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STRIKE WAVE SWEEPS COUNTRY

General Strike Looms in Toledo

The state authorities of Toledo are making plans to establish martial law as the 110 unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. prepare to walk out in sympathy with the Auto-Lite workers. 68 unions have already voted for the general strike, while the workers of the Toledo Edison Company and its subsidiaries, the DeLancey Light and Power Company and Lake Shore Power Company are scheduled to walk out as we go to press. Toledo has already recorded another page in the history of splendid labor battles.

The strike which started at the Electric Auto-Lite Company has cost the lives of two workers while over two hundred have been injured. The bosses and the state have used every means at their disposal to stem the growing militancy of the workers. But the latter have fought back tenaciously and unyieldingly. 31 workers have been arrested and are on trial for violating an injunction against picketing while others have been jailed on other pretexts. This has not however weakened their fighting spirit or solidarity. The repercussion of the Toledo strike is now being felt from coast-to-coast.

A wave of resentment against the deceptions of the Roosevelt-NRA administration is sweeping the country. It is receiving its inspiration from Minneapolis and Toledo. In San Francisco, San Diego and New Orleans striking longshoremen are waging a militant struggle against the brutal terror of the police. Two members of the Communist League were arrested by the police of San Francisco for distributing leaflets to the striking longshoremen. The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers have decided upon a general strike for June 15th. The United Textile Workers of America threaten a general strike which will bring out 300,000 textile workers. These are but the first rumblings of the storm to come. The strikes are taking on more and more of a political character as the workers come in head-on collision with the forces of the state.

Background of the Struggle

The events leading up to the Toledo strike are as follows:

In June 1931, the Security-Home Trust Company, which held the bulk of the workers' savings, closed its doors. The workers were left penniless. Some of the executives of the bank were the very industrialists who used the workers' money to expand the auto-parts industry. At the same time, three other important banks also closed their doors, after deceptively declaring that a 60 day notice must precede withdrawal of funds. The workers and small business men were stuck to the tune of 150 million dollars.

Significantly enough, these banks were controlled by the interests which directed the destinies of the auto-parts industry in Toledo. Moreover, C. O. Miniger, president of the Auto-Lite Company, was a prominent member of the directorates of these four closed banks. In this strategic position he was able to salvage enough funds from the wreckage to keep his plants going. As usual, the workers were left holding the bag, which Miniger had emptied.

This precipitated the gravest economic crisis in the history of Toledo. Out of a population of 400,000, at least 100,000 workers had to be fed and clothed from relief funds. In 1932, the jobless and moneyless workers had to stand in line like beggars asking for a handout. Miniger had stolen their money. The bank crash had closed most of the factories, leaving them jobless.

Jobs broke out among the unemployed because of the inadequacy and inferior quality of the food. The workers were getting restive under the whip of hunger. They were losing all hope.

Tricked by Labor Board

A brief strike in February was ended by a truce agreement with the Regional Labor Board. This provided that both sides should negotiate the demands of the union, which included a twenty percent wage increase, a closed shop, better working conditions, recognition of the union, seniority rights, and no discrimination against union employees. The Regional Labor Board succeeded in sending the workers back to their jobs pending a settle-

ment. Consequently the workers found themselves tricked because nothing came of the negotiations.

About five weeks ago the issue again came to a head. The workers, organized into the Automotive Federal Union, declared a second strike. Again the workers insisted that the bosses accede to their demands. The company refused. Instead it continued operations with strike-breakers. The aroused workers went into action. They stormed the factory.

One striker, looking up at the broken windows of the plant, remarked: "They wanted an open shop—well, now they have it." Then the National Guard was called in.

When the union organizer, Thomas J. Ramsey, attempted to restrain the workers, he was shoved aside. "To hell with the soldiers. Let's drive them out of town." Otto Brach, secretary of the Central Labor Union, bewailed the fact that he "could not do anything to control the boys now."

No Delay on the General Strike!

The bosses answered the demands of the workers with tear and vomit gas. National Guardsmen, private detectives, thugs, special guards, police, and the most brutal reign of terror. And Governor White who was on a fishing trip stated that he would use the "entire force of the state . . . to insure life and property". At the same time the Auto-Lite company, which pays its workers even below the miserable NRA scale, announced that it will distribute its regular dividend of \$71,000 to preferred stock holders. The immediate need of the moment is to intensify and develop the struggle. The strike-breaking role of the Labor Board and its multimillionaire agent Charles P. Taft, the son of the late president, must be exposed. No illusion must be

harbored as to the role of "mediators" and "arbitrators". The splendid example of the role the women played in the Minneapolis strike must be utilized. The delay in calling sympathetic strikes plays into the hands of the bosses. The militants should press for immediate action from the Central Labor Council so that every labor union in the city of Toledo takes its stand with their striking brothers. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy must not be

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The American Workers Party and the Fourth International

Special Lecture By
MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor "The New Internationalist"

IRVING PLAZA HALL
15th St. and Irving Place
SUNDAY, JUNE 3, 8 P.M.
QUESTIONS :: DISCUSSION
Admission 15c
Auspices: N. Y. Local,
Communist League of America

Union Recognition Gained By Militant Minneapolis Battles

Victory is an Inspiration to Workers Everywhere

By JAMES P. CANNON

Minneapolis, May 29. The Drivers' strike conducted by General Drivers Union, No. 574 was settled on the basis of recognition of the union, unconditional reinstatement of all strikers and agreement to arbitrate the demands for wages

and hours. Employers had previously granted substantial wage increases in the attempt to head off the strike and avoid recognizing and dealing with the union. The union is now presenting demands for further increases. Out of the six thousand men involved in the strike, only a few isolated cases of attempted discrimination had been reported to the union since the settlement of the strike three days ago. The majority of these men have already been reinstated on demand of the union.

Last night's general membership meeting was a rousing affair. Thousands of newly organized workers, the majority of whom never belonged to a union before, crowded the big strike headquarters to hear reports on the execution of the settlement and further plans to strengthen and consolidate the union. The speeches of union leaders, Brown, Skoglund, and Dunne, reflected the spirit of the crowd and every appeal for continued militancy and vigilance was cheered to the echo.

The spirit of victory and achievement was in the air, although no attempt had been made by the leadership to exaggerate the gains of the first battle. Recognition of the union, which, in the language of the Minneapolis striker, means "protection" of his job, is regarded as a great achievement for a new union. The workers are determined to hold on to this achievement. And it is quite clear that the

bosses, after the experiences of the 10-day battle, are not anxious for another fight soon. This has been shown particularly by the readiness of the individual bosses to meet with the union officials and adjust any claims of discrimination in rehiring the strikers. It is further shown in the absence up to date of any threat of persecution of the union leaders for the casualties that resulted from the strike battles. A stern warning that any such attempt will bring the workers into action again was sounded at last night's meeting and brought a roar of approval from the workers.

The militancy of the drivers' strike is known to the world. The efficiency of its organization and the quality of its leadership—which released this mighty wave of rank and file militancy with such telling effect—is also acknowledged on all sides in Minneapolis.

The prestige of General Drivers Union, No. 574, and the group of militants at its head, is on the heights. There is little doubt that they will be a force for still greater accomplishments in wider circles of the labor movement. The strike brought a shower of telegrams from workers' organizations and numerous invitations to the men at the head of "574" to come to other localities to lead organizing campaigns.

How the Strike Was Organized

Minneapolis, May 28.—The courage and determination so effectively displayed by the striking Minneapolis truck drivers and helpers has proven conclusively that the American working class is very well equipped to fight their exploiters. It only remains for a proper leadership to come to the front in the entire labor movement and guide these dynamic forces to victory.

The striking truck drivers and helpers were suffering from economic adversity but their condition was no different from that of other workers in the United States. These men were simply a representative cross-section of the American working class. The abilities which they brought into play are lying dormant in every group of American workers.

Every effort was made by the leaders to give these natural abilities an opportunity to come to the surface. No stone was left unturned in the attempt to do this. Something more than numbers is required on the picket line. The men must feel that their efforts are well spent, that they are a part of a smoothly functioning machine, that they can successfully hold every position they win. To stimulate and justify this confidence the leaders must perfect a thorough organization and all preparations must be carefully checked to the most minute detail. That was done in Minneapolis.

The Details of Organization

A large garage about 400 feet wide and a block long was selected to serve as the headquarters for the Minneapolis strike. A large sign was painted across the front of the building announcing that this was the strike headquarters. Supplementary field headquarters were set up at points where it would prove necessary to concentrate a sizeable force for mass picketing. At the main headquarters a stage was erected and a loud-speaker system installed to be used in dispatching of pickets and in addressing meetings.

A commissary department requiring a personnel of 35 was set up and maintained throughout the strike. A special service and repair department was provided and a crew of 12 mechanics well equipped with tools, were busily engaged in keeping the cars and trucks of the pickets in good running order. Special arrangements were made to secure gasoline and to obtain tire repair service.

A first-aid station was established at the headquarters through the

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Longshoremen's Strike Ties Up Pacific Coast Ports

Maritime commerce on the Pacific Coast is almost entirely paralyzed by the longshoremen strike. It began with 12,000 men out and has since swelled to 25,000 with several other unions having joined the walk-out.

A splendid testimony to the solidarity of the strike and the support it receives from other workers was given by the longshoremen's parade on Sunday, May 12th, in San Francisco. Five thousand strikers marched up Market Street and not less than 12,000 took part in the demonstration in the Civil Center. League militants have taken their place on the firing line in the San Francisco Bay District. A couple of them hold the most responsible strike posts, while the whole membership gives its sympathetic support.

All along the ports on the coast the employers are making special preparations to attempt to suppress the strike by force. The Oakland chief of police, Bodie Wallman has issued orders to all subordinates that the docks are to be kept clear of strikers and that any demonstrations are to be met with force sufficient to quell it promptly. For this purpose he has sworn in numerous special police. They are given instructions on how to suppress strikes. Special supplies of tear

gas bombs have been obtained. In Seattle Mayor John F. Dore has given orders to his police department to take full charge of the docks in an effort to save the perishable cargoes which are rotting in ships' holds. In the Los Angeles area 500 uniformed policemen, radars officers and detectives are patrolling the water front daily with instructions to protect property. That means, of course, to prevent mass picketing and suppress all other strike activities. Several efforts have been made along the coast by the employers, through their mediation board, to take over the regular union hiring halls.

Two members of the League, Eloise Booth and Florence Wyle, were arrested last week for leaflet distribution when the San Francisco police, attempted to crush the longshoremen's picket line. Under police protection the Pacific Steamship Company tried to employ scabs on pier 18. Tear gas, bombs, pistols and sawed-off shot guns were brought into play. The several thousand strikers defended their right to a union and fought back in splendid fashion. They suffered several casualties; but four policemen also had to receive hospital treatment. The militancy amongst the workers remain unabated as the strike enters its third week.

With the joining of these comrades who have demonstrated their value to the revolutionary movement by their work, and are known to many other members of the Communist Party, the San Francisco unit is well on the way to becoming a serious factor in mass work.

District No. 13, cracked up to be the strongest section of the Stalinist party in America, is in a process of disintegration. Reports are prevalent that the Sacramento and Stockton units are violently shaken by this new wave of expulsions and from all indications more is to follow. The position of the Communist League is becoming more clear and as it does so to the party membership the inexorable axe claims a few more heads.

Under the banner of the League these new members remain at their posts in the class struggle. They carry on with renewed inspiration, ready to meet all sacrifices this may entail. Comrade Eloise Booth has already received her baptism under the new banner as she was arrested together with Florence Wyle distributing League leaflets to the striking longshoremen.

General Strike the Answer if Troops Are Called Out

In the state of Washington the mayors of several jerkwater interior towns demanded that the Governor call out the militia. The unions in Tacoma and Seattle reiterated their former position taken

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Communist League Makes New Gains On Pacific Coast

Comrades Caesar Booth, Eloise Booth, Victor and Eugene Peterson, fresh from their struggle against the bureaucracy of the Stalinist party, continue their splendid struggle by having become members of the San Francisco branch of the Communist League. Expelled from the party on the routine Stalinist trumped-up charges, these revolutionary workers did not cease in their activity as fighters in the class struggle. The most amusing phase of the shameful expulsion of these comrades was the charge of white chauvinism. But the actual fact that three of the most active Negro comrades were expelled together with them, mainly because the latter stubbornly opposed such a frame-up as well as being firm in their opposition to the local bureaucracy, has been concealed.

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IF THE NUMBER ON YOUR WRAPPER IS 226 OR SMALLER, YOUR MILITANT SUB HAS EXPIRED AND SHOULD BE RENEWED WITHOUT DELAY.

At the Minneapolis City Market "The Battle of Deputy Run"

From the inception of the organization work in connection with the General Drivers strike, it was correctly estimated that our strategic position was the so-called central market place. This takes in an area of approximately six square blocks. It is bounded on the one whole side by the railroad tracks, which are the team tracks where practically all of the market produce is unloaded.

In concentrating on the market, we were guided by the fact that the food situation, especially at this time of the year, was the real point to attack. At the start of the strike this strategy was not so apparent. But on the second and third days, it became plainly visible that the perishable food supply was running low and that the market bosses were going to attempt some drastic action to move their perishable foods.

Through our connections in the market houses it was learned that on Saturday morning there was to be a concerted effort to make deliveries. The strike committee held a conference and it was decided that we would relieve some of our forces from positions where there was not so much activity and hold them in reserve. It developed that although we had a little skirmish on that day that a serious threat was not made for any wholesale delivery.

The Battle of "Deputies Run"

The market situation was watched closely and, after waiting for Sunday and Monday to pass, we learned through unquestionable sources, that the big offensive was to be made Tuesday about eleven o'clock. This information was received about midnight Monday. Immediate action became compulsory. "Concentrate the Pickets," was the slogan. "Cruising squads" of pickets were dispatched, motorcycle riders roared out, street car motormen and conductors on the owl cars carried the word to our pickets at outlying points, telephones and other messengers were utilized for the mobilization of every available picket.

Soon the outlying positions were deserted except for a skeleton picket line. The pickets came pouring in to strike headquarters, thousands of the tired but eager fighters, an-

xious to defend their rights with their lives if necessary. Tons of food had been prepared and was waiting for these fighters; but it seemed that it was hardly touched, so anxious were these workers for the job to be done.

No raised voices; no milling; quietly questioning each other: "Where do we go? When do we start?" The word goes from the dispatcher to the microphone announcer in the big strike headquarters: "Start moving!" Then trucks lined up. Noiselessly they were pushed into place. Next order: "Fill the trucks!" Like one man these eager fighters filled the trucks to capacity.

In code the drivers only were given the destination. "Move out!" Motors roared and in an instant three hundred pickets were on their way to a destination, unknown then, that was to make new history for the American workers.

Adjacent to the market and on one of the border streets, Labor Headquarters is located. Into this hall holding about two thousand men our pickets were concentrated. A skeleton patrol was sent to patrol the market streets and to report any move to start delivery. Word quickly comes back: hundreds of special deputies, special police and harness bulls armed with clubs and guns, squad cars of police with sawed off shot guns and vomiting gas. Quietly the pickets patrolled the streets, curiosity seekers hurling curses at the hired strikebreakers. A truck starts to move, our pickets jump to the running boards and demand that the scab driver stop. A hired slinger raises his club and slashes at a picket. Down the picket drops as if dead. The fight is on. Phone rings at the concentration hall: "Send the reserves!" Orderly, but almost as if by magic, the hall is emptied. The pickets are deployed by their leaders to surround the police and sluggers. The police raise their riot guns but the workers ignore and rush through them. "Chase out the hired sluggers," is their battle cry. The downward sluggers take to their heels and run. The police and strikers use their clubs freely. Many casualties on both sides. The workers have captured the market!

—A STRIKER.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

A Professor Speaks
Dr. Luther Harr, Professor of Finance, University of Pennsylvania, unloads the following: "Business can not pay higher wages because they can not dispose of goods at a profit..."

Democracy and the T.U.U.L.
When William Quesse, organizer and head of the Chicago Flat Janitors Union, died he left a will in which the union leadership was assigned to Alderman Oscar Nelson...

The "Higher Strategy" of Stalin
"Strong governments" has always been the cry of reactionaries. To find the Ambassador of the Soviet Union echoing that cry is indeed amazing...

Police Brutality
The police who batting average against gangsters approaches zero are very efficient when it comes to beating up unemployed men and women. Their brutal attack on Mrs. Rose Lechay last week caused even hardened press reporters to protest...

Strikers vs. "Labor Leaders"
The belly-crawling attitude of the leaders of labor like Green, Hillman and Lewis, etc. in support of the Roosevelt Administration is in glaring contrast to the courage and readiness to struggle of the workers of America as shown in Toledo and Minneapolis...

Roosevelt, the Friend of Labor
All labor and social legislation introduced into the present session of Congress ranks with the "Forgotten Man", as the following report from the Post would indicate. "It has become apparent that House and Senate leaders, with the backing of the White House, have decided to put over until the next session all labor and social legislation which is not considered immediately necessary..."

Longshoremens Strike All Pacific Ports

(Continued from page 1)
When Mayor Dore of Seattle asked for the troops before, that if the troops were ordered out then all organized labor would call a general strike in all industries. Assistant Secretary of Labor Edward F. McGrady who still smells of his betrayal of the Detroit auto workers, joined the Chamber of Commerce in its effort to drag a red herring into the issue. He has been sent out here in an effort to arbitrate the strike or as he faintly puts it, conciliation having failed we must now try arbitration. The I. L. A. members have had their belly full of arbitration already and are determined that their officers shall not sell them out. They refuse to permit these officers to make any settlement until the membership has had a chance to pass upon the agreement.

Bosses Want Job Control for Company Union
The Union's demands are the 30-hour week, \$1 an hour and JOB CONTROL. The ship owners have indicated a willingness to concede the first two but they demand that the company union composed of strikebreakers, steamship officials, scabs, stool pigeons and similar rats shall have at least fifty percent of the job control. When job control was divided between the two organizations by conciliation a few weeks ago the I. L. A. members found themselves discriminated against on every job both as individuals and as an organization. If the I.L.A. had not had one hundred percent of the longshoremens with them so that the ship owners could not get workers through their company union the I.L.A. would have been driven out of existence. For this reason the I.L.A. refuses to compromise the issue of job control. For the same reason the ship owners refuse to budge an inch on the same question.

In addition to endeavoring to drag the red issue into the situation the ship owners are making threats to declare a month's shipping holiday and not move an ounce of freight in this time. They are also offering bribes to various unions. For example, when the Southern Pacific ferry workers started a strike vote the owners immediately restored one half of the five percent cut which all railroad workers received about a year ago. These workers while not railroad workers work on boats owned and operated by the Southern Pacific Railroad.

Thousands of strikers and sympathizers marched in the funeral procession of Parker who was murdered by the San Pedro police when 21 other workers were shot down while picketing the docks in San Pedro.

THE STRIKE IN THE BAY DISTRICT

With the shooting of three strikers, with mobilization of more police on the already massed police lines on the waterfront, and with the opening up of a vicious "Red-scare" campaign, the strike of 3,000 longshoremens in the San Francisco Bay District swings into the third week of militant struggle. It is reminiscent of the splendid fight of the 1919 strike, one long remembered by scabs and bosses.

Previous to 1919, the International Longshoremens Association represented the men on the waterfront. During the strike of 1919, acting under orders from the steamship employers, a small group of foremen formed what was known as the "Harmony Club". Out of this club grew the union that has been supposedly representing the men for the past fourteen years, known as the "Blue Book" union.

When it was first organized, this Blue Book union stated that no man could work on the waterfront without sanction first being given by one of these bosses. Also at that time many bona fide longshoremens were eliminated from the waterfront for their activities in the I.L.A. and many of these men have never since been allowed to work on the waterfront. From its inception, the rules of the Blue Book have made unbearable the conditions of the workers. No system of hiring or dispatching of working crews was had. The men would come down to the waterfront at 8 A.M. and wait many hours and days before they could find out whether or not there would be work for them. And at that, when there was work, it was given to a select few who would work sometimes 36 hours steady and the rest of the men would have to be content with from 2 to 18 hours a week work. Under the Blue Book company union system, the work was speeded up to such an extent, that cargo that would take 40 hours to discharge normally was done in half that time. Grievances of the workers brought to the Blue Book union were immediately turned over to the Steamship operators and these men freed. Such discrimination was a common practice.

Picnic June 24th

The New York Local of the Communist League of America arranged for a picnic to greet the appearance of the New International, our theoretical organ. This picnic will take place at Zedler's Grove, a beautifully situated place amidst the finest woodland on the western side of the Bronx River between Mount Vernon and Bronxville, with a dominating view of the beautiful Bronx Valley. We are making every effort to make this the largest and most entertaining affair the League has ever held. This will include a program of entertainment, dancing in an open-air pavilion, as well as out-door sports, and competing baseball games. Directions for reaching the picnic grounds are very simple. Take the White Plains Road 241st St., Lexington Ave. Subway or Elevated to the last stop, where Zedler's Grove buses will take you to the picnic grounds. The admission to this picnic will be 25c, no extra charge for dancing or other amusements. Tickets are available at our city office and headquarters of the various branches.

National Tour Finds League Advancing

For the first time since its formation, the Communist League has been able to organize a successful national tour which actually took a representative of the National Committee from one end of the country to another, Canada included. Up until now, the farthest west we had ever penetrated was Minneapolis and Kansas City. Connections with Communist militants had indeed been established on the West Coast before, but in most of the western localities no public meeting of our organization had yet been held. Now, as a result of the systematic pioneer work that has been effected, together with the tightening up of the organization which the speaking tour of comrade Shachtman helped to produce, it is established that outside of the official Communist and Socialist parties, the Communist League of America is the only one of the radical groups which can lay claim to a truly national organization, to a very solid framework of one at the very least. Our movement is no longer confined to the eastern and central part of the United States. In virtually every city that was visited, the estimates of the local comrades were that this time the public meetings were the largest ever held by the League. In some places the mass meetings were anywhere from two to three to four times as large as those organized several years ago during the first national tour organized for Shachtman. This feature of the tour not only bespoke the growing organizational strength and influence of the League, but especially the keen interest of increasing numbers of workers in the slogan raised by us for a new Communist party and a new International, the problem which was dealt with most prominently at practically every one of the meetings.

The Stalinist Party in Decline

Our progress with the official Communist party has not come to a halt either. In Winnipeg, Salt Lake City, and elsewhere, our branches are made up largely of comrades whom we have only yesterday won over to our side, or else the contacts established yesterday, who will be in branches tomorrow. The shocking state of the C. P. is clearly revealed by a visit to the principal cities from coast to coast. Tens of thousands come to its demonstrations—gratifying proof that great numbers of American workers are not frightened back by Communism but are ready to support it militantly. But into the official C. P.—No sirree! And when they do go in, they are again in less time than it takes to tell. Bad as are the official reports of C. P. membership fluctuation, they are still far from telling the whole story. Another aspect of the C. P. which really deserves more extensive comment and analysis, is the growing ratio of slum-proletarian elements in its composition—the elements it can always count upon for tough-guy tactics against what they know least about: "Trotskyism". In total, four efforts were made by the Stalinists to break up meetings on the road. In Youngstown, on the first night where Shachtman spoke on the Roosevelt program, the two young Stalinist commissars present profanely thundered that this was the last meeting the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists would hold in the city. We invited them to mobilize full force for the meeting next night, and to come down and try to break it up as they threatened. With the invitation we extended them a promise of a free lesson in workers' democracy. They came—30 strong, the full Party and Y.C.L. mobilization (Youngstown was once 200 strong in the C. P.)—the next night when Shachtman was to talk on the new party. But our comrades from Newcastle (where an excellent meeting had been held two nights before) came down to Youngstown, including in their detachment one boxing instructor and one amateur boxer. Twenty non-League members, Socialists included, had volunteered to help us defend the meeting the night before; and another comrade had brought to the meeting three-quarter and half-backs, with three-foot shoulders, from a local tin mill workers' football team, friendly to us. The Stalinists did try to break up the meeting. Result of the encounter: 1. The meeting was not broken up; 2. The Stalinists got their lesson in workers' democracy; 3. The prestige of the League shot up.

League Views Receive Serious Attention

Another striking feature of the tour was the obvious fact that among the class-conscious militants at least the views of the Communist League are regarded with the utmost attention and growing sympathy. In contrast with our first tour meetings, where the audience was for the most part composed of curiosity seekers who wondered what the "Trotskyists" have to say about themselves. The interest of the audiences, their highly representative quality, the questions asked and the discussion which followed, revealed this time that the ideas of the League have taken deep root wherever we have been able to penetrate with our organization and literature. The Chicago mass meeting was typical in this respect. Where some years ago we spoke only to a narrow circle of our own sympathizers, this time there were over 250 workers present, with representatives of virtually every trend and current in the radical movement. One after another they took the floor to speak for their respective standpoints as against that of the League. The national chairman of the Young People's Socialist League, the Stalinists, the Lovestonettes, the S.L.P., the United Workers Party and its broken-off minority, the I.W.W., the Proletarian Party, the anarchists—all of them sought to counter the offensive of the League at the best meeting we ever held in Chicago. (This time, by the way, the Stalinist hoodlums did not make the efforts to break up the meeting that they tried at Comrade Swaback's meetings a few months previously. The burnt child fears no hooliganism; he is too well prepared for that!)

S. P. Members Attend Meetings
Another significant feature of the meetings was the almost universal contacts we have established with militant revolutionists in the

Other Hoodlum Tactics Fail

Again in Los Angeles, which has already been adequately described in the Militant's sum total of the scandalous episode in which over 60 Stalinist hoodlums—picked

On the Political Scene In Mexico

THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN
The presidential elections in Mexico are rapidly approaching. Five candidates are in the field representing five different classes or sections of a class. Representing the feudal clerical reaction, far to the right is Valenzuela, candidate of the anti-reactionists. These sigh for the glories of the days of Porfirio Diaz, and are deadly enemies of the few rights gained by the workers and peasants during the revolution. The capitalist elements who are on the outs with the Party in power are represented by Villareal, candidate of the Confederation of Opposition Parties. Faithful servants to Yankee imperialism and the big native capitalists, and under the guidance of one of the wealthiest men in Mexico, (Calles, the Partido Nacional Revolucionario has for its candidate

Lazaro Cardenas. This party has resorted to an intensified campaign of demagogy in an attempt to win favor among the proletariat and peasantry. They have inaugurated a minimum salary of 1 and 1.50 pesos a day, (but try and get it). They have established as a platform a six-year plan which attempts to promise the workers some gain—in the future, of course—at the same time not alarming the imperialists. Amid a blare of trumpets, many headlines and much speech-making they have proceeded to give a few hectares of land to some of the landless peasants, carefully not touching the large estates.

The petty-bourgeoisie, repulsed by Callismo, has adopted a pseudo-socialism, centered around the Left Socialist Party with its candidate, Tejada. Thousands of workers have been swung into this current. Meanwhile, the majority of workers follow the line of the non-political leaders of the unions, Lombardo Toledano and Peraz Medina. Thanks to the work of these leaders the workers have virtually deserted the field of politics, showing such apathy that it is only by dint of much fireworks, and much "pique" that meetings held in workers' neighborhoods are partially filled. And the toilers of the land, lacking a real party of the proletariat, with whom to form a fighting alliance, are choosing between Tejada and Cardenas.

The Bloc of Workers and Peasants, Stalinist-directed, has for its candidate Laborde. The Bloc is more than a mere maneuver to evade the capitalist repression and the fact that the C. P. is illegal. It is in essence an opportunist sectarian farmer-labor party, a two class party. The Communist Internationalists of Mexico have decided to support the Bloc as the closest approach to a Party with a working class line. The time will come very shortly when the Internationalists will be able to enter the electoral campaign against all the parties of the bourgeoisie, and the fake parties of the workers.

Excellent Recruits for the League
In Davenport, the ingenious Stalinists kept telephoning the owner of the ball we had engaged, day in and day out for a week before the meeting. The burden of their anonymous calls was that if we were allowed to hold the meeting, somebody would see to it that the place was wrecked in a fight. It is hard to get a hall in Davenport for a radical meeting, and it was only by scurrying about madly that we were finally able at the last minute to get another meeting place, after the owner of the hall first engaged broke the contract with us out of fear of a riot. Even here a small gang of swagging Stalinists came up with the intention of showing the Trotskyists what's what. They disappeared in an inexplicable hurry when one of our sympathizers from Moline came to the door and asked them sharply what they intended to do. The sympathizer weighs 250 pounds.

MAY DAY IN MEXICO CITY

The Communist Internationalists the day after May Day were a very much more serious factor in Mexican life than they were before. Thanks to its own activity, and thanks to the rabid fear of the bourgeoisie which gave a large amount of publicity to the Fourth International, the Liga is now a group known to a large number of workers and listened to with a growing confidence by them.

For the First of May our small group published 5,000 manifestoes entitled "For the Fourth International". When in the midst of this work, that greatly taxed the resources of our group, the issue of the Trotsky expulsion from France came up. A special manifesto on this was also gotten out in 5,000 copies.

Four days before the first of May three of our comrades were arrested for distributing the Trotsky leaflet. This hurt the work of the group also, but the comrades left pitched in and by increased activity made good the absence of the others.

According to the fear-fueled imagination of the bourgeois press, the 75,000 or more workers in the march were continually shouting "Long Live the Fourth International" and "Long Live Trotsky". Of course they exaggerate a great deal. But the kernel of truth does remain that to an increasing number of workers the Fourth International is becoming a hope and a promise for successful struggle. To such a degree is this true, that the capitalist press has called for a stern repression of our group.

The May First demonstrations were of a decidedly anti-fascist character. When all the German imperialist firms insolently displayed the Swastika on May First, these banners were booted and whistled at by the marching workers. In one case, a group of them climbed up and tore a banner from the pole and threw it to the workers below who ripped it into shreds. This act was carried out in a few minutes before the police could interfere.

While the capitalist press was filled with apologies to the hurt feelings of the German fascists, the class-conscious workers take great pride in this episode of self-initiative.

MARCH OF EVENTS

"Stop Fooling with Labor!"
The first period of the NRA has definitely ended. The assistance tendered to the A. F. of L. bureaucracy to help them gain control of the newly organized masses of workers so as to prevent the growth of unions under militant leadership, has been withdrawn under the pressure of big business in the mass production industries. With the revival of business, aided by enormous subsidies, finance capital takes new courage and demands complete "freedom" to amass greater profits. It is in no mood to brook the resistance of labor to the extension of capitalist gains at the expense of the workers' living standards. "Stop fooling with labor", says Girdler, head of the Republic Steel Co. Away with all this nonsensical pretence of the NRA! Girdler would rather shut down the factories than treat with "professional" unionists. Irvin, President of U. S. Steel, declares for the open shop and company unionism. He is echoed by Grace, head of Bethlehem Steel. Sloan, chief of General Motors, lays down an ultimatum for the open shop and rallies the entire boss class against any half-way measures in the most aggressive speech of all: "We should more effectively and courageously stand and, if necessary, fight for those things which are just and equitable (the open shop, against unionism, for company unions, against collective bargaining, against government "regimentation" and control for profits)..."

Finance Capital to the Attack

Big business thus starts a carefully planned and concerted drive against the working class and its independent trade unions. The pretences of increasing wages and raising living standards become too transparent to be of any further service to the ruling class and the struggle begins to take on a more and more open character. To compete in foreign markets against Japanese competition the American capitalists strive desperately to lower costs of production—by lowering wages. To carry out the program of imperialism the bosses must prevent any vast influx into the trade unions and a brake must be set on the workers' movement towards organization. Ford, Working Class Enemy No. 1, leads the way. Through his spy system he picks out the unionists and concentrates them in a single machine shop. Recently when about two hundred union members came to work with union badges openly displayed, nothing was done at the time, but gradually all were transferred in small groups to the "union" machine shop. Then this shop was shut down and all these workers laid off. No discrimination there! Simply an economy!

Who Is Bigger?

Distressed by the openness of the attack on the workers and the callous flouting of bourgeois law by the bourgeoisie, the demagogue New York Post asks editorially, "Who is bigger—U.S.A. or U.S. Steel?" Every day makes clear that Roosevelt and Johnson have been given their new line of march by their masters and they obey orders! The NRA labor section is being dismantled as rapidly as possible. The sham of "collective bargaining" has been exposed by the government's legalizing of the company union and the open shop and its denial of the right of a majority of the workers to represent all the workers in negotiations (an interesting contradiction of bourgeois democracy which reveals the real nature of that democracy). The working class has had enough experience with the Regional and National Labor Boards to understand their function of betrayal. The personnel is sufficient in itself to dispel any illusions concerning these fake "impartial" boards. What Detroit worker would appeal to H. H. Rice, former president of Cadillac and vice-president of General Motors, now head of the Detroit Regional Labor Board? No, there can be no illusion in the mind of workers as to the nature of the government in relation to the working class. The government is carrying out the will of the ruling class. Events are rapidly posing a far different question: who is bigger—the capitalist class or the working class?

The Road to Fascism

The Minneapolis and Toledo strikes are the clearest signs that the workers have learned that they must rely on their own strength and organization to defend their livelihood from the attacks of the bosses. But these militant strikes will infuriate the predatory finance capitalists and will drive them to sterner measures. It is in this struggle that the capitalists will decide whether or not to take the road to fascism.

—JACK WEBER.

Positions of Conflicting Groups In the Socialist Party

It will be observed that the world Congress of the Labor and Socialist International, which came into being, not as a result of the desires of the Bureau, but through pressure of the defeat in Germany, did not serve to check the agitation within the ranks of the L.S.I. The Congress acted as a spur to the internal discussions taking place everywhere. Having briefly discussed the Congress and demonstrated the growth of left wing groupings in the international, we must of necessity occupy ourselves primarily with the American Socialist Party. No one can question the fact that the American groups reflect world events and the decisions of the August Congress. But in the United States, some peculiar and interesting changes took place. The situation here does not mirror exactly the situation in Europe from the point of view of party politics. There is a greater confusion in America as we shall soon detect.

At the Congress, the reactionary wing of the International was in complete control. The Congress reaffirmed the policy of reformism of the L.S.I. In conflict with this position of the Congress and the majority of the delegations, stood the Polish Bund which rallied to its side 18 votes out of 300 or more. The resolution as was shown, declared, for an end to the policy of reform and in favor of the "revolutionary" (?) struggle for power, for the destruction of capitalism and the institution of the "dictatorship of the revolutionary party" during the period of Socialist construction.

It demanded an end to the policy of "coalition governments", support of disarmament conferences, etc. On each of these questions, the Bund demonstrated confusion and showed that it had not learned anything since it endeavored to aid in the construction of the 23 International. It does not distinguish between the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the "Dictatorship of the Party". Nowhere is there mention made of the Soviets and their role in the struggle for power and after its seizure. It speaks of the "development of the dictatorship by the revolutionary classes (!) into a dictatorship of the workers and peasants". The resolution calls for "new conditions of struggle", and says too, that the Socialist Parties must prepare "without fail for the necessities of direct action".

The Fundamental Questions

All of this, however, does not explain how, or what, is meant. We said last week that now is not the time to write new doctrines. The program of Bolshevism answers every question raised by the left wings in the Socialist International and it answers these questions with clarity and completeness. What the Bund has done has been to reiterate a stand it has held now for more than a decade and bring it up to date. The early Congresses of the Communist International answered the questions of the struggle for power, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the Struggle against War, the United Front, etc. They were answered then in detail and with thoroughness. The half answers and half-truths contained in the Bund position, can only lead to confusion. In this respect the program of the Revolutionary Policy Committee in America is far clearer than that of the Polish Bund, and even that is not yet a complete Marxist position.

But in spite of the confusing and vague character of the Bund position it served as the starter in the international discussion raging in the Parties of the Social Democracy. For that it deserves merit. But some of the groupings starting where the Bund began are now far ahead of it. The Bund instead of moving ahead is standing still.

In the first article we spoke of the following groups existing in the American Socialist Party: The Revolutionary Policy Committee, the Militants, the Forward Association, the Old Guard (Neal, Lee, etc.), the Wisconsin Organization, the followers of the Polish Bund, the "Chicago Left Wing" of Senior and Krueger. Politically, there are not so many groups or grouplets. Such a division serves the purpose of differentiation. A political classification would find the R.P.C. and the followers of the Bund on the Left, the Old Guard, the Forward Association and the Wisconsin Organization on the Right, with the leaders of the American delegation, Krueger and Senior, which supported the Bund in Europe (!) and the Militants to whom they really belong ready to fall in line with any majority.

1. The Revolutionary Policy Committee

The articles of comrade Cannon have already discussed in detail the political position of this group. It is necessary however to examine their physiognomy a bit more. Without a doubt, the social composition of the group is its greatest weakness. The group is

3. The R.P.C. and Its Program

made up primarily of the petty-bourgeois and intellectual section of the Party, a great many of these being graduates of the League for Industrial Democracy. Thus, while the group enjoys a great interest and even support for its views, its lack of roots in the Party proper, hampers its influence over the proletarian section of the organization. The sympathies that it enjoys so far have little realization in organizational gains. The Program is signed by over 80 active party members, few however, having any decisive influence on the Party. Most of these are new in the movement. While its program is ahead of that of the Bund, its closest approximation in this country, the R.P.C. has no connection with the Bund. Similarly with respect to the matter of international connections. Though its existence is to be explained by international events and is a reflection of international currents in the L.S.I., the group leads a completely "national" existence. This is confirmed by its program on "International Relations".

The R.P.C. represents a serious movement within the S. P. towards Marxism. Its program is not yet Marxist, but has moved a long way in that direction. The great number of omissions from its program gives it at best a skeleton character. It is not sufficient, however, to offer skeleton views to the socialist workers. You must take each fundamental question and painstakingly analyze it from the vantage point of Marxism. Each question has to be thoroughly and completely discussed, every variant considered.

B. P. C. Program

The entire program is six pages long. Within these six pages are contained the position of the R.P.C. on: The Road to Power, War, Labor Policy, a Labor Party, the United Front, NRA, Farmers, Negroes, the Middle Class, the Soviet Union, International Relations and Conclusions. Quite obviously in such boundaries a program can not touch properly on any of the questions it discusses. But this is not the main criticism we have to make. Our main criticism of the R.P.C. is that on the fundamental questions it is either ambiguous, incomplete, or wrong. This in spite of the fact that in general the program is of a left character, in the direction of Communism.

The question of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is a case in point. After declaring in favor of it, the program says nothing of the Soviets, their position in the struggle for power and their relation to the establishment and existence of the proletarian dictatorship. On the one hand it speaks of the working class state as "an entirely new type of state", without saying anywhere that the capitalist state must be destroyed and replaced by the workers' state. Because of this lack of clarity it can conclude this section of the program by saying: "Once socialists are in possession (!) of the state machinery by the mandate of the workers, their task is to secure and insure the governmental power for the victorious revolution by arming the workers for its defense against all possibility of a counter-revolutionary resistance, and to proceed to transform the economic and social basis of society." Which state machinery is referred to here? It is by no means clear. Apparently the capitalist state machinery! By the mandate of the workers! What kind of a mandate? The seizure of power as a result of the armed struggle of the proletariat or a ballot victory? The R.P.C. may protest and say: But we have already declared that we are for the workers state, the new type of state based upon the Workers Councils. Nevertheless, it is not clear precisely what is meant in the program.

The Question of the State

The question of the state is the most important question for the revolutionary movement. It is upon the evaluation of the state that the workers' movement remains divided; on this question the 2nd International split. The organization of the Communist International was the outcome. And here too, the syndicalists and anarchists are divided from the rest of the workers' movement. Quite seriously and earnestly, we suggest that the R.P.C. make a thorough study of the documents of the Communist International on the question of the State and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, prepared for the 2nd Congress. Once clarified, the R. P. C. can become the instrument of clarifying and educating the ranks of the S.P., drawing large sections of its workers to the side of the revolution.

On "International Relations" the program is wholly inadequate and is in fact false. It says: "The Socialist Party of America must make

every effort to get the above principles (of the R.P.C.—A.G.) adopted by the Labor and Socialist International in order that it may be the effective instrument in promoting the world revolution". The program concludes with the following declaration in bold type: "THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO REASON (absolutely none—A.G.) WHY THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA CAN NOT MEET THE OPPORTUNITY WHICH CONFRONTS IT TODAY IF IT ADOPTS A CLEAR, WELL-DEFINED PROGRAM BASED UPON THE ABOVE PRINCIPLES AND TACTICS AND SETS UP ADEQUATE MACHINERY FOR EFFECTIVELY PUTTING THESE PRINCIPLES INTO ACTION." On one of the most decisive questions facing the workers movement today the program actually says little and what it does say is wrong. It orientates itself completely upon the 2nd International. The question of Stalinism, the existence and role of Centrism, and the movement for the 4th International are entirely left out of the program. Without even as much as a mention of these questions it is clear why the R.P.C. has no genuine international orientation.

"Reforming" the 2nd International

These questions are of fundamental character. Around these the R.P.C. can make or break itself. While on many issues it is moving toward a position of Marxism, it is not there yet. When Lovestone says that "in substance, the program of the R.P.C. is Marxian", it only expresses his patronizing attitude toward the R.P.C. and his desire to tie this movement to the kite of Stalinism. Genuine revolutionaries will endeavor to help the R.P.C. to move completely to communism, that is, to revolutionary Marxism. From its position on "International Relations" it is obvious that the R.P.C. orientates itself on the basis of the policy of reforming the Socialist Party and the Labor and Socialist International. There is not the slightest hint that the fundamental character of social democracy make it impermissible to remain within its ranks. The possibility of a break is not even mentioned in the program. And as already pointed out, its relation to the other international movements is not even as much as mentioned. The R.P.C. must begin rapidly to clarify its position on all these questions, and make clearer its point of view on those points expressed in the program. It should root itself deeply among the proletarian layers of the party and seek support there. We shall endeavor to help the R.P.C. make these steps forward and draw the proper conclusions to their present struggle.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

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Among the features are:

1. Editorial: For the Fourth International!
2. A Review on the NRA—by Jack Weber.
3. The American Workers Party: Communism or Centrism—by Max Shachtman.
4. The Marxism of Sidney Hook—by Maurice Spector.
5. On the Communist Party—by Arne Swaback.
6. Decline of the Progressive Miners of America—by Joseph Angelo.
7. The Crisis in the Socialist Party—by J. P. Cannon.
8. Stalin—by L. D. Trotsky.
9. Boom, Crisis and Strike Wave—by Weaver.
10. Is France Next?—by Marsh.
11. The Vienna "Commune"—by A. Max (pen name of a prominent German Communist).
12. Archives of Bolshevism (unpublished manuscripts).

Included in the Book Review Section are: Celine's "Journey to the End of the Night", reviewed by Earl Birney; Rivera's "Portrait of America", reviewed by Paula Mendez; Eastman's "Artists in Uniform", reviewed by David Ernest; Bauer and Deutsch on the Austrian Civil War, reviewed by Max Shachtman.

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A Critical Analysis of the American Workers Party

Editor's Note—The following is the third of a series of articles contributed to the discussion of the movement for a new party by Felix Morrow.

The preceding articles have discussed two of the main tendencies which stand between the A. W. P. and the road to the new revolutionary party and international.

I. The A. W. P. has failed to break critically with the reformist past of its predecessor, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action; there is danger of reformist hangovers, especially since the contemptuous or indifferent attitude toward theory, expressed by leading A.W.P. members, prevents examination of fundamentals.

II. The most significant example of the A.W.P.'s insufficient break with reformism is that its present criticism of the Stalinist party is little different from that earlier voiced by the reformist C.P.L.A. By placing the blame on "sectarianism", the American scene, and a lack of emphasis on the regeneration of the fundamentals of Communism which gave the Comintern, including the C.P.U.S.A., its powerful vitality up to 1924.

III. When we examine the character of the internationalism espoused by the A.W.P., here again we find the baleful influence of the myth of "sectarianism". The A.W.P. Program says:

"... The workers in each country are faced with certain conditions, they have a certain background, tradition, psychology. A revolutionary party must 'feel' all this, feel how the workers in the country feel and think. This cannot be communicated to it from the outside.

"These fundamental principles of revolutionary strategy have been disregarded by the Third International." (p. 28)

The elevation of national peculiarities into "fundamental principles" and the attribution of Stalinist failure to their disregard—both are false.

The fundamental principles of revolutionary strategy flow from the nature of world capitalist society and its present stage of development. Needless to say—needless to anyone who has read the documents of the early Congresses of the Comintern—special peculiarities in specific countries are to be allowed for; and these the parties in the given countries should deal with.

But the problem of allowing for such specific conditions has never been a crucial one. Certainly this problem was not the cause of Stalinist failure. What, for example, has the theory of social fascism and the united front from below (which are practiced of course on a world scale) to do with "how the workers in the country feel." What these theories disregard is the nature of

3. What is Its Position On Internationalism?

world capitalist society, specifically the nature of reformism and the proletariat. These errors have nothing to do with national psychology, conditions, etc.

From such a false starting point, the A.W.P. moves, not in the direction of a revolutionary internationalism, but of a loose league of national parties like the Second International. Once the "feel" of the country is identified with "fundamental principles of revolutionary strategy", and it is asserted that "This cannot be communicated to it (the party) from the outside" (outside—what a word to describe the world proletariat!) we cannot but expect that the whole question of the international will be put in terms alien to the Communist tradition. Here are the crucial sentences of the A.W.P. Program:

"Unquestionably, international machinery is needed through which the labor and revolutionary movements may exchange views and organize joint activities to advance the ultimate object of a workers' world. Under certain circumstances, the most direct and practical kind of cooperation between the labor and revolutionary movements of two or more countries is possible, and may profoundly influence world developments, as e.g. a general strike against war in several countries. Joint revolutionary movements may conceivably be carried through simultaneously in several countries in some international crisis, and an international revolutionary general staff is required in such a situation." (pp. 27-28). (my emphasis)

This passage is full of fundamental errors. We shall consider them under two points: 1. The discipline of a revolutionary international. 2. The role of an international revolutionary general staff.

1. Just what is meant by the two references to "labor" is not clear. Let us hope that it cannot mean labor parties, for no revolutionary international can include reformist organizations. Now, no party can belong to a revolutionary international without adhering to its principles and decisions. Decisions are to be preceded by thorough discussion throughout the parties—but the "exchange of views" is to be followed by conclusions by vote of the majority; and the conclusions must be binding on all parties in the international. For what revolutionary parties seek is not the mere unity of the workingclass in and of itself—which is correct, and valuable, on the trade union level—but a fighting unity for revolutionary overthrow; and for this, the highest type of uniform discipline is necessary. To say, as the A.W.P. Program says, that parties "may exchange views"—and to say nothing about coming to conclusions, and the binding nature of the conclusions—this is to be ambiguous about the essence of a revolutionary international.

2. The A.W.P. Program borrows the term "international revolutionary general staff" from the communist tradition. But what does it do with the term? In communist tradition the term is a synonym for... the international itself. The work of the international is a continuous work. Its task is the grand strategy of the world revolution. What is the relation between the general staff and the party leadership of a given country? The party leadership is itself part of the general staff and participates in laying down the grand strategy.

But this communist conception of the general staff has nothing in common with that of the A.W.P., which makes the general staff into a united front committee. "Under certain circumstances", "joint", "simultaneously", "staff is required in such a situation"—these are phrases which describe temporary united fronts. They do not describe the role of the revolutionary general staff.

Whether we can agree with the A.W.P. eventually or not, let us at least begin with clarity. Where terms are used without specific meaning being given to them, they have their historical meaning. The general staff is a term of the communist tradition meaning a permanent, continuously functioning, organ of the world party. If all that the A.W.P. proposes as international machinery is the united front, temporary, and occasional, let it say so; but let it not give to this instrument—a useful, but limited and transitional one—the title which is historically associated with the highest organ of the world proletariat.

Were the foregoing quotations all that the A.W.P. has to say on the question of the international, there would be nothing more to say, for such views are not those of a truly

revolutionary party. But on the very same pages with the foregoing quotations appears the explanation of them. The whole section of the Program dealing with the international is, in fact, pervaded with a fear of contradictions arising between the development of the American party and the work of the international. Here, again, it is clear that the A.W.P. has not thought out thoroughly the differences between the perversions of internationalism practiced by the Stalinist bureaucracy, and the necessary principles of a genuinely Communist International. This is what is behind such formulations as this in the Program: "The problem of developing an effective international is an exceedingly complex one. The American Workers Party will be concerned to do all that is in its power toward its solution, and remain in sympathetic contact and engage in discussions. . . . Emphatically, however, we assert that our absorbing concern . . . is . . . on our own doorstep. . . . Emphatically, however" is the crucial phrase. This counterposing of the two tasks—the international and the party—is then resolved by declaring that "we shall best serve the toilers of all lands" by making the American revolution. This would indeed be a great service—but has it occurred to the A.W.P. that the internationalism demanded of them is not a question of social service on their part to help the workers of other lands—such, indeed, is the flavor of this section of the A.W.P. Program—but that the cooperation of the workers in other lands may play a decisive role in the American revolution?

It could easily be shown that the indifference toward the role other peoples will play in the American revolution arises from a still unclear theory of the state on the part of the A.W.P. The Program states: "State power is national, not international. It has to be taken in Berlin, London, Paris, Washington. . . ." Remember, the power of the American class extends across the two American continents, into China (now becoming as important to America as it is to England), and creeping across Europe. Who shall say, at this moment, that the opportunity for the American workingclass to overthrow the state, will not come because the Chinese revolution will break out just when the American bourgeoisie is most dependent on China. (Of equal weight with its role for China, had it been successful, was the role of the Chinese Revolution of 1923-1927 in facilitating the English revolution). And if the South American, Caribbean and Asiatic workers are part of the domain of the American bourgeoisie, should they not be united with the American workers, not in temporary agreements or mutual expressions of good will, but by a general staff? Once this is agreed to, the relation between two imperialistic regimes logically leads to the inclusion of all workers under the one general staff.

Wrong as the international perspective of the A.W.P. is, however, and dangerous as the consequences of the position might be if held on to, it would betray a lack of insight if one were not to see the healthy instinct behind such a remark as Muste's at the recent A.W.P. conference: "The 1917 Revolution was made with no international aid." Of course Muste is wrong; of course he ignores the extraordinary international experience of the Bolshevik leaders; he ignores the international aid of . . . Marx and Engels. But the healthy instinct is there, nevertheless. What Muste is saying is that the American Revolution can be made with no more aid than the Russian, if necessary.

But this healthy instinct has nothing to do with an attitude which may seem to be similar but is poles apart. Muste is wrong; but by his own principles he can be shown, I think, that they logically require a genuinely revolutionary international, a permanent general staff of the world revolution. When, however, at the same conferences, J.B.S. Hardman spoke, he said: "Russian interference with other countries was invariably bad—precisely because of the things which made the Russian Revolution successful: Lenin's knowledge of Russia was only surpassed by his lack of knowledge of other people." This is not only to rewrite falsely the history of the Russian Revolution, making it depend on the "feel" of the country. This is also—for Hardman is talking here of the Comintern from its first days—to renounce the possibility of internationalism. For to designate the heroic internationalism of 1919-1924 as "Russian interference"—this is but a step away from chauvinism.

It is to be sincerely hoped that the A.W.P. turns its steps away from this false road, and moves instead in the direction of the new revolutionary party and international. —FELIX MORROW.

Under the Iron Heel of Chiang Kai Shek

Shanghai, May 2, (By Mail).—Cold inertia holds the Chinese labor movement in its paralyzing grip. May Day passed in Shanghai yesterday without causing the faintest ripple. The North-China Daily News reports laconically: "Police authorities took precautionary measures against possible disturbances by reactionary elements. Nothing untoward happened during the day." Even the mild demonstrations of former years, when a few Communists gathered at crowded street corners, shouting slogans, scattering handbills, and disappearing as soon as a policeman came upon the scene, were abandoned this year. In other industrial cities it was the same. In Kuomintang China, the reaction reigns supreme, triumphant, unchallenged.

Last year's wave of workers' defensive struggles occasioned by the growth of oppression and the more and more devastating attacks on the workers' livelihood, has weakened almost to the point of petering out completely. Without independent unions and in some cases without unions at all; deprived of a militant, class-conscious leadership; poverty-stricken and without funds to maintain an effective strike organization—the strikes that took place were doomed in advance. A whole series of defeats, with scarcely a bright spot of partial victory to relieve the gloomy picture, lately culminated in the loss of a strike by the four thousand workers of the Mayar Silk Works, largest of its kind in Shanghai. For several weeks the workers held out against a 10 percent wage-cut and then returned to work in disorderly retreat.

This strike is worthy of some detailed attention, since it is characteristic of the whole recent strike movement in China. The Mayar workers struck alone. Their lead-

ers held no prior consultation with the workers in other silk factories with a view to enlisting their support. There is no union for the entire industry. Indeed, most of the silk workers are entirely unorganized, although they are among the most fearfully exploited of China's industrial proletariat. They work a 12-hour day for a pittance beside which the fifteen-dollar weekly income of a C.W.A. worker in America appears munificent. The Mayar workers struck under other strong disadvantages. Theirs was the last of a series of strikes that have taken place in the Shanghai silk industry during the past two to three years. Other sections of the silk workers had gone down in defeat one after the other. Thus, without prior agreement, there existed no prospect that the Mayar workers would gain the support of their already defeated fellow-workers by means of sympathetic strikes.

Defeat in these circumstances was inevitable. But the Mayar strike should and could have been used as the basis for a great campaign to organize the workers in the entire silk industry with the perspective of a future struggle on an industry-wide scale. This was not done. The members of the Left Opposition, who had valuable contacts with leading strikers, failed to get the necessary slogans put forward. They only thought of them when the strike was already on the wane and plunging to defeat. Moreover, they failed to advance the democratic slogans of the Left Opposition and link them up with the strike struggle, although conditions were most propitious. The strike was proscribed by the authorities and the strikers forbidden to hold meetings or demonstrations. Here was a first-class opportunity to popularize democratic demands among a large number of workers and to link these with our central

slogan for the convocation of the National Assembly.

Despite government prohibition the strikers did demonstrate. But instead of demonstrating before the factories with a view to winning the support of their fellow-workers in the silk industry, they went into largely futile gatherings before the Bureau of Social Affairs, a Kuomintang organ whose function is to break strikes by deceit, cajolery and intimidation.

The Stalinists possess no influence among China's industrial proletariat. Privately they will admit that the optimistic material found in the congress speeches of the "general leader" and his henchmen—Piatnitsky, Manulsky, et al.—are so much balderdash. In the strike of the Mayar silk workers they played no part. Their slogans for the workers are vain admonitions to "Join the Red Army" and "Support the Soviet Districts," which in the circumstances are a stupid mockery of the workers' struggle.

This May Day, 1934 passed unnoticed in Kuomintang China, except for official Kuomintang gatherings and a Nazi flag-raising ceremony which took place before the German consulate-general in Shanghai, when fascist orators emphasized the significance of May 1 as definitely commemorating "the nationalization of labor as an integral factor of German life today." While these ceremonies proceeded, proletarian China bowed its back under the lash of reaction. In Shanghai, life proceeded as usual. In the pale dawn the workers streamed in their tens of thousands to the factories. Along the water-front and in the streets, with the sun high in the heavens, the coolies strained at their inhuman loads, watering their tracks with their sweat.

Not a voice of protest nor a note of rebellion anywhere! —LUCIFER.

Minneapolis Strike Reveals Splendid Organization and Militancy

Organizing the Strike

(Continued from page 1)

volunteer services of two doctors and two trained nurses. This department rendered an invaluable service because of the speed and efficiency with which injuries were treated and it is notable to record that in no case did an infection develop.

Within the headquarters offices, a crew of men with special instructions remained constantly at the five telephones which were the nerve center of the strike. A corps of women assistants under the direction of the financial officer received applications for membership which poured in by the hundreds and issued permits for the pickets to obtain gasoline and mechanical service. A special committee was set up to hear complaints and requests for special permits to operate trucks. The instructions to this committee were very strict. These special groups served excellently as a buffer to take the burden of routine matters off the shoulders of the leaders and to leave them free to direct the principal strategy of the strike.

Before the start of the strike a complete analysis of the picketing requirements had been made and, with a corps of stenographers and mimeograph operators, the leaders had prepared a complete set of written orders and instructions to the pickets. As a result of this careful preparation, the entire picket line was established and functioning effectively within an hour after the beginning of the strike.

An Effective Strategy of Picketing

The principal strategy of the picketing was to establish stationary picket posts at the city limits on all highways, at all gasoline bulk plants and direct service filling stations, at the wholesale market, in the loop retail district, and at the truck freight terminals. These stationary pickets were supplemented by "cruising squads" which were assigned to definite districts throughout the town and by other cruising squads which were assigned to cover certain areas where trucking activities would most likely be attempted.

The pickets were transported to and from the stationary posts by truck and the cruising squads were provided with fast automobiles. A reserve force with adequate transportation facilities was kept in the headquarters at all times. Each group of pickets and each cruising squad was commanded by a picket captain, who had been given written instructions as to responsibilities. Each truck driver was also given special written instructions to be followed.

Concentration of Mass Picketing

Whenever mass picketing was required a field commander was appointed and given special credentials with instructions to establish a field headquarters to maintain contact with General Headquarters. This was accomplished by stationing a contact officer at a suitable telephone location and providing him with assistants. In this manner G.H.Q. could phone orders to

the contact officer who would in turn send them to the field commander by one of the assistants. Reports from the field commander to G.H.Q. were also sent by this medium. To supplement this a special squad of motorcycle riders were kept at G.H.Q. to perform special liaison duties.

A number of special cruising squads manned by hand-picked men and captained by qualified leaders were kept under the constant control of G.H.Q. The captains of these squads were given credentials which superseded all other authority in the field. These squads were used to be sent into a tense situation for the purpose of reorganizing the forces and leading the fight. They did their work well and more than justified the continuation of this system.

It is well to note that in spite of the large number of cars, trucks, and motorcycles required for this method of picketing, there was an excess of vehicles volunteered for service by the strikers.

Handling Stool-Pigeons

It was naturally necessary to maintain a guard at the doors of the headquarters. But in spite of all precautions, stool-pigeons will slip through. Once within the building, these miserable wretches can do much damage if left unhindered. They operate principally by attempting to disrupt the ranks through the encouragement of drinking and through attempts to create disorder and discussion.

Special squads of reliable men were kept on duty constantly watching for these people and they did their work very effectively. There is another and more dangerous type of stool-pigeon, who comes well armed with credentials and attempts to insinuate himself into a position entailing some responsibility. It was found that by carefully selecting key men who are absolutely trustworthy and by using great secrecy in issuing orders that it is comparatively easy to discover these people through their great ambition to disrupt.

To summarize the general results of this organizational method, we find that we have a group of strikers who are given food regularly, and medical care for their physical comfort. We find that they have reliable mechanical equipment to do their job. And we find that they soon come to realize that their leaders know at all times where they are and what they are up against. They wage in fearlessly because they know that if they need help it will come, if they need new captives, they will come, and they feel confident that if they win any advantage their leaders will be able to hold it for them.

These Minneapolis workers then are merely representative American workers, who have risen to a new height because of the careful efforts made to uncover and develop their every resource. The Minneapolis workers call upon the workers of America to demand such cooperation and guidance from all labor leaders. —A STRIKER.

showed their defiance. But the cops had had enough and asked the pickets to drop their clubs saying that they would drop theirs. The strikers were not fooled by this and stood their ground. No trucks moved that day.

All Ready for the Big Battle

At dawn Tuesday, hundreds of cops and special deputies began to pour into the market until there were over a thousand. They were concentrated at strategic points. Later the strikers began to arrive by truckfuls. Thousands of sympathetic onlookers lined the streets. The strikers moved with military precision, maneuvering skillfully for vantage points. Their plan was to catch the cops from the rear and divide their forces. Many reserves were stationed in the Central Labor Headquarters nearby.

As the morning wore on, there were numerous skirmishes that heralded the battle to come. Just about noon the fight started, when a deputized female attempted to club a woman picket. The plucky woman seized a club from a picket at her side and stretched her flat. With a roar that was heard for blocks, the strikers swept away the specials and cops. The specials made no effort to stem the tide but turned and fled, tossing away their clubs and badges as they ran. Many were cornered in stalls and blind alleys and laid out three deep. Clubs swung everywhere as the fighting pickets surged irresistibly through the rows of stalls smashing down all opposition. Several truckloads of deputies attempting to escape were surrounded and transferred to the mounting casualty list. In desperation the regular cops drove their cars into the ranks of the strikers in a vain effort to stop them. Ambulances worked overtime taking away the specials.

Within half an hour the strikers had complete control of the market. The cops and deputies were completely licked. More than 50 special cops were injured, two of whom died subsequently. A few pickets were hurt. No further efforts were made to move the trucks. The bosses agreed to recognize the union. —WILLIAM KITT.

Women Active On Firing Line

When the General Drivers' Union made a strong appeal to the wives of their members to aid in every way possible, they met with a response they had not dreamed of. Women came to Strike Headquarters, ready and willing to do any kind of work assigned them. Girls trained in office work took over the routine work. Others gave their heart and soul to the feeding of hungry droves of men.

Women on Picket Line!

Women pickets took up the cause on the line of battle. Three of our women were seriously injured in riots with police. One's life was despaired of for several days. Another was taken to the hospital with a very seriously fractured ankle. She is at present confined to her bed, and will be there for some time to come.

Still another was so badly beaten in the Tribune riot that an old operation lesion opened up, and there is danger of internal hemorrhages. Still another was beaten across the arm with a billy. She is still carrying her arm in a sling.

Another interesting angle to this situation was brought out when sympathizers began to offer their services. One young woman, a graduate of the University who had specialized in sociology came down to offer her services. She felt that the power of the women had not even been felt in this class struggle. A young couple, friends of the other girl, offered their services. Using these three as an advisory council, the officers of the auxiliary started to raise money.

The Women's Auxiliary

A committee, composed of Mrs. Grant Dunne as president of the auxiliary and Mrs. Farrell Dobbs, as secretary, these three friends, and two other women not connected with the union, met at four o'clock one afternoon. The next night at midnight the auxiliary had in its Commissary Relief Fund, \$418.70. The necessity of feeding the families of the men on strike until they would again be able to draw wages was brought home to us very forcibly during the last few days.

Demonstration at City Hall

The newspapers of Minneapolis, being the instrument of the Citizens' Alliance, were muzzled to such an extent that no news in favor of the strikers was ever published. To attempt to counteract this state of affairs, the women organized a mass demonstration. We marched from the Auditorium on Grant and 14th Streets straight down Nicollet Ave. Led first by four women carrying our banner, followed by about five hundred women, many of them sympathizers,

we broke every traffic rule in Minneapolis. Crowds gathered along the sidewalk and followed the procession to the court house.

We marched straight to the mayor's office. A committee entered to present our demands upon the mayor or his emissary—Mr. Guise. The gentlemen were not in. In fact Mayor Bainbridge was in his usual position—home in bed ill. Mr. Guise would be in by 2 P.M. It was then about 12:30. The committee decided to wait.

A Brush with Deputies

The women, quiet and orderly during the whole proceedings, suddenly were infuriated by something. Inquiry disclosed that the chief of police had thought it smart to parade a batch of his special deputies down the same corridor the women were waiting in. Only quick thinking on the part of the committee saved those deputies from being very badly hurt.

The mayor's secretary arrived in surprisingly short time. The committee waited upon him. They got just what they expected—nothing. The demands were the immediate removal of Chief Johannes, the removal of all special deputies, and no further interference with pickets. The committee then left. The crowd was addressed by Frieda Charles, and dispersed in an orderly fashion.

Women—Into the Class Struggle!

In closing let me emphasize again. Let your women work in this class struggle. Their place is right along side of the men, shoulder to the wheel, fighting for their birth-right. The Women's Auxiliary of General Drivers' Union No. 574 has set an example which we hope will be followed by the working-class women throughout the nation. —AUXILIARY MEMBER.

Role of the League in Strike

Minneapolis.—Serious and militant workers confronted with the necessity of advancing their demands for a better standard of living, have the problems of organization, program and leadership before them from the very first. In the Minneapolis drivers' strike thousands of workers came to the union for very definite reasons. First: The Union is a mass organization. Second: It had to its credit the achievement of the Coal Yard Workers' strike. Third: ITS LEADERSHIP HAD BEEN TESTED.

The Communist League has always followed the policy in the trade unions of working with all progressive forces to be found in the organizations. Its trade union policy has been proved in action. Today there stands, confronting the bosses, a mighty union which organized the picket line that fought off and routed the police and the armed bands of the Citizens Alliance.

The entire labor movement has been aroused. Every union in the city has been strengthened. The recruiting of workers into the organizations is going forward all along the line. The forces of reaction have been dealt a powerful blow. Tens of thousands of workers stand up today, proud to have been a part of the smashing drive.

The Minneapolis Branch of the Communist League bears considerable responsibility for this achievement. It is well known that its members have been active in the trade unions for a long period of years. It has not pressed forward for place or prestige alone. The League members have at all times acted in accord with the real interests of the union. The program adopted has been submitted to the rank and file from time to time. Proposals, suggestions, criticisms have been welcomed. The League has given its best to the union and to the strike. It is willing to accept its part of the blame for any mistakes that may have been made. We think they were very few. Such errors can and will be made good.

Just as the League accepts responsibility for mistakes that it may make, it insists upon a calm and careful appraisal of its work in the union and the strike. In short we ask the workers to judge us for the work done and for policies and programs proposed.

The real work of Communist militants in the trade unions consists in putting forward correct proposals, fighting for their acceptance; then, by diligent and patient effort, rallying the advanced workers to carry these proposals into action. That the League membership played an active part in the strike is shown not only by the fact that our comrades were in leading positions in the strike committee. It is also shown in the part played on the picket line where every man and woman available from our ranks was placed. In the work of organizing for the strike our comrades took a leading part. This alone was the work of months. At the headquarters, both before and during the strike, our members

Support From Other Unions

Minneapolis, May 28.—When the General Drivers, Local 574, called their strike for 11:30 P.M., on Tuesday, May 15, very few trade union members realized that within another two weeks one of the greatest labor struggles in the history of the Minneapolis labor movement would be fought.

The members of general drivers and their sympathizers did some fine work. During the first days of the strike they had the truck transportation of a city of four hundred thousand completely tied up with the exception of the deliveries authorized by the strike committee.

By Saturday morning the bosses had decided to defy the strikers and make deliveries of vegetables, fruits and provisions from the city market place. This was stubbornly resisted by the strikers and their sympathizers, but almost entirely without their bare hands, which were not so effective against the bludgeons of the cops.

Many workers who had felt that the cops were more or less friendly were disillusioned by the market fight on Saturday morning. With the announcement that over Sunday some fifteen hundred special deputy sheriffs were to be recruited and armed, the workers set their backs to work and prepared to defend themselves.

The workers on Saturday had suffered more physical damage than the cops. On Monday they were prepared to meet the cops with their own weapons. The fight in the market was about fifty-fifty insofar as injuries were concerned. By Monday morning the trade union members had begun to realize

that an admirable fight was being conducted by the drivers and their sympathizers. At the building trades business agents meeting, due to pressure from the members, they voted to recommend to the building trades unions to strike in sympathy with the drivers. The Central Labor Union executive took like action that evening.

These meetings were followed quickly by the iron workers striking. Then followed many of the smaller organizations, whose membership could be reached quickly. By Wednesday evening the lathers, plasterers, carpenters, asbestos workers, electrical workers and others had voted the sympathetic strike. The electrical workers marched to strike headquarters in a body and placed themselves under the direction of the drivers strike committee.

Other union membership meetings while not officially striking declared a holiday for the duration of the strike and many of their members were active on Monday and Tuesday in the fights in the market. The fight on Tuesday resulted in a complete routing of the fifteen hundred special deputies and American Legionaires, two of whom have since died as a result of their injuries.

In spite of the armistice agreed to between the strikers and the government forces by which it was agreed to keep trucks off the streets, the unions continued to vote sympathetic strikes. The painters' union marched in on Friday night as the vote to accept the settlement was being completed. Had the strike continued over Saturday and Sunday, no doubt the other driving trades which had not yet been called down, brewery drivers, milk drivers, ice drivers would have been called out and upon the call from Local 574 the garment workers, cooks, waiters, bartenders, city and county employees and the civil service employees would have joined the strike.

One of the big lessons of the strike to be learned by the unionists is the need for a better organizational form, an industrial form, so that the workers can move more quickly and more solidly to protect their interests. —A SYMPATHETIC STRIKER.

Workers Show Fighting Ability

The Minneapolis General Drivers strike has demonstrated the truth of one fact beyond contradiction. That is, that the American working class, when properly led and organized, will fight. The workers have shown here in Minneapolis the utter falseness of that old adage, the principal excuse that is used by moral cowards everywhere: "The workers will not stick and they will not fight."

We have shown that in spite of all differences, the workers can and will fight for what they consider to be just demands. The six thousand drivers, helpers and inside workers joined together in one organization, is living proof that they can be organized and that in this manner, and in this manner only, can they make gains against the modern organization of the bosses. Without inspiration and militant leadership they will continue to drift in the same old rut that has led them nowhere. Such leadership consists principally in having the vision to estimate the extent and scope of the movement, a knowledge of what must be done and the energy to do it.

We consider here that the "New Deal" of the Roosevelt administration for the bosses must be counterposed by a New Deal for Labor. Not the New Deal of the compromisers of Labor who end strikes but do not settle them. It must be a New Deal which will be a new method and a new form of organization. It must secure for the workers victories and not defeats. This New Deal must have first a broader form of organization. The unions must be reorganized on an industrial union basis. Second, it must have leadership which, understanding of the class problems, can show the way. And third, it

must have the courage to swim against the current, and, by so doing, inspire the workers to organize a better and more militant fight against the bosses.

While the organization and strike of the Minneapolis General Drivers may not be the perfect pattern for a newer labor movement, it has, we think, set a new tone for workers' economic struggles in this country. There are several things which we think are unique in the American labor movement. Within the almost empty shell of an old-time craft union, which up until now had taken into its ranks only truck drivers and helpers, we organized workers from the whole industry. We took not only the truck drivers and helpers from the various business houses, but their inside workers as well. And so when strike became necessary, we presented a solid fighting front to the bosses. We prepared for the strike, not during the strike but before it. Nothing was left to chance. Everything possible was done before the fight to insure victory. When the general labor movement so prepares and so organizes for its future struggles, there will be more victories inscribed on the banners of the working class. —STRIKER.

General Strike Looms in Toledo

(Continued from page 1)

permitted to postpone the general strike any longer. Nothing can be expected from the strike-breaking Labor Board. The blow must be struck while the iron is hot. The workers have fought magnificently. They are learning to rely upon their own strength. It should be utilized to its fullest extent and every resource drawn upon. Labor defense and relief organizations should be set up immediately to take care of the needs of the workers in the struggle.

Unite in Support of Toledo!

The urgent need for uniting the forces of labor behind the Toledo strikers is emphasized by an announcement that the automotive industry "will back the Auto-Life Company to the limit in its defiance of labor unions." The Stalinists as usual are sabotaging all efforts for a united front. In New York City, a meeting called to protest the reign of terror in Toledo was answered by every organization approached with the exception of the Stalinists who called a "united front" meeting of their own. The organizations participating in the meeting include the Socialist Party, the Communist League, the Lovetonesites, the Jewish Workers Party, the American Workers Party and the I. W. W. Similar meetings should be called throughout the country.

The strike wave spreading throughout the country opens grandiose perspectives for the development of the class struggle on a new level. The place of the militants among the workers where they now as ever is in the mass organization lead and guide their struggles.

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Springfield Br.	4
Total	44
Previously reported	175
TOTAL	219

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IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

With the appearance of the theoretical monthly magazine THE NEW INTERNATIONAL on June 15th the character of The Militant will definitely change to that of an agitation mass paper. To effect this change, To guarantee the regular appearance of The Militant, To expand organizationally by keeping comrades in the field FUNDS ARE NECESSARY. Watch for further details regarding the ORGANIZATION-PRESS CAMPAIGN Literature explaining this campaign will be in the mails next week.