care of. But what has happened is that the New Republic has invented a character for Roosevelt which does not resemble him in the least. No wonder, then, that the New Republic ends on the fantastic note of calling the country to learn from the President:

"The important thing is that the country should realize, as the President and his advisers now do, that to go on muddling through with the unemployed is a crime," etc. etc.

The New Republic's editorial is worth quoting at such length in order to emphasize to what extent the fight for immediate relief and for a real system of unemployment insurance is bound up with the task of exposing the Roosevelt demagoguery and showing the workers the realities behind the Roosevelt program. As the workers feel the effects of the Roosevelt program in their bellies and bones, the illusions will disappear—despite the liberal-capitalist chromo of Roosevelt—but we must not wait until then. By the remorseless facts, first of all, we must expose the Roosevelt program against the unemployed.

—RELIEF WORKER.

FASCISTS IN N. Y.

It is reported that Nazis of both German and home-grown varieties are holding open air meetings in Yorkville, expounding their reactionary anti-working class, anti-Semitic, "Nordic" doctrines. Symptoms of that Fascist scourge which is destroying all progress and all progressive thought as well as all working class organizations in Europe, are increasingly seen in America.

A solid united front of all working class organizations is the only road to save our organizations from complete destruction. A divided front today means the hangman's noose tomorrow. The infantile chattering of the Stalinists about the "united front from below," "Social Fascism" and "Only under our leadership" means no united front at all. Along that road lie the concentration camps, the tortures and the beheadings of an American Fascist state. Socialist Party reliance on capitalist democracy, on bourgeois laws, on this or that "friend of labor" or this or that "foe" of Fascism, in a word the road traveled in Germany by the Social Democratic Party, leads to the same result here.

The leadership of the Stalinist party, part and parcel of the Stalinist bureaucracy, will not budge from their disastrous united front from below line unless compelled to. The leadership of the Socialist Party cannot see anything ahead but chances for fat jobs either through "winning an election" at the polls as Mayor Hoan in Milwaukee, or going over to a "Fusion" party as Blanshard in New York. They do not want to take any kind of militant action which might endanger their "respectability." Between Socialist respectability on the one hand and Stalinist infantile nonsense on the other, the bridge for Fascism to ride to power is being created here. Workers: Communists, Socialists rouse yourselves in time. Compel your leadership to move or get out of the way. Organize the united front of labor. Crush the rising Fascist monster. The opportunity is ours today.

THE PROGRAM OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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