

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT



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## Taxi Strikers Battling For Union Recognition

### N.R.A. Labor Board Conspires With Bosses to Break Strike and Impose Company Union

4,500 taxi drivers and mechanics have struck again in New York City. One month after the general strike of taxi workers, the employees of the Parmelee System, one of the largest taxicab fleets in the city, have found it necessary to strike to prevent a company union from being forced upon them. They are fighting for recognition of their union, the Taxicab Drivers Union of Greater New York. They want an end to the black list, reinstatement of all men discharged for union activities, and improvement of their working conditions.

**Intolerable Conditions**  
The intolerable conditions in the industry have impelled the taxi workers on to the road of struggle for the creation of a strong union capable of defending their interests. Despite the splendid fight they put up in the recent general strike, they gained nothing, having been maneuvered back to work through the efforts of La Guardia and Panken. The wages they earn are extremely low and the hours endless. An NRA survey reveals that last year \$3.9 of the drivers received less than \$12 a week. The hours of work averaged 66.7 hours a week on the day shift and 80 hours on the night shift. Such are the conditions which the bosses want to perpetuate.

The company union, against which the men are fighting, the Drivers Brotherhood of New York, is playing the reactionary role of strike-breaker. It insists very loudly that it is not a company union, but its actions are more convincing than its pleas. Its president, a certain Mr. Irving Robbins has declared that "the Parmelee System is the swiftest company in the world. We haven't got a single kick."

**Mrs. Herrick Bats for Bosses**  
The Regional Labor Board of the NRA with Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick, chairman, has very graciously consented to conduct a poll of the employees to ascertain which union they wish to represent them. There is however one stipulation. Merely that the drivers go back to work. But the strikers feel that they have already indicated clearly through their action which union they regard as their own. Nor has the recent experience of the Fifth Avenue bus workers, in which intimidation by the bosses eliminated any possibility for a genuine vote by the men, endeared the idea of a NIRA "plebiscite" to taxi drivers. The scheme of Mrs. Herrick, who reveals her true colors as a bosses' agent in every situation, could not fool the strikers into surrendering the only effective fighting weapon at their disposal—the strike.

**The Strikers' Demands**  
At the NRA code hearings the bosses have proposed a \$12 a week minimum wage and a 54 hour week. In other words they want to codify more or less the prevailing bad conditions which had driven the taxi workers to strike. Against this the drivers propose a minimum wage of \$23 a week for day work and \$25 a week for night work, a 48 hour week, and three eight hour shifts. The Taxi Drivers Union has wisely decided to seek the support of the labor movement in its fight. It has called a conference for Sunday, March 18th, at 11 A. M. at the Manhattan Lyceum, and has issued a call inviting all trade unions and workers' organizations to send delegates. But besides that, it is necessary to extend the strike as much as possible and get more garages into it.

### Spring Festival and Dance

We are making all preparations for the Spring Festival.

A good band will play for you. Various special features of entertainment are being elaborated, the chief of these being Chief Little-moose in a recital of his native dances.

The fortune teller we promised you in our last notice will also be with us.

We are also making all efforts to get a famous cartoonist to draw caricatures of famous political characters.

Food and drink will be abundant. A good time is promised you all. Be with us this Saturday, March 17th at Irving Plaza.

Buy your tickets in advance and save money, and help us at the same time. Tickets 35c. At door 40c.

## THE PARIS COMMUNE

With the recent struggle of the heroic Austrian workers, and the militant demonstrations of the French masses before our eyes, the historical significance of the Paris Commune of 1871 takes on increased importance. When on March 18th we commemorate the seventy-one days of workers' rule in Paris we at the same time pledge ourselves to carry on the innumerable struggles of the revolutionary toilers for class emancipation. We gain inspiration for our battle from the Communards of '71, the Russian Revolution of 1905, the glorious Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the heroic January days of the German Spartacus in 1919, the courageous battles of the Bavarian and Hungarian workers of 1920, the self-sacrificing struggle of the Austrian workers in 1933.

Through all these events, and countless others, we learn the brutal and murderous character of capitalist rule. To defend the profits of the few, to keep the workers in subjection, to perpetuate capitalism, the modern slave-holding class resorts to the most violent means at its disposal. Those who dare threaten its power are met by the armed forces which exist for its defense.

**The Rise of the Commune**  
The Paris Commune of 1871 arose as a reply to the provocation of the national government of France. The government which had come to power on the basis of the popular republican revolution in September 1870 at the termination of the Franco-Prussian War, secretly planned to disarm the revolutionary Parisian workers organized in the National Guard. The workers responded by abolishing the old officialdom, the bureaucracy and the standing army and making the National Guard, which was open to all workers, the only military force in Paris. The executive and legislative functions of government were united in the Commune.

This revolutionary act was in open defiance of the existing democracy which by universal suffrage had elected the national government of Versailles. Let the worshippers of bourgeois democracy who give lip service to the struggle of the Communards reconcile this "anti-democratic" action with their own fine-spun theories! Their fore-runners, such as Louis Blanc and his kind, self-avowed socialists, were active in the camp of the reactionary Versailles government.

The Commune had proceeded to pave the way to a classless society. "Its special measures could not but betoken the tendency of a government of the people, by the people. Such were the abolition of the night-work of women, the abolition of the

**Cannon to Speak 500 Unorganized Printers in Mass Meeting in N. Y.**  
The deep interest in all aspects of the question of the Fourth International, manifested again by the overflow crowd at the Cannon-Lovestone debate, has prompted the New York Local of the Communist League to arrange a special lecture by James P. Cannon on the subject "The Program of the Fourth International".

This lecture will be given at Irving Plaza, Sunday, March 25th at 8 P. M. Questions and discussion will follow the lecture. Admission will be 15c. An overflow crowd is expected, and those who wish to attend are urged to secure tickets in advance from the local office of the League, at 126 East 16th St.

The lecture of comrade Cannon will deal with the fundamental questions of principle and revolutionary strategy of the present epoch and outline the program of the revolutionary Marxists for the reconstruction of the world movement. Among the questions discussed will be: Further perspectives of the Imperialist epoch; the balance sheet of the post-Lenin period; the impending war and the concrete struggle against it; the defense of the Soviet Union and the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy; the attitude of the American revolutionists in the events of a Soviet-American alliance in the impending war; Fascism and the labor movement in Europe and the Marxist conclusions from the German and the Austrian experiences; the incipient Fascist movement in America and the unique problem it presents.

The New York organization of the Communist League is devoting special efforts to make this discussion of the program of the Fourth International an outstanding event and to bring out the largest crowd of the lecture season.

**CENTRISM AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**  
A timely and important article by L. D. Trotsky on the subject of centrism and the process of regroupment in the international labor movement appears in this issue on page 3.

## 854 New Subs!

With the addition of sixty-five new subs the drive registered a new high record: 854. The complete record up to date follows:

New York Local	384
Minneapolis Br.	108
Kansas City Br.	48
Pittsburgh Br.	32
New Castle Br.	24
L. Brown	20
Boston Br.	16
J. Hamilton	12
A. Teacher	12
Chicago Br.	12
Youngstown Br.	12
F. Simington	8
Philadelphia Br.	8
M. Steinbach	8
Chicago Friends of Militant Club	8
Davenport Br.	8
D. Marcus	8
D. L.	8
J. Ruby	8
G. Papcun	8
S. Hardy	8
L. Goodman	8
Q. Parker	8

G. Kotz	6
Los Angeles Br.	5
M. Hurwitz	5
Buffalo Br.	4
G. Ellis	4
D. Fogel	4
M. Gendelman	4
C. Hoffman	4
T. Mill	4
Salt Lake City Br.	4
W. Toupin	4
H. Sukut	4
M. O'Dwyer	4
M. McLeod	4
St. Louis Br.	4
L. Murphy	4
M. Koehler	4
C. Genfan	4
R. Carlson	4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>854</b>

That leaves us only 146 subs to go to reach our goal of 1,000 new subs on the special Club Plan of our prepaid six-months sub cards for a dollar. Can we do it within the next two weeks? We think it can be done. What do our Militant Builders say?

## Wholesale Layoffs on All C. W. A. Projects Begin

### «Paupers Oath» Forced on Government Employees

## Government Inquisition for The Workers

### Questionnaire Pries Into Private Affairs

In an effort to break the spirit of the unemployed, the Roosevelt administration through the local offices of the CWA is forcing a Pauper's Oath on all CWA workers under the threat of immediate discharge. A questionnaire which must be sworn to before a notary public asks information on relatives, past employers, others living in household, union affiliations, etc., etc.

An army of snoopers from the City Welfare Dept. is also being mobilized to follow up the questionnaire by delving their snouts into the intimate affairs of all CWA workers, wives and families, other relatives, fellow roomers and friends. The form drawn up by the past masters of snooping, the City Welfare Dept., as an application for relief, has been "improved" upon by these supporters of the "New Deal."

The "forgotten man" is being remembered and with a vengeance. Not only the forgotten man but his uncles and his aunts, his fellow roomers, any one that ever loaned him a dollar—or for whom he worked a day—all are to be remembered and investigated.

The questionnaire states "any poor person that shall sell or exchange supplies or articles furnished him for relief... or dispose of them in any other way than as directed shall be guilty of a misdemeanor." "Poor persons", it seems, are in a different category under the law from democratic politicians.

Have you a car? Have you an insurance policy? Does any member of your family work? What is the address of your local union? License plate of car? Evidently they are in search of the car which Hoover placed in every garage. The road of the unemployed to the boasted Roosevelt prosperity at \$13.44 a week is through the pauper's oath. Need more be said to characterize the New Deal and the Capitalist system which spawned it.

Mobilized by their organizations, the indignation of the CWA workers is crystallizing in demonstrations, mass meetings and organizational campaigns. The Association of Civil Works Employees and the Unemployed Workers' Union, among the first to react to this new threat, are pushing a campaign of organization while carrying on the strongest protest against the questionnaire and the mass layoffs.

New York City.—The latest fad of the government, the "questionnaire" issued to all CWA workers, designed to throw the CWA in N. Y. State into the hands of the Home Relief Bureau, is now clearly revealed as nothing more than a trick. All along the line the workers have been led to believe that there would be no mass layoffs, and that the old projects were to be continued under a new agency.

**11,000 Get the Gate**  
Beginning Monday, March 12, before the questionnaires had even been turned in for examination,

## Big May Day Edition of the Militant

Extensive plans are being made by the editorial board of the Militant to get out a special May Day issue this year and to ensure its distribution on a far wider scale than we have ever achieved before with a single issue. To make this possible the cooperation of all the branches of the League and all Militant Builders is necessary. Next week we will report in detail some of the plans for the May Day issue. Here we want to emphasize two essential points:

**1. May Day greetings to the new party of the Fourth International and its banner-bearer, the Militant.** All branches, sympathizing organizations and individual supporters who wish to testify to their support of the Militant in its historic struggle can aid us materially in producing a big May Day issue by sending greetings to the Militant for publication in the special issue. The cost of the space for the greetings will be one dollar per inch. Every supporter of the Militant should make it a point of honor to have his greeting in the May Day issue.

**2. Order extra bundles of the May Day issue and send cash with the order.** We are so close to the cloth in finances that we will be able to buy paper and print only as many extra papers of the special issue as are paid for in advance. The rate for this special issue is one cent per copy. We urge all branches to put in big orders for this important special issue and to get the orders in early. Next week we will begin to report the orders.

In addition to branches, however, individual subscribers should take it upon themselves to spread the message of the Militant this May Day. For one dollar you can secure a hundred May Day Militants. Why not order a hundred for free distribution in your shop or neighborhood or at workers' meetings? Address all bundle orders and greetings to:  
The Militant,  
126 East 16th Street,  
New York City.

Col. Walter Delamater, Local C. W. A. administrator, announced an immediate layoff involving 54,000 men, the project along Riverside Drive has been reduced to a skeleton force, and the order is under way to knock off every big park project outside of Central Park. This specifically concerns the thousands working in Highbridge and Inwood.

This move had been carefully prepared for. The mechanism was simple. On paper, all CWA workers have been given the right to organize. In effect, organization on the job was forbidden. The first step employed in breaking any spirit of "agitation" was the use of a transfer slip. All suspected workers were transferred, mainly to Riverside. This can partly explain the militant spirit of this Riverside outfit which, a short time ago, knocked off work and marched down in mass protest against wage-cuts because of cold weather.

**The "Pink" Discharge Slip**  
However, this move was ineffective and the bosses resorted to firing. Every foreman on the job was given the right to fire anybody he cared to. All he had to do was to present the worker with a pink discharge slip. With that, a constant stream of "drops", prefaced by the simple word—"insubordination"—poured into the main office. The insubordinates were carefully picked and then the axe descended.

The present mass lay-off slips bore the words: Discharge due to excess quota; orders from Washington (which means Roosevelt, who has been hammering away night and day to have all CWA men fired).

Washington says that it cannot afford to pay the wages of CWA workers, and Mayor La Guardia in Tuesday's papers announces that the city cannot afford to pay them any relief. Between them both they wash their hands of any responsibility for the unemployed millions, and, with gallons of crocodile tears, send them off to starve.

## Tough Luck for Bright Boy

Five years ago Thomas Edison named a committee to select the "brightest boy in America" to be educated at Edison's expense in the hope that he might follow in the great inventor's footsteps. The boy selected, Wilbur B. Huston, 16, Seattle, Wash., received a scholarship in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and specialized in chemistry, his favorite study, graduating with high honors last June. Returning home, he was unable to find employment in his chosen line so took the first job he found open, ordinary hand labor. "And I'm lucky to have that kind of a job," young Huston says philosophically. He has plenty of time yet to justify the faith Thomas Edison put in him.

## CUT WAGE OF PATERSON TEXTILE WORKERS

The silk workers of Paterson have been given a wage-cut.

The sorriest feature of the wage-cut is that it actually came about through the votes of the workers representatives themselves who were maneuvered by the bosses on the Industrial Relations Board to vote for it "in order not to break the contract." A great ferment has developed among the workers because of this. All along they have been expecting wage increases as the bosses promised when the strike was settled. A so-called "gentlemen's agreement" was made at the time of the strike's conclusion. In view of the union's promise to organize the rest of the industry the bosses agreed to increase wages within 90 days after the strike and put clocks on every loom. Putting clocks on every loom means that every pick woven would be automatically recorded and so insure complete payment for the work done. The settlement was made on the basis of \$2 for 100,000 picks. Still no move has been made by the bosses to introduce the clock system. The silk cloth is still measured by the boss in his private office and the chiseling on yardage still continues. It goes without saying that there is still no pay for such dead

work as fixing a smash caused by faulty looms and bad silk. The contract, however, calls for the payment of fifty cents an hour for fixing a smash. Very few shops pay this.

Against a solid, militant resistance, the tactics of the bosses would prove fruitless. But the union must first be consolidated. To this day there are rat shops in Paterson running 7 or more looms per man like the Maxwell. Why? (With a militant union leadership not a loom would run in any scab shop. But there's been pussy-footing and as a result Pennsylvania and other silk sections have not been organized.)

So long as these disastrous policies are continued the workers will remain at the mercies of the bosses. The present cut will not only be followed in the future by other cuts in Paterson itself but will result in a drive against living conditions in underpaid and unorganized sections elsewhere. These in turn will be used as a club to beat down the standards in Paterson in particular and the industry in general. There is only one way out of this vicious circle, a strong, militant union in Paterson, which would be the bul-

work of a strong national federation of silk workers along industrial lines. Such a union will not come into existence until a militant left wing is formed in the Paterson local to drive and fight for the silk workers. Such a Left wing would vitalize the A. F. S. W.

The wage cut must be fought; the bosses must be made to understand that any attempt to drive the wages below the standards already set will be met and defeated. Again it should be repeated there is only one way to do this, consolidate the union, turn it into a militant and powerful weapon not only of defense, not only to prevent wage-cuts but to improve the conditions in the industry as a whole. The union must demand the immediate institution of the clocks, payment for smashes and bad warps. Every shop in Paterson must be a union shop. The American Federation of Silk Workers must take the initiative to organize all the other silk centers, especially Pennsylvania.

—A SILK WORKER.

**GRAMMERY 5-9524** - - -  
This is the phone number of the Militant, The Communist League and the International Workers School.

# Letters to the Editor

## New York Furriers Situation

To the Editor of the Militant: I will begin my letter with a short summary of the conditions in our trade.

The great majority of the fur workers have been unemployed for many months. Only about 3,000 are working, most of them part time. The unemployed have no prospects for work before the month of May. In the meantime, they and their families suffer hunger and starvation, such they have not known before at any time. Only those who know the poor reasons the furriers had in the past few years, can realize the sufferings of the fur workers. At the last hearing in Washington it was brought out by all sides concerned, that in recent years the furriers worked an average of no more than seven or eight weeks in the year.

**Chaos in Shops**  
A great number of furriers live on the relief handed out by the authorities. When a furrier gets a job he finds himself compelled to work below the scale and long hours because of the chaotic conditions in the shops. Neither of the two unions is in a position to regulate the conditions. They are engaged instead in a bitter struggle among themselves, blaming each other for the existing conditions.

Another problem that we have to contend with is that of contracting. The contractors take most of the work out of the shops, work for cheap prices, and help undermine conditions. For years the union has been struggling against this evil without success. On the contrary the contracting evil has been growing. The sweat shops have been growing at the expense of the bigger ones, which find it more profitable to contract out their work. In this manner the manufacturers have been liberated from the responsibility for the conditions of the workers, and do not have to deal with the union directly.

**Both Unions Impotent**  
I mentioned already that neither of the two unions can meet the problem. They are both powerless. The International, although having an agreement with the manufacturers, does not have the confidence of the majority of the workers because of its traditional treacherous policy and the gangster methods it employed in controlling or in combating oppositions. The Industrial Union, on the other hand, having the great majority of the organized workers in its ranks, cannot meet the united opposition of the bosses and the International.

Prior to the NRA the Industrial Union had the upper hand in the trade. The International could not succeed in shaking the hold of the Industrial Union despite the support it was getting from the other needle trade Internationals. For a while we thought that the problem was settled and that nothing would bring the International to life anymore. The NRA, however, changed the situation and we are now confronted with a repetition of the year 1927, when the International, with the aid of the bosses, police and courts, forced the workers to register in its union.

**Shady Role of Lovestonites**  
The Lovestonites have joined with the International in the present struggle. As a matter of fact they are in the vanguard in this struggle on the side of the International. The Industrial Union, with its lack of democracy and forcible suppression of any oppositional viewpoint, plays into the hands of the International.

The International is so far on the defensive. There is no work in the

industry, and the bosses, despite the paper agreement, cannot supply it with members. Its own forces are very insignificant. It is reported that it has no more than two or three hundred members, including the Lovestonites who are playing so prominent a role in its ranks.

**Preparing Strike for June**  
The Industrial Union is preparing for a strike in June. The fur market is flooded with police. The atmosphere is tense with the expectation of bloody warfare.

It is difficult to predict what the response to the strike will be. Opinions on the matter vary. Some think that the furriers will not respond to this strike as they have in the past. Most of them have been disgusted in the factional battles in recent years. Most of them want peace. They want a breathing space. These sentiments will not shake the Industrial Union in its determination to call the strike. It will undoubtedly go through with it, relying upon the two to three hundred active workers in its ranks. Even now in the two shop strike that the Industrial Union is conducting it is evident that the workers do not care to participate in the picket lines and demonstrations that are being arranged daily.

I am stating to you the situation as it is. I hope that you will react to this problem through the columns of the Militant and express your opinion.

Fraternally yours,  
—KAMENETSKY.  
(Ed. Note.—Next week's Militant will contain a special editorial on the Furriers' situation.)

## Strike of New York Dental Mechanics

On Wednesday, March 7, the Dental Technicians Equity of New York City called its 800 members out of the Laboratories on a general strike. The call applied to the entire Metropolitan area, including New Jersey.

Thursday morning found the great majority of the labs in this region without men to carry on with the work.

**Facts about the Strike**  
The demands: For recognition of the union; the forty hour week; \$15 minimum salary (apprentices) to \$55 top (skilled mechanics), with a sliding scale for classifications in between.

**The Industry:** a handicraft with hardly any machinery or mechanical devices. Approximately 1100 men employed. About 250 men working in shops employing five men or more. The rest working in one, two, and three men laboratories, in close contact with the bosses.

**The bosses' associations:** "The Associated Dental Laboratories", the organization of the big bosses, that is, the "big" laboratories. The force which broke the strikes of 1928 and 1929. Up until now a merciless opponent of the closed shop.... "The Metropolitan Laboratory Owners' Association": Organized some nine months ago, and led by one Stodell, with a shady record as organizer of the mechanics union of 1928. The reason for the formation of the association being the dirty deal handed to the small lab owners by the Associated. It controls number of men employed in the industry. Fighting the Associated tooth and nail in this strike.

**The Mechanics' Union**  
The union: Organized some eight or nine months ago by a handful and witnessing a steady growth to about 700 members on the eve of the strike. A mixed membership, containing many members who were in previous strikes, as well as many inexperienced in any struggle. De-

termined on the whole that this strike was to be one in which we were not to become the tail end to any bosses' associations, that we would settle with individual shops. This appeared to be the approach of the leadership to the question at the beginning of the strike.

**The Leadership:** The Executive Board dominated and practically controlled by fellow-worker Posner, the leader of the strike. The majority of the Executive Board and officials of the union are "independent" who have allowed Posner to conduct all of the negotiations practically alone. Independents of the type of Goldsweig, Berman, "Serchy" and others. A minority of one (Pickson) on the Board, supported by a fraction in the union, and on the strike committee.

**Policy of the Leadership**  
The policies of the leadership: Posner is very individualistic, acting in many instances without informing the strike committee or the membership. A fighter, but using a method that has gotten him in hot water with the membership, and following a policy that should be carefully analyzed and watched. Under his influence, the original generally accepted demand of 35 hours a week was changed to 40 hours by the Executive Board, without asking either the advice of the strike committee or the membership.

We must recognize the fact that all members of the Associated immediately signed up, writing their names in on the agreement as follows: I.....(name of lab)..... designate the Associated Dental Laboratories and Dental Committees as my representative". This amounts to practically recognizing the Associated, for any argument hereafter with an individual lab must be taken up with their representative, the Associated Dental Laboratories. When the deadline of April 2 comes around, the date on which the new wage scale is to go into effect, the men will find themselves up against an organized force of the bosses.

The Executive Board and our lawyer made a concession to the Associated which may prove to be a heavy one. The bosses now have over half the men back at work for the more paper recognition of the union, while they have been given a leeway of three weeks in which to consolidate themselves as an organization. In this whole business the Executive Board has not dealt frankly with the membership, claiming, "we can't tell everything to the membership."

**The Bosses' Organizations**  
There are rumors to the effect that the whole strike was arranged and prearranged on Wednesday night between Posner and other members of the Executive Board and the Associated. They met with Sternberg (owner of the Zelinsky-Sternberg Laboratory and the man who "runs" the Associated) on Wednesday night the eve of the strike. Added weight is given to this by the fact, we repeat, that the Associated Dental Laboratories were the first to sign. The Metropolitan Association of the small labs has called all the labs under its control not to sign up!

Posner, and the Members on the Board who supported him or kept quiet, thereby fell victim to a legal trick. A trick of the Associated in having their labs sign and designate the Associated as their representative which has caused a crisis in the strike. The strike will now have to remain in force until the Metropolitan labs are forced to sign. Had the Executive Board at least brought these facts to the membership, we would today be clear. As it is Posner has caused, by this individualistic method of doing things, a discontent which might be harmful to the strike and the union. We must not be used as a tool by the Associated against the Metropolitan!

**Fight for the Union**  
MEN! WE WON'T WEAKEN NOW. THE EQUITY IS THE STAKE WE ARE FIGHTING FOR! Those of us who have gone back to work are going to stand in back of you, as we promised. Our word on that! We must keep the strike machinery well oiled and running like a clock. Because the battle is not over yet. BUT IT WILL BE WON BECAUSE WE WILL STICK SOLID!  
The bosses have signed an agreement. But if we do not enforce it, it will remain only a scrap of paper. They want higher prices, and we have no guarantee that they will grant the higher wages on April 2. Our worry should not be about price adjustments. We demand that the contracts go into force on April 2 as per contract.  
Be prepared! Too many mistakes have been made by our leadership in this strike already.... It is perfectly just and equitable that we demand full information before things happen—not that we have to ratify a thing after it has been done.  
Boys, the strike and the union come first. We've started this thing, and we're going to finish it! WITHOUT A UNION, WE'RE SUNK! The bosses can do anything they want to with us if we are not organized. That's why every man must remain at his post, more determined than ever. The dispute within our ranks we ourselves can settle. Don't let them split us. There is too much at stake!  
—HERBERT CAPLIN.

# Organization Notes

Among the latest additions to the League are the branches organized in Winnipeg and Salt Lake City. The former starts out with a membership of 41, the latter made a more modest beginning. Yet the Winnipeg comrades inform us that their numbers do not give a real picture of their strength, since they have amongst them several members of many years standing in the revolutionary movement. They add that they have from the very outset many good contacts in the city.

The Canadian branches are now taking the initial steps toward establishing themselves as an autonomous section, continuing, however, their close relations to the League. In Canada our movement, the same as in the United States, has experienced steady growth. This is especially the case in Toronto, where our membership has taken a leading position in several important local working class activities. Their mass meetings bring turnouts of up toward a thousand.

Due to increased membership and activities, the Toronto branch was some time ago reorganized on a territorial basis within the city and divided into several now actively functioning branches. With Toronto as the main basis, the Canadian comrades are in a position to maintain their own organizers and to plan their own permanent publications. Later we shall report in detail on the further developments of the Canadian section.

The Salt Lake City branch arose out of the expulsion of several comrades from the official party because of their Left Opposition views. Some of them had formerly come into contact with League publica-

tions and had made a study of the position we take. All of them had been very active within the official party, where a couple of these comrades held important positions. Their activities had been centered with the party units, within the I. L. D., in securing support for the striking Utah miners and on the university campus. At the latter place they succeeded in organizing a broad student movement which is now functioning very actively.

Our comrades, when accused of "Trotskyist" tendencies, were given the monumental task by the official party bureaucracy of making a thorough study of some of its most rabid anti-Trotskyist literature. They did, and that itself became a help in their own development. They formulated their replies to all the distortions and slanders and false political concepts contained in that material. The inevitable explosion followed, and at that same moment the comrades constituted themselves a branch of the League.

They are now making active preparations for mass meetings to be held in connection with the national tour of comrade Shachtman. The formation of the Salt Lake City branch together with the development of our movement on the Pacific coast were the important factors which helped make possible such an extended tour.

## THE INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN

We have previously informed the League branches that the International Bulletin is now appearing in a new series. The English edition will be published in printed form,

and it will be available also for close sympathizers of our movement who are especially interested. By the time this Militant issue reaches the readers, No. 1 of the new series of the International Bulletin will be off the press. League branches and others interested should forward their regular orders. It is ten cents a copy and will be forwarded only by cash payments made in advance.

## NEW YORK REORGANIZATION

Until about 6 months ago the Communist League in greater New York functioned as one branch. This was obviously not the best way for a Communist organization to function. It limited our activities within the confines of the down-town section in Manhattan, to the neglect of the working class residential sections in Brooklyn and the Bronx.

When we grew sufficiently in numbers we proceeded to divide the one New York Branch into three—one for each Borough, Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Bronx. This was unquestionably a step forward, and increased our recruiting power. Today, six months after the first reorganization on the basis of Borough branches, we are in a position to take the next step in making our organization a more effective weapon in the class struggle. As a result of activities we developed in the various sections in Brooklyn, we have been able to set up branches, aside from the one in Brownsville, where the Brooklyn Branch had its headquarters, also in Bay Ridge and Williamsburgh. We are also in the process of organizing a new branch in Harlem. This will give us a total of six territorial branches in New York. In the forthcoming issues of the Militant we will report the functioning of the branches and the activities they are developing.

# MARCH OF EVENTS

**AFTER THE CWA WHAT?**  
The CWA was Roosevelt's creation for the ostensible purpose of warding off "degradation" and "degeneration" of starving workers by the granting of outright doles. The independent spirit of the workers was to be upheld by the payment of wages for "honest" toil, just as in the private system of wage slavery. In actuality the CWA was coldly calculated to scotch the struggle for unemployment insurance that threatened to establish the workers' right to live, their right to a lien on government funds obtained from the bourgeoisie for the purpose. Roosevelt is now unloading the burden of relief. Nor do the states and local communities show any sympathetic desire to shoulder the burden dropped by the federal government.

The U. S. government has taken its cue from English and European experience. Only those who can prove "need" are to be continued on relief. The entire sham and pretense of the "liberal" program of Roosevelt is contained in the "pauper's oath", as the questionnaire to be filled out by all CWA workers has been rightly dubbed. This outrageous document leaves nothing to be desired in the way of capitalist preying and snooping for the purpose of avoiding relief and involving the unemployed worker in the reddest of red tape. The widespread protest that has ensued must be organized to reopen in a most powerful manner and on a new plane the fight for immediate relief, unemployment insurance or the providing of jobs for those willing to work.

# THE MADISON SQUARE BOOMERANG

When the Communist Party marched into Madison Square Garden a few weeks ago and disrupted a Socialist protest meeting against Austrian Fascism, it stirred up a nest of hornets who are daily raising new bumps on its skull.

Within the S. P. the reaction to the Garden disruption has been sweeping. The rank-and-file, many of whom had been growing increasingly discontented with the old guard leadership, has been swept off its feet by bitterness against the C. P. disrupters. The old guard is more firmly in the saddle today than ever before in recent years. These S. P. members who have been agitating for united front action with the C. P. have been discredited. Such Socialists as J. B. Matthews and Mary Fox of the I. L. D., who have been sitting on united front committees with C. P. leaders, are today isolated inside the S. P.

## Fake United Fronts Crack Up

One immediate result has been the cracking up of the various fake C. P. united front bodies. The League against War and Fascism was never a real united front of the masses. It was a committee set up by the C. P. and a handful of liberals including Roger Baldwin, Anne E. Gray, a female pacifist, and a few Socialists. Now Matthews and Fox have pulled out and, despite a touching appeal by Browder, Baldwin and Gray, that body is headed for decomposition. Similarly, there is a wide-open rift in the American branch of the Lord Marley Committee. All over the country, too, the S. P., with the enthusiastic support of its rank-and-file, is adopting resolutions against united front action with the C. P.

The workers in the trade unions which participated in organizing the Garden meeting have been similarly affected. A number of meetings called in the garment trades by New York C. P. groups have had to be abandoned because of the threats of non-Party workers to break them up in revenge for the Garden disruption. Last week the Militant printed a letter from a worker showing how the mood has altered: when a C. P. member insulted a member of the Left Opposition in a New York shop, the workers forced an apology from the Stalinist.

## Sympathizers Alienated

Among C. P. sympathizers the effect of the Garden tactics has been profound. In addition to the Open Letter to the C. P., signed by 25 intellectuals hitherto friendly to the Stalinist party, there have been a whole series of private letters by smaller groups and individuals. Apparently the Daily Worker has no intention of printing these letters, although few of them are as frank in condemnation as the Open Letter. The effect of this suppression has been a further rise of discontent. The Daily Worker, incidentally, has not yet commented on the Open Letter. The New Masses did and, week, tried to "defend" the Garden hooliganism of the C. P. by insulting the authors of the Open Letter. The Freiheit has since published its own comment. Although the New Masses poured imprecations over the questioners of the C. P.'s behavior, the Jewish organ of the C. P. calls them "well-meaning". It defends the behavior of the C. P. chiefly with the argument that the

Austrian Socialist leaders are "worse".

## Inside the C. P.

Inside the C. P. things are lively these days. In public, of course, exonerating the C. P. and making everyone repeat the official phrases a martyr of Hathaway. Some C. P. members go even further: they are circulating a fairy tale that the S. P. leaders, fearing to address the meeting they had called, had themselves arranged for its disruption and that the C. P. was laboring to calm the meeting. But in private all this pretense is dropped. All but the most fanatical realize that the C. P. disrupted the Garden meeting and all are depressed or disgusted. Even those who at first fell for some of the Daily Worker's deceit to call a meeting of the National Committee for the defense of Political Prisoners at which Hathaway could once again explain what a glorious deed had been done at the Garden. This committee is simply a vest-pocket C. P. affair. But so scared is the Party, that instead of calling the whole Committee together, it is picking out the "safe" elements and calling them together secretly to hear Hathaway.

Some are even openly rebellious. We are informed that a Party unit on Tenth St., New York, has sent a resolution to the Central Commit-

## International Workers School Notes

The Class of comrade Abern on the Communist Manifesto has been changed to Monday nights. His next lecture will be on the Four Social Systems.

Comrade Swaback will lecture next Wednesday, March 21st, on the Knights of Labor, the A. F. of L., and the I. W. W.

On Sunday, March 18th, comrade Carter will speak on the Foundation of the Young Communist International. This class will begin promptly at 2 P. M. All other classes start promptly at 8 P. M.

We are glad to announce that we are able to add to our courses for this term a class in elementary Russian which will begin Sunday, March 25th, at 4 P. M.

Registrations are accepted at school headquarters, 126 East 16th St., New York City.

Comrade Wright's class on the "History of the Bolshevik Party" is given every Friday night at 8 P. M.

The first three lectures dealt with: (1) the pre-Marxist currents (2) the First Congress of the R. S. D. L. P. and (3) the Iskra Period.

The March 16 and 23 lectures will treat of the 2nd Congress (the Congress of the split) and 1905 respectively.

The instructor, due to his knowledge of Russian, has had access to many hitherto untranslated documents. To understand the period of the gestation of Bolshevism is to have a truer insight into the present era. They reveal a fundamental similarity, though on different historical planes. Both are periods of intense polemic and ideological confusion. Many of the problems now agitating the workers' movement were victoriously fought out by the Bolsheviks in conflict with the other tendencies on both the ideological and historical arena. The same conclusion is the Marxists' task now.

## MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

M. Olgin has shown his usual haste in coming to the defense of reactionary Stalinist Communism. As American correspondent for Pravda he hastened to wire Moscow on the occurrence of Feb. 17th at Madison Square Garden. His story appears in the Pravda of Feb. 18th in a statement that betrays the utter inability of the official Party to explain away its anti-working class disruption of the socialist meeting. Olgin states that the socialists began a vicious attack, in their speeches, on the Party, whereupon Hathaway marched to the platform to "refute the socialist charges". Come, come! Olgin will have to work in better agreement with the "leaders" on the line.

## ENGLAND

The workers of London, fearful of the organized assault of Fascism on their democratic rights and on their working class organizations, have turned to the one party they "trust", the Labor Party. The London municipal government is now controlled by a Labor Party majority. Knowing its own record, the Labor Party was itself taken by surprise by this vote of confidence. As though the gaping holes in the Vienna workers' apartments had no meaning, the leader of the Labor Party in London, M. Morrison, proceeded to outline the reforms, particularly in housing, that would soon be inaugurated.

Without question this vote has great national significance for England. It is one answer to Lord Rothermere's ballyhoo for Fascist dictatorship. The first reaction of the workers in their struggle against the open dictatorship of the club, is to rally to the defense of democratic institutions and to place them in the hands of a working class party. Nor can the internationalist Communists afford to ignore this fact. They must know how to lead the workers in this progressive struggle so as to show up the utter inadequacy and betrayal of reformist leadership. In the open struggle that is bound to develop, the workers must be led, by utilizing their immediate aims, step by step along the revolutionary road to power, a road that is clearly visible on the historic scale only to the Communist. The vote indicates that the workers have been aroused to the need for resistance against reaction. This mood of struggle must be encouraged by proper internationalist-Communist leadership.

—J. WEBER.

## OAKLAND BOOKSHOP AND FORUM

Efforts of workers in Oakland to establish a forum where the various currents in the labor movement may be presented by their respective organization, have been successful. The address is 1020 Broadway, Room 20-21.

## Everyone Welcome Bring A Friend

Marx-Lenin Bookshop: Works of Marx-Engels-Trotsky on sale or order and other Revolutionary Classics.

Class: "The History of the Three Internationals."

Instructor: Barney Moss Every Monday 8 P. M.

For Information: Regarding Alliance: Write:

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# Expulsion of B.J. Field and A.Kaldis

The New York local of the Communist League, at a joint membership meeting of all the branches held on Sunday, February 18, expelled B. J. Field and A. Kaldis from membership in the organization. This action was taken after a protracted discussion of the Hotel strike, and the conduct of Field and Kaldis as officials of the union, to which three membership meetings were devoted, with almost the entire membership participating in the discussion.

Ever since Field and Kaldis became officials of the union their conservative policy, bureaucratic attitude toward the union membership and clique practices brought them into conflict with the worker-Communists who were members of the union and the League. The leading committees of the League, both the New York City Committee and the National Committee, attempted by every Communist means to adjust the disputes on a Communist basis and to correct the false position of Field and Kaldis. Numerous meetings were devoted to these endeavors, but without success. Field and Kaldis tried to use their strategic positions in the union as a club over the League and to set themselves above it and to break the point and its discipline. Relations with them

whole matter was up for discussion and action by a membership meeting when the strike began.

With the commencement of the strike the petty bourgeois careerist characteristics of Field and Kaldis came out in full bloom. Turning their backs on the League members and all other class conscious workers in the union, and paying no heed to the demands of the League for a militant class struggle policy in the conduct of the strike, they chose as allies and counselors the most conservative elements and carried out a corresponding policy—kow-towing to the NRA and bourgeois public opinion on the one hand, and engaging in treacherous intrigues and open attacks on the class conscious militants in the union, including League members, on the other. Their conduct throughout was detrimental to the union and the strike and discrediting to the League. The League as a bona-fide workers' organization had no choice but to throw them out of its ranks.

That this action was taken in the midst of the strike by a general membership meeting, with full unanimity, is testimony to the Communist character of the organization and to the obvious fact that Field and Kaldis were completely alien elements who had wandered into the League by mistake.

# Centrism and the 4th International

## Realignments in the International Labor Movement

1. The events in Austria, coming after the events in Germany, placed a final cross over "classic" reformism. Henceforth only the dullest leaders of British and American trade-unionism and their French follower, Jouhaux, the president of the Second International, Vandervelde, and similar political ichthyosaurs will dare to speak openly of the perspectives of peaceful development, democratic reforms, etc. The overwhelming majority of reformists consoling take on new colors now. Reformism yields to the innumerable shadings of centrism which now dominate the field of the workers' movement in the majority of countries. This creates an entirely new, and in a sense unprecedented, situation for work in the spirit of revolutionary Marxism (Bolshevism). The New International can develop principally at the expense of the now prevailing tendencies and organizations. At the same time the revolutionary International cannot form itself otherwise than in a consistent struggle against centrism. Under these conditions ideological irreconcilability and the flexible policy of the united front serve as two weapons for the attainment of one and the same end.

**Characteristics of Centrism**

2. One must understand first of all the most characteristic traits of modern centrism. That is not easy: first, because centrism due to its organic amorphousness yields with difficulty to a positive definition; it is characterized to a much greater extent by what it lacks than by what it embraces, secondly, never has centrism yet played to such an extent as now with all the colors of the rainbow, because never yet have the ranks of the working class been in such ferment as at the present time. Political ferment, by the very essence of the term, means a realignment, a shift between two poles, Marxism and reformism; that is, the passing through various stages of centrism.

3. No matter how difficult a general definition of centrism, which of necessity always has a "conjunctural" character, nevertheless, we can and must bring out the outstanding characteristics and peculiarities of the centrist groupings originating from the break-down of the Second and the Third Internationals.

(a) Theoretically, centrism is amorphous and eclectic; so far as possible it evades theoretical obligations and inclines (in words) to give preference to "revolutionary practice" over theory, without understanding that only Marxist theory can impart revolutionary direction to practice.

**Centrist Ideology**

(b) In the sphere of ideology centrism leads a parasitic existence; it repeats against revolutionary Marxists the old Menshevik arguments (Martov, Axelrod, Plechanov) usually without suspecting this; on the other hand, its main arguments against the rights it borrows from the Marxists, is that is first of all from the Bolshevik-Leninists, dulling however, the sharp edge of criticisms avoiding practical conclusions, thereby rendering their criticism meaningless.

(c) A centrist readily proclaims his hostility to reformism; but he does not mention centrism; moreover, he considers the very definition of centrism as "unclear," "arbitrary," etc.; in other words centrism does not like to be called by its name.

(d) A centrist, always uncertain of his position and his methods, views with hatred the revolutionary principle: to state what is; he is inclined to substitute for a principled policy personal maneuvering and petty organizational diplomacy.

(e) A centrist always remains in spiritual dependence on rightist groupings, is inclined to cringe before those who are more moderate, to remain silent on their opportunist sins and to color their actions before the workers.

(f) His shilly-shallying the centrist frequently covers up by reference to the danger of "sectarianism," by which he understands not abstract-propagandist passivity (of the Bordist type) but an active concern for purity of principles, clarity of position, political consistency, organizational completeness.

(g) A centrist occupies a position between an opportunist and a Marxist somewhat analogous to that which a petty bourgeois occupies between a capitalist and a proletarian; he kowtows before the first and has contempt for the second.

**On the International Arena**

(h) On the international arena the centrist distinguishes himself if not by blindness then by shortsightedness; he does not understand that in the present epoch a national revolutionary party can be built only as part of an international party; in the choice of his international allies the centrist is even less discriminating than in his own country.

(i) A centrist sees in the policy of the Comintern only "ultra-left" deviations, adventurism, putschism, ignoring completely the right-oppor-

tunist zig-zags (Kuo Min Tang, Anglo-Russian Committee, pacifist foreign policy, anti-Fascist bloc, etc.)

(j) A centrist swears readily by the policy of the united front, emptying it of its revolutionary content and transforming it from a tactical method into a supreme principle.

(k) A centrist readily resorts to pathetic moralizing to cover up his ideological emptiness; he does not understand that revolutionary moralism can be formed only on the basis of revolutionary doctrine and revolutionary policy.

**Words and Deeds**

1. Under the pressure of circumstance the eclectic-centrist may accept even the most extreme conclusions only to retreat from them afterwards in practice. Having accepted the dictatorship of the proletariat he will leave a wide margin for opportunist interpretations; having proclaimed the necessity of a Fourth International he will work for the building of a Two-and-a-half International, etc.

4. The most malignant example of centrism is, if you wish, the German group "Begin Anew" (Neu Beginn). Superficially repeating the Marxian criticism of reformism, it comes to the conclusion that all the misfortunes of the proletariat follow from splits and that salvation lies in the safeguarding of the unity of the social-democratic parties. These gentlemen place the organizational discipline of Wels and Co. higher than the historic interests of the proletariat. And since Wels & Co. subordinate the party to the discipline of the bourgeoisie, the group "Begin Anew" cloaked by left criticism stolen from the Marxists, represents in reality a harmful agency of the bourgeoisie order, even though an agency of second degree.

**The London Bureau**

5. The so-called London (now Amsterdam) Bureau represents an attempt at creating an international focal point for centrist eclecticism, under the banner of which the right and the left opportunist groupings, which dare not choose finally a direction and a banner, try to unite. In this as in other cases the centrist try to direct the movement obliquely along a diagonal course. The elements composing the bloc pull in opposite directions; the N. A. P. (Norwegian Workers Party) cautiously moves towards the Second International; the I. L. P. (Independent Labor Party)—partly toward the Third, partly toward the Fourth; the S. A. P. (Socialist Workers Party of Germany) and the O. S. P. (Independent Socialist Party of Holland)—veering and vacillating—toward the Fourth. Exploiting and preserving the ideological amorphousness of all its participants and trying to compete in the work for the creation of a new International, the bloc of the "London Bureau" plays a reactionary role. The failure of this grouping is absolutely inevitable.

**Bureaucratic Centrism**

6. The defining of the policy of the Comintern as that of bureaucratic centrism retains its full force now too. As a matter of fact, only centrism is capable of constant leaps from opportunist betrayals to ultra-left adventurism; only the power-ful Soviet bureaucracy could for ten years assure a stable base for the ruinous policy of zig-zags.

Bureaucratic centrism, in distinction from centrist groupings which crystallized out of the social democracy, is the product of the degeneration of Bolshevism; it retains—in caricature form—some of its traits, still leads a considerable number of revolutionary workers, disposes of extraordinary material and technical means, but by its political influence is now the crassest, most disorganizing and harmful variety of centrism. The political break-down of the Comintern, clear to the whole world, signifies of necessity the further decomposition of bureaucratic centrism. In this sphere our task is to save the best elements for the cause of the proletarian revolution. Side by side with tireless principled criticism, our main weapon for influencing the workers still remaining under the banner of the Comintern is the further penetration of our ideas and methods into those wide masses, who stand now in overwhelming majority outside the influence of the Comintern.

**Adaptation to Reformist Maneuvers**

7. Precisely now, when reformism is forced to renounce itself, transforming or dyeing itself into centrism, some groupings of Left centrism, on the contrary, stop short in their development and even move backwards. It seems to them that the reformists have already grasped almost everything, that it is only necessary not to play with exorbitant demands, criticism, extreme phraseology, and that then with one blow one can create a mass "revolutionary" party.

In reality, reformism, forced by events to disavow itself, having no clear program, no revolutionary tactics, is capable only of lulling the

advanced workers to sleep by inculcating in them the idea that the revolutionary regeneration of their party is already achieved.

**New Forms of Struggle**

8. For a revolutionary Marxist the struggle against reformism is now almost fully replaced by the struggle against centrism. The mere bare counter-posing of legal struggle to illegal, of peaceful means to violence, of democracy to dictatorship now goes beside the mark in the majority of cases because the frightened reformist, disavowing himself, is ready to accept the most "revolutionary" formulas if only they do not obligate him today to a decisive break with his own irresoluteness, indecision and expectant waiting. The struggle with hidden or masked opportunist must therefore be transferred chiefly to the sphere of practical conclusions from revolutionary requisites.

Before seriously accepting centrist talk of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" we must demand a serious defense against Fascism, a complete break with the bourgeoisie, a systematic building of a workers' militia, its training in militant spirit, the creation of inter-party defense centres, anti-Fascist staffs, the banishment from their ranks of parliamentary, trade-unionist and other traitors, bourgeois lackeys, careerists, too. Precisely on this plane the main fights against centrism must now be fought. To carry on this struggle with success it is necessary to have free hands, that is, not only to retain full organizational independence, but also critical intransigence with regard to the most "left" offshoots of centrism.

**Events Force Realignments**

9. Bolshevik-Leninists in all countries must realize clearly the peculiarities of the new stage in the struggle for the Fourth International. The events in Austria and France give a powerful impetus to the realignment of the forces of the proletariat in the revolutionary direction. But precisely this universal supplanting of open reformism by centrism develops a powerful attractive force with regard to left centrist groupings (S. A. P., O. S. P.) which only yesterday were about to unite with the Bolshevik-Leninists. This dialectic process may produce the impression on the surface that the Marxian wing is again "isolated" from the masses. A flagrant delusion! The veerings of centrism to the right and to the Left follow from its very nature. There will yet be tens and hundreds of such episodes on our road. It would be the most wretched faint-heartedness to fear to go forward just because the road is strewn with obstacles or because not all the fellow travellers will arrive at the very end.

**The Fourth International**

Whether the new opportunist vacillations of our centrist allies

will prove conjunctural or final (in reality they will be of both kinds), the general conditions for the formation of the Fourth International on the basis of genuine Bolshevism because more and more favorable. The chase of the "extreme left" centrists after the simply lefts, of the lefts—after the moderates, of the moderates—after the rights, like the chase of a man after his own shadow, can not create any stable mass organization: the miserable experience of the German Independent Party (U. S. P.) remains now also its full force. Under the pressure of events, with the aid of our criticism and our slogans, the advanced workers will step over the vacillations of the most left centrist leaders, and, if it should become necessary, also over these very leaders. On the road to a new International the proletarian vanguard will find no other answers than those which have been elaborated and are being elaborated by the Bolshevik-Leninists on the basis of international experience during ten years of uninterrupted theoretical and practical struggle.

**Conditions for Success**

10. During the past year our political influence has greatly grown in a number of countries. We will be able to develop and broaden these successes in a comparatively short time under the following conditions:

(a) Not to outsmart the historic process, not to play hide and seek but to state what is;

(b) to give ourselves a theoretic accounting of the changes in the general situation which in the present epoch frequently take on the nature of sharp turns;

(c) to heed carefully the mood of the masses, without prejudices, without illusions, without self-deception in order on the basis of a correct estimate of the relationship of forces within the proletariat, to avoid opportunism as well as adventurism and to lead the masses forward, not to throw them back;

(d) every day, every hour to answer clearly to ourselves what our next practical step must be, tirelessly to prepare this step and on the basis of living experience explain to the workers the principled difference of Bolshevism from all other parties and currents;

**The Basic Historic Task**

(e) Not to confuse tactical tasks of a united front with the basic historic task; the creation of new parties and a new International;

(f) not to neglect even the weakest ally, for the sake of practical action.

(g) to watch critically the most "left" ally as a possible adversary.

(h) to treat with the greatest attention those groupings which actually gravitate to us; patiently and carefully to listen to their criticism, doubts and vacillations; to help them develop toward Marxism; not be frightened by their caprices, threats, intimations (centrists are always capricious and touchy); not to make any concessions to them in principle;

(i) and once more: not to fear to state what is.

February 23, 1934 —L. TROTSKY

**The Political Situation in Spain**

Since the November elections the Spanish political situation has undergone great changes. The Left Republican parties have been practically eliminated from parliament, and the socialists reduced to less than half of their former representation. The government has in fact passed into the hands of the Monarchists.

The present Lerroux government depends on the Monarchist forces just as the previous governments depended on the socialists who then constituted the largest group in parliament. In the former Cortes no Left Republican government could exist without the socialist support, just as at present Lerroux could not govern without depending on the Monarchist parties. The parliamentary situation then has made a turn of 180 degrees. The miserable petty advances made by the Republicans and Socialists during the period of their domination are now being gradually liquidated, while they object and protest ineffectually in order to keep up appearances and cover up their own impotence as a parliamentary force.

**Workers Prepare for Struggle**

Conscious of the danger of bourgeois reaction the proletariat, now as in other instances previous to the establishment of the Republic, prepares itself for a struggle. But—although this may seem strange at first sight—this preparation for revolutionary action is accompanied by a momentary inactivity. This phenomenon is due principally to the preponderance which the Socialist party has acquired in the last months.

As a consequence of the unfortunate policies of the revolutionary wing (principally the C. N. T., as the Communist party has not managed to play an important role) the Socialist party strengthened itself during its period in power. Its fall, at a time in which the revolutionary wing is broken and branded by failure, has contributed to aug-

ment the influence which it already had.

Following the general trend of the masses, the leadership of the other organization, either because of opportunism or lack of self confidence, inclined towards the Socialist party whose revolutionary tones during the electoral campaign created the most naive hopes and expectations. The Socialist party will do something—this is the sentiment of the majority—including the most class conscious sections of the proletariat. The consequence of all this is that, the whole working classes is at a standstill, awaiting whatever the Socialist party may do.

Meanwhile, the latter continues to make vague threats for the near future, at the same time that it does not offer the least resistance to the blows that the government deals every day against the conquests of the workers. The last anarchist insurrection naturally could not do more than accentuate this state of affairs.

**United Front in Catalonia**

The most important fact, and one which opens the greatest of possibilities in the midst of the already outlined unfavorable situation, is that the tendency towards the united front, always present among the workers, has at last been made a reality in Catalonia, giving a powerful situation in the same direction to the workers of the whole country. The initiative for the united front was taken by the syndicalist group of Pestana, (the most influential trade union group in the region) which is now outside of the C. N. T.

It would have been difficult if not impossible to constitute this united front if it were not for the fact that the most influential current in the movement supported the organization. The remainder of the organization responded favorably, either because they really desired the united front or because of the

importance of the call. The "Labor Alliance" was established including Pestana's **Federacion Sindicalista** and the unions affiliated to it, the **Catalonian organization of the Socialist Party**, with its unions, the **Unio Socialista** (Autonomous party), **Maurin's Workers and Peasants Bloc**, the **Union de Rabassaires** (very important peasant organization) and the **Communist Left**.

The organizations remained outside of the united front: the official section of the C. N. T. and the **Communist Party**. The Stalinists answered the call with the expressed purpose of "unmasking" the rest of the organizations. Once the united front was constituted, the party realized that its mission had been fulfilled and it withdrew in order to unmask the "Alianza" from without. The official absence of the C. N. T. means nothing in view of the sectarianism of the anarchists, but the decomposition of the C. N. T. in the region, converts the Alianza Obrera into a more important and influential force in the Catalonian labor movement than the official C. N. T. leadership.

**For National Alliance**

The first step of the Alianza Obrera, has been to propose that a united front be organized nationally. This proposal met with the opposition of the Socialist Party, which "for the moment" accepts the united front only on a regional and local scale. The Socialist party wants to flirt with the united front without carrying it to its final consequences, so as to give to both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat the impression that the Socialist Party is disposed to adopt a revolutionary attitude. But the current in favor of the united front is so strong that, in spite of the inevitable obstacles, it can be reasonably hoped that its organization will continue and that it can assume an effective intervention of the proletariat in the situation.

—L. FERSEN.  
Prison Cellular, Madrid.  
January 26, 1934.

# Communism and the Intellectuals

## 1. Toward an Alliance of the Workers and Intellectuals

(Ed. Note.—This is the first of two discussion articles by one of the signers of the Open Letter to the Communist Party on the Madison Square Garden affair.)

### 1. Toward An Alliance of Intellectuals and Workers

As the immediate repercussions of the Madison Square Garden affair die down, it has become increasingly clear that at least on the intellectual front the landscape has been tremendously and permanently changed. Last week's Militant was right in appraising the Open Letter of 27 C. P. sympathizers, including John Dos Passos, Edmund Wilson, Theodore Dreiser, Elliot Cohen and Quincy Howe, protesting the actions of the C. P. in the Garden, as an important revolt against the disruptive policies of the C. P. leadership. But to one who has himself shared both the activities and the dilemmas of this group of intellectuals, and who helped draft and signed the protest, it is more than that. To him it is a milestone in the progress of the American intellectual toward the revolution.

The fact is that the Letter is by no means the first sprouting of serious political thinking on the part of intellectuals close to the movement. It is rather the first overt product of a ferment that goes wide and deep in their ranks. In the minds of many, the Garden affair, ended a period of private probation of the C. P., marked not only by serious discussion, but by considerable inner struggle and revolt. The high significance of the Letter is that it was a public challenge to the Party to defend its policy, as exemplified by the insane Garden tactic, and to drastically reform it, if it means to keep its influence on intellectuals seriously concerned with their own fate and with that of the working-class, two fates which they have learned to think of as one.

### A Year of Probation

It was, of course, the German events that first crystallized into a serious current of political criticism dissent among Party sympathizers. All were deeply shaken by the tragedy of Hitler's victory, and the impotence of the German C. P. and the C. I. in the face of counter-revolution. Most intellectuals felt many out of a humility not altogether reprehensible, that they had no right to draw final conclusions as to the character and causes of Communist defeat in Germany. Others felt that they had reason to hope that, under the impact of the horrible events in Germany, Communist policies would improve. Political insight had progressed to a point where it was recognized that the united-front tactic was the crux of the whole problem. A move was made as long ago as February 1933 in the League of Professional Groups (an organization which was

the outgrowth of the intellectuals' campaign committee for Foster and Ford) to call upon the Party to permit the League to build an "organizational united-front" with social-cultural-defense organizations of different political tendencies and affiliations for effective action against Fascism. This proposal, which no member of the League could oppose, was defeated by appeals to Party loyalty made by the Party fraction, and by private intimations that the Party policy itself was soon to be changed in the direction of the "organizational united-front."

This the Party considered a victory over intellectual dissent. Of course it was no such thing: what the Party won was not approval of Party policy, but a short-term extension of sufferance and toleration. This truce the Party has been able to maintain during the intervening months only by the dissolution of a policy of no-discussion, no-criticism-of-the-Party within the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, the League against War and Fascism, and in the Party's intellectual organ (or rather, organ for Party intellectuals), the **New Masses**.

That this meant the withdrawal from activity in mass organizations of a large section of the best blood attracted to the movement in the past few years, and a corresponding anemia, has not seemed to the Party leadership too great a price to pay for maintaining the public fiction of support by intellectuals of policies which, it knew, it could not defend in discussion. The success of the Party fraction in the intellectual organizations is apparently measured not by its achievements in winning support and leading constructive activity for working-class ends, but by its success in upholding the public prestige of C. P. leadership. More and more during the past months the intellectual front has become a mere facade, behind which inanition and stagnation reign, galvanized on rare occasions into bursts of febrile, ineffective "activities".

### Shattering the Intellectual Facade

Worn thin and torn in places by the strain of the past year, under the impact of the Garden affair the fabric binding the intellectuals to the Party was rent asunder. This most flagrant example of C. P. failure and persistent error, ended a year of probation of the Party. The Party's account under the heading "United-Front 9133-1934" was immediately called for audit, the balance was struck, and the verdict was unanimous: insolvency.

Not merely among the twenty-seven signers of the Open Letter, was it unanimous. The writer has heard, or had reliable reports of the reactions of perhaps thirty other intellectuals, some members of the Party. In no instance was the reaction other than violent disgust with the Party's behavior in the Garden. Such words as "sickening," "revolting," "horrible," "nauseating" recur again and again. Privately, and in confidence, not a single intellectual would defend or extenuate the disruptive action.

Moreover, a large majority has drawn political conclusions from the year's brooding over C. P. tactics. Almost without exception they recognize that there is something seriously rotten in the tactic of "united front" from below; they have given up defending a tactic which has to its credit no victories, and an unbroken record of catastrophic defeats. At least one-half, largely through acquaintance with Trotsky's analyses of the "united-front" and the testing of his contentions by their own organizational experience, have attained a clarity on this problem which contrasts amazingly with their ignorance and confusion a few short months ago. They know now that the "united-front from below" never has worked, and never will work, and they know why.

On the level of overt action, there has been, as could be expected, a parting of the ways. Twenty-seven intellectuals took an open stand. Almost as large a group, agreeing with the others in sentiment, would not openly criticize the Party.

What does this mean? In terms of action, the present development may be described as the moving of two groups of intellectuals one step each to a higher political level. The first group, individuals who during the past year have engaged in deeper and deeper private criticisms of the Party, and found themselves in consequence more and more isolated from Party activity, have now graduated into open public criticism, and the freedom from special obligation to or toleration of the Party. In its struggles with the class enemy, it will permit them, but they will not defend its fratricidal course within the ranks of the working-class.

The second group in turn moves to occupy the position just vacated by the first: inner criticism and opposition within C. P. mass organ-

izations and in private talks, with the perspective of loss of Party confidence growing ineffectiveness, and passivity. Why do they not go further at this time? The "Party Terror"—the phrase is general among intellectuals—keeps some in line. Perhaps it is the intellectual's deplorable sensitiveness, or his cowardice, but one must appreciate the hesitancy to run afoul of the Party. It is only too well remembered that an editor of the **New Masses** had a political disagreement with the Party and woke up one morning to find himself publicly and officially accused by the Party in the **Daily Worker** of having driven his wife to suicide. And, alas, there are still some who have not exhausted the delights of acting that noble double-role on the revolutionary stage: red swash-buckler in the parlor and the committee room; silent good little underground mouse in some bourgeois editorial sanctum or academic grove, restraining himself—under Party discipline—from taking even a little proletarian snaw.

But most in this group stay in line, as their predecessors did for long before them, because they believe in the possibility of reform within the Party. Some have faith in this or that member of the C. C.; or in the "middle-leadership in the field" (ah, those mythical "healthy" D. O.'s in Denver and Dubuque!); some look forward to the regenerative impact of worsening objective conditions, or a cleansing flood of spontaneous rank-and-file revolt lashing in the provinces and washing away the Ninth-Floor Swamp; some think they will be able to strike a blow for the "right policy" if only they keep in the good graces of the leadership until the Propitious Moment comes; a few cherish notions of ignoring broad questions of policy, and doing a good honest practical job, in some restricted field behind the back of the Party while the C. C. is not looking....

Yes, some are not very bright, and all are slow. But a better thing to say is that they have come a long way, and are likely to come farther. Nor are they likely to take so long to come into the open as their predecessors. The tempo of events is too fast. Yesterday, Germany. Today, Austria. Tomorrow? On the wall they see the shadow of the bayonet and the Fascist axe. The ferment among them is too great. Moreover, many of them are bound to the signers of the Letter by the closest ties of friendship, intellectual and artistic respect, and common labors in the past on the working-class front. Try as the Party will to isolate them from the men who have taken an open stand, they will not succeed.

### The Challenge of the Intellectuals

In the meantime, the twenty-seven stand firm. The fact that the **Daily Worker** has not dared to print the Open Letter for workers to read, confirms their judgment.

Far from wavering, they have found their action an impetus to further action. They have discovered to their amazement that their indecision, vacillation, confusion, self-questionings of the past months—what the Party sneers at as Hamletism—has been somehow exorcized, once they found the courage to strike a simple, honest, forthright blow for a cause they believe in: the unity of the workers against Fascism. Hamletism, many of them see, breeds in the Party atmosphere, is indeed carefully nursed along by Party functionaries for their own ends. "For the first time in months," one writer expressed it, "I feel like I can really get down to some useful writing. And I think I could hit a few good licks for the Revolution—if I knew a good place where to hit them."

The dilemma expressed here is of the utmost seriousness. The intellectual is in a mood for action, means to act. But how? Where? What next?

### —A SIGNER OF THE OPEN LETTER.

(In next week's Militant the same writer will continue the discussion in an article entitled "A Program for Intellectuals.")

### PARIS COMMUNE MASS MEETING

March 18, 1871 the Parisian workers seized power. 63 years later the Austrian workers rose in battle against reaction. What are the lessons of these historic working class uprisings?

Speaker: ALBERT GLOTZER

Just Returned From Europe American Delegate to the International Youth Conference scheduled to be held in Amsterdam, raided by police and held in Brussels, Belgium. Visited L. D. Trotsky in France

SUNDAY, March 18, 1934 at 8 p. m. BROWNVILLE LABOR LYCEUM 219 Sackman Street Admission 10c

Auspices: Communist League of America, Brownsville Branch Spart's Youth Club of Brownsville

# Organizing the CWA White Collar Workers

At the most critical moment in the struggle against the ending of the CWA, the Associated Office & Professional Emergency Employees, the "white collar" CWA workers' union in New York City, has been deliberately split two ways by the Stalinists and the Lovestonites, each faction now claiming to be the A. O. P. E. E.—but neither is able to do anything in the interests of the workers. Each held a meeting claiming to be the Council of Delegates. Despite efforts for unity made by a progressive group with four delegates, both factions refused to come together. Each blamed the other for the split, and both declared they were glad the split had occurred. The Lovestonites further declared that they would "never again let Stalinists into the organization."

The A. O. P. E. E. was organized six months ago and won recognition from the state officials in a successful fight to prevent the State from putting the emergency workers on a budget instead of wages. Several minor victories were won and a demonstration on January 24th of 2,000 white collar and professional men—one of the first in the country—against a 23% hour-wage cut; led to the growth of membership to 2,000, the high point of the organization. This was, however, nothing compared with its possibilities. There are 40,000 CWA "white collar" workers in New York City and eagerness for organization is evident everywhere. The failure of the organization to grow is due to bureaucratic control and factionalism, and the consequent incapacity to activate the membership.

The Lovestonites captured the first tentative apparatus and, in order to cling to it, kept the membership out of organization activity and responsibility. Control was kept in the hands of the Lovestonites and a few Socialists and "non-politicals" allied with them. No Organizing Committee was established. Organizing was left on a free-lance basis, without plan. The Council of project delegates was not activated, and was manipulated by the Lovestonites. For the most part, the membership merely paid dues and came to an occasional (and even rarer) project or membership meeting.

This state of bureaucratic control, with the membership inactive and ill-informed, made it possible for the Stalinists to disrupt the A. O. P. E. E. Having failed to get workers into the "Red" Relief Workers League, the Stalinists moved into the A. O. P. E. E. determined to amalgamate it with the R. W. L. or to split it. They proceeded as usual: Stalinist delegates were produced on phony membership lists, or without having been elected by members, membership meetings were packed with outside Stalinists, and slanders were circulated against the Lovestonites (stealing of funds, making themselves paid jobs, etc.). Such outrageous tactics could never have worked had the organization been previously healthy. But the bureaucratic control of the Lovestonites gave the Stalinists an opportunity to disrupt under the slogans of democracy, militancy, and spreading the organization.

The cure for the Stalinist attack, at this point, as earlier, was activation of the membership for a vigorous campaign of organization on the basis of a militant, class struggle policy. But the Lovestonites declared the union could not be built until the Stalinists were driven out. An offer by some militants to form a progressive bloc was refused. Instead the Lovestonites formed a bloc solely on the issue of fighting the Communist Party, recruiting for their bloc all the Right wing and reactionary elements. The Stalinist disruptions evoked red-baiting tendencies on the part of the most backward and reactionary elements, but not only did the Lovestonites not fight the red-baiting, but members of their bloc came from caucuses to meetings and made anti-red and flag-waving speeches. Thus they interpreted the policy of the Lovestonite leadership.

Backed by this Right wing bloc, the Lovestonites forced through a Committee of Eleven to run the organization until the adoption of a constitution. The Stalinists claimed that this election by the Council was packed by the Lovestonites; the fact is both had fraudulent delegates. The Lovestonites also put through a resolution against "one-sided" united fronts, i. e., against any united front with Communist organizations.

On February 20th a membership meeting was called to ratify the Committee of Eleven and the "united front" resolution. Both sides proceeded to pack it. While workers cried out they were being freed, and what should they do, and why didn't the organization take some militant action, Lovestonites and Stalinists debated the united front.

The meeting broke up with no plans for organizing or action agreed upon. From that day, February 20th, until March 11th—three critical weeks—the Lovestonites absolutely refused to call Council meetings or membership meetings, or in any way move the masses into action. Why? They sent out a referendum on the resolution and the Committee by mail—putting the issues in most misleading terms, not even giving the names of those on the Committee, so that members thought they were voting for the idea of a Committee of Eleven. Until the phony referendum came through, the Lovestonites refused to make any move.

March 3, the Stalinists called a rump Council meeting. The Stalinists, determined to split, constituted themselves the Council at a Wednesday meeting, deposed all officers and committees and elected their own. This was just what the Lovestonites wanted; they convoked the Committee of Eleven and, though the Committee was created by the Council and limited to executing Council decisions, it expelled the rump Council. Sunday night the rump members came to the meeting called by the secretary, and found only themselves present; the Lovestonites had meanwhile convoked the rest of the Council elsewhere.

A few progressives got together to try to save the unity of the organization, but without success. The mistake of all progressive and militant elements lay in their failure to organize sooner. Some progressives came together only in the last stages of the split, too late to prevent it. This organization is now proceeding rapidly and, since the split is now an accomplished fact, will concentrate its efforts in the "official" organization. The Stalinists will quickly reveal themselves, as in scores of other splits, as incapable of leading the split-off group to any healthy development. The Lovestonites in the official organization must be forced to break their bloc with Socialist and reactionary elements or confront the solid opposition of all the class-conscious elements in the organization.

The secretary of the progressive group is Herbert Abel, 1525 Madison Avenue.  
—EMERGENCY EMPLOYEE.

## Marine Park

Two weeks ago a general shifting of CWA workers in Marine Park occurred. Groups of men were transported by truck to various other parks. This was a maneuver to first separate and then weed out certain workers whose militancy had made them obnoxious to the browbeating straw-bosses. Most of these groups were told to report back to Marine Park the next day, but each group reports that many workers are missing, never came back, were fired during this shifting back and forth.

Since then workers have been fired daily. The reason, according to the foremen, is "loafing" and "agitating". Any worker expressing his disgust with the conditions is labeled an "agitator". The bosses find the "Red-scare" one of the best in their bag of tricks. Gang B is rife with spies. A worker, complaining of the meagre pay (\$11.20), said he had seen checks made out for \$15.00 distributed to various individuals, and demanded an explanation.

"Those checks are for the rats", was the admission of Ruggiero, the Assistant Supervisor. Government agents (Federal check-up men) prowled around the park the entire day.

A radio police car is often stationed in front of the supervisor's office, and one or more cops are in the office all day.

The discontent of the workers has created a favorable opportunity for organization. The workers talk of the need to organize, but there is not yet an organization active on the field.

The Militant is distributed by me to a few workers, is passed from hand to hand and the articles are discussed. They are also tacked upon the walls of the shacks and toilets.

There is a crying need for an organization of all C. W. A. workers. Only the mobilization of all workers in one strong organization, the Association of Civil Works Employees, can prevent the wage-cut, firing and mass lay-offs, the program of Hunger proposed by Roosevelt throughout the demobilization of the CWA.  
—J. E.

## WHITHER ENGLAND?

Pioneer Publishers have just received a supply of the English edition of "Whither England?" by L. D. Trotsky. Price 95 cents per copy postpaid.

# The "League Against War and Fascism" in Action at Newark

The "American League Against War and Fascism", like all the similar counterfeit "united front" formations under Stalinist party domination, has been cracking up badly since the famous affair at Madison Square Garden. Large numbers have been rushing to leave the fraudulent body and join the still larger numbers who stayed away in the first place. Among these who have been departing in a hurry were quite a few "prominent" people and professional non-partisans who originally served as "decorations" on the National Bureau to cover up the C. P. control.

Roger Baldwin, head of the American Civil Liberties Union and all-around reconciler of irreconcilables, has, however, thus far stuck to his place on the National Bureau. He has issued a public statement, jointly with Earl Browder, to the effect that everything is on the square in the organization and that there is no danger of domination by "one political party". This statement was issued on March 10.

The next day, the Newark Committee of the League, at the direct instigation of Norman Tallentyre, a professional Stalinist utility functionary, at present "representing the National Bureau" of the League Against War and Fascism, chucked out the delegates of the Communist League. It will be interesting to see what Baldwin does about the following letter, addressed to him by a group of delegates to the Newark Conference of the League:  
**OPEN LETTER TO BALDWIN**  
Newark, N. J.  
March 13, 1934.

Dear Mr. Baldwin:  
On Sunday, March 11th, the Newark Branch of the League Against War and Fascism called a Conference of all political, social, religious, youth, etc., organizations and all individuals interested in the fight against war and Fascism. The Communist League of America was among those organizations handing in its credentials. The Credentials Committee, composed of all Communist Party or youth members brought in the following report:

That the Conference should not seat the representatives of the Communist League because "they were not a bona-fide organization, its membership consisting of expelled or followers of expelled leaders from other organizations: were anti-Soviet, slandered and scurrilously vilified the Soviet Union and its peace policy, and therefore could not support point five in the League's manifesto."

This astounding report was brought in with no attempt to prove in any way that the Communist League of America for valid reasons should be excluded. John Perry of the Essex Peace Society pointed out that if they excluded organizations which criticized certain aspects of Soviet policy and economy, his organization would also have to be excluded. The League's program, he continued, did not demand complete agreement with Soviet policies. Sam Silver, representing the International Labor Defense stated that exclusion on that basis would also apply to A. F. of L. locals. I. Rosenberg of the Retail Shoe Clerks Association, Local 708, A. F. of L., stated that his organization was anxious to cooperate in a genuine united front, but was definitely opposed to bureaucratic domination by one organization. He insisted that the Conference censure the Credentials Committee for bringing in an unjustifiably discriminatory report against the Communist League. He went on to state that it was such actions on the part of the Communist Party that resulted in fiascos such as Madison Square Garden.

Mr. Tallentyre, representing the National Bureau of the League Against War and Fascism rose and asserted that "he did not see the sense of including organizations with whom you have fundamental differences, which cannot, because of its nature contribute anything to the League." At this point Mr. Rosenberg insisted that Tallentyre be seated, and declared, "That it was a disgraceful display of prejudice on the part of Tallentyre, inasmuch as his assertions were directly contrary to the following statement signed by Annie E. Gray, Earl Browder, Roger M. Baldwin, for the National Bureau of the League:

"The League has used its efforts in the past, and will continue in the future to avoid conflict and disruption among the forces fighting against war and Fascism, whether members of the League or not. Agreements have been sought and will be sought to promote the greatest possible unity and to prevent disunity. The League is not and will not be dominated by one political party. No majority on any committee now does or will represent any political party."

The vote followed and recorded the exclusion of the delegates of the Communist League. The thirteen dissenting votes represented practically all the non-C. P. organizations present, with the exception of some who had left the hall prior to the introduction of the Committee's report. A point to bear in mind is the twenty-eight votes Koz of the Communist League of America had received after nomination to the Resolutions Committee.

Some eight or nine members of the Executive Committee of the League Against War and Fascism pledge themselves to demand at the next Executive Committee meeting the inclusion of the Communist League of America. They will fight against bureaucratic domination.

We, the undersigned, protest this exclusion policy and urge that you take a definite stand on this matter.  
Fraternally yours,

- Irving Rosenberg, Retail Shoe Clerks Association, Local 708, A. F. of L.
  - Sam Silvers, International Labor Defense
  - Esther Sellers, American Workers Party
  - Leo Roberts, American Workers Party
  - Louis Nagy, Hungarian Workers Home
- (All the above are duly accredited delegates)

# Shachtman Tour

The schedule for the tour, in addition to the cities already covered, is as follows:

- Tues., March 13th—Pittsburgh
- Wed., March 14th—New Castle
- Thurs., March 15th—Youngstown
- Fri., March 16th—Youngstown
- Sat., March 17th—Cleveland
- Sun., March 18th—Chicago
- Mon., March 19th—Chicago
- Tues., March 20th—Chicago
- Wed., March 21st—Chicago
- Thurs., March 22nd—Chicago
- Fri., March 23rd—
- Sat., March 24th—Minneapolis & St. Paul Minn.
- Sun., March 25th—Minneapolis
- Mon., March 26th—Minneapolis
- Tues., March 27th—Minneapolis
- Wed., March 28th—Duluth, Minn.
- Thurs., March 29th—
- Fri., March 30th—Winnipeg, Can.
- Sat., March 31st—Winnipeg, Can.
- Sun., April 1st—Winnipeg, Can.
- Mon., April 2nd—
- Tues., April 3rd—Williston, N. D.
- Wed., April 4th—
- Thurs., April 5th—Portland Ore.
- Fri., April 6th—Portland Ore.
- Sat., April 7th—
- Sun., April 8th—San Francisco
- Mon., April 9th—San Francisco
- Tues., April 10th—San Francisco
- Wed., April 11th—
- Thurs., April 12th—Los Angeles
- Fri., April 13th—Los Angeles
- Sat., April 14th—Los Angeles
- Sun., April 15th—Los Angeles

## "THE COLLAPSE OF AUSTRO-MARKISM"

A Lecture by Max Shachtman National Socialist Institute, Chicago 3222 Douglas Building  
Tuesday Eve., March 20th at 8 p.m.  
Auspices: Friends of the Militant Club  
Questions Discussion  
Admission 15 Cents

## THE MILITANT

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## «Reforming» the C.I.

"Already there are signs, not as many as we would wish but nevertheless some signs, that our criticism is having an effect in reforming the C. I."—J. Lovestone at Cannon-Lovestone Debate.

"The world-shaking events in the interval, the terrible blows suffered by the Communist Parties, and the long deliberation of the C. I., resulted in not the slightest sign of improvement in understanding or policy compared with the thesis of the 10th, 11th and 12th Plenums. The 13th Plenum accomplishes the feat of out-diving all other Plenums of the Comintern, and establishing a record for low theoretical level."—B. Herman in the Workers Age, March 1st, 1934.  
Take your choice.

Shachtman Tour Minneapolis MASS MEETING  
"Do We Need a New Revolutionary Party in America?"

PYTHIAN HALL—43 1/2 So. 4th St. SUNDAY, MARCH 25th—8 P. M.  
Admission 15c in advance, 20c at the Door  
Auspices: Minneapolis Br. C. L. A. Tickets on Sale at Zack's Book Store, 505 Hennepin Ave.

OPEN FORUM  
"The Lessons of the Austrian Events"  
at Labor Lyceum—1426 6th Ave. No. Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN  
SUNDAY, March 25th 10 A. M.  
Auspices: Labor Lyceum Open For.

Shachtman Tour Minneapolis HOUSE PARTY & Entertainment at 4648 West Lake Harriet Boulevard SATURDAY, MARCH 24th at 8 p.m.  
All Militant readers are urged to attend.

GALA PARIS COMMUNE AFFAIR CELEBRATION SOCIAL AND DANCE at 126 East 16th Street SATURDAY, MARCH 17th  
Dance Contests : Prizes  
Waltz and Lindy Contests  
Entertainments and Refreshments : Hot Jazz Band :  
Door opens at 8 P. M.  
Speaker : AL GLOTZER who has recently arrived from Europe with a full report of the International Youth Conference and of a visit to L. D. Trotsky.  
ADMISSION 20 CENTS

WILLIAMSBURG MASS MEETING Friday, March 23rd, 1934 WHY A NEW COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL? Prominent Speaker  
Auspices: Communist League of Am. Williamsburgh Branch 58 Manhattan Ave. ADMISSION 15c

SPECIAL NOTICE  
The full page article by comrade Trotsky in last week's Militant, with its devastating summary of the 13th Plenum of the E. C. C. I., has evoked a demand for its re-publication in cheap pamphlet form. One sympathizer has offered to contribute \$10 for this purpose. If \$15 more can be secured we will proceed immediately with the publication of this brilliant article as a small pamphlet. Send contributions to PIONEER PUBLISHERS 84 East 10th Street New York

Shachtman Tour St. Paul, Minn. "THE LESSON OF THE AUSTRIAN EVENTS" at DEUTSCHES HAUS, 444 Rice St. Monday, March 26th—8 P. M. ADMISSION 10 CENTS

**The Question of the Hour!**  
**THE PROGRAM OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**  
a Lecture by  
**JAMES P. CANNON**  
IRVING PLAZA HALL  
15th Street and Irving Place  
**SUNDAY, MARCH 25th, 8 P.M.**  
Admission 15c Questions and Discussion

# Roosevelt's '12 Points' Against the Workers

Speaking before the NRA Code Authorities, President Roosevelt said: "The real truth of the matter is that for a number of years in our country the machinery of democracy had failed to function." It is no accident that the President and the NRA officials do not report to Congress but instead present the 12 point program of the NRA at the "Public Hearing" while Roosevelt and Johnson deliver their speeches on policies and aims of the NRA to the meeting of the Code Authorities.

**Speak to the "Captains of Industry"**  
They speak to the "captains" of our economic system, lining up support that can bring the necessary pressure on the Senate and House for any rubber stamp legislation required for speedy action in the whirl of deepening international antagonisms and conflicts of world capitalism.

Under the NRA the further centralization of government and industry is rapidly proceeding. The order of the day does not present us with the alternative of Communism or Fascism. This is a problem of the not too distant future. The task of the rulers of today and their NRA office boys is to answer the immediate problems of the capitalist mode of production in order to canalize the class relations. The latest moves of the Roosevelt administration are designed to serve this purpose.

**The '12 Points' Ballyhoo**  
The NRA ballyhoo about the 12 points means nothing more or less, when boiled down, than an increased offensive against the small producers and the working class. It is an old trick to speak of peace when preparing for war. And, likewise, it is an old trick to speak about the workers' needs and the small producers' interests when the dominating exploiters are going to take another pound of flesh.

One of the most effective ways of drive out the small producer is to place restrictions on free competition. When the large producer, operating with modern machinery and a high rate of exploitation of his labor power, is placed on an equal basis with the small producer, with a lesser degree of exploitation—the small producer will be driven to the wall faster than if the process is left to unbridled competition.  
**Reducing the Hours**  
A permanent army of millions of

unemployed American workers calls for a reorganization of labor power in relation to machine production. This can only be expressed by the reduction of the hours. As far as the ruling exploiters are concerned, the workers' interests have nothing to do with it. They are making a forced retreat to safeguard their own rule. At the present juncture this forced retreat, as we have pointed out before in the Militant on the question of the Six Hour Day with no reduction in pay, has also resulted in a political defeat of the working class. There is a world of difference between "concessions" put through by the capitalists and those forced by the workers.

The reduction of hours under the NRA calls for wage increases. Up to the present this has resulted in a reduction of the real wages of the workers. Concealed under the talk of a money wage increase a leveling off process for the American workers has taken place. There has been a reduction in real wages, and a little bribery here and there whenever the rulers had to turn a sharp corner.

**Senator Wagner's Admissions**  
Senator Wagner admits this. He says: "Real earnings of the individuals working full time are slightly less than they were last March." Further: "Some of the minimum wage provisions under the codes are lower than the standards actually prevailing in the industry". And the skilled have had hours reduced but no pay increase.

Right now the capitalists are turning another sharp corner. That is the reason for the 12 point program and the special talks on policy by the President and the General. Industry under the NRA is not solving the crisis. Johnston let the cat out of the bag in the speech before the NRA Code Authorities when he said: "We know something about what is toward in this country—the worst epidemic of strikes in our history. Why suffer it. There is a way out. Play the game. Submit to the law and get it over quickly."

Johnson warns the exploiters to go easy with their Company Unions and tells them to deal with Green, Lewis, and Company. The thought is unsaid but understood—that the agents of the capitalists in the ranks of the workers are far better to deal with "in the worst epidemic of strikes in our history" than leaders of strikes who represent the working class.  
—HUGO OEHLER.

# THE PARIS COMMUNE

(Continued from page 1)

work of journeymen bakers; the prohibition, under penalty, of the employers' practice to reduce wages by levying upon their workpeople fines under manifold pretexts—a process in which the employer combines in his own person the parts of legislator, judge, and executioner, and fishes the money to boot. Another measure of this class was the surrender, to associations of workmen, under reserve of compensation, of all workshops and factories, no matter whether the respective capitalists had absconded or preferred to strike work." (Karl Marx). The church was separated from the state, the pawn shops were abolished, plans were made for cooperative production for the benefit of the real producers, the workers.

## Mistakes of the Commune

Under the conditions these plans were never executed. The Versailles government launched a military attack on the Commune and the foremost task was that of revolutionary defense. Mistakes were made by the Communards, such as the failure to commence a military offensive against Versailles, the failure to take over the national bank and the hurried transfer of power from the Central Committee of the National Guard to an elected Commune. These mistakes, while directly the consequences of the practices of the parties in the Commune, the followers of Proudhon and the Blanquists, were fundamentally, a reflection of the backwardness of the conditions of capitalism for successful working class revolution. The Parisian workers of 1871 were artisans, journeymen, and employees in small factories. A sound revolutionary party, the indispensable weapon for victorious working class revolution, could only develop on the basis of mass production, large scale industry and through varied experiences of class struggles.

## Heirs of the Communards

Courageously the Parisian workers fought for the defense of their Commune. The forces against them were too great. Thousands were killed on the field of battle. Other thousands, men, women and children were captured, tortured and murdered in the most brutal fashion.  
The true continuators of the heroic traditions of the Paris Commune have one and only one course to follow: to take their place in the great movement now being carried on for the construction of a world party of revolution—the Fourth International—which can inspire the workers in struggle, give them guidance and leadership, insure the final emancipation of the working class, and with it the whole of humanity.  
—JOSEPH CARTER.

herits the revolutionary traditions of the Communards. The Russian workes absorbing the lessons of this struggle forged the Bolshevik party, organized Soviets, established the Russian Commune, the dictatorship of the working class. The spokesmen for capitalism openly inherit the traditions of the bloody assassins of the Communards. They do not attempt to hide the murderous character of the suppression of the Paris Commune. They defend the use of all means which perpetuate capitalism.

It is not through peaceful methods that these bloody oppressors will be overthrown. The American master class will undoubtedly employ the most violent means to continue their bankrupt robber system. American labor history is replete with instances of the use of the armed forces against strikers and workers' demonstrations.

## The Party—the Instrument of Struggle

We must reply by forging our own instrument of struggle, a revolutionary party which through the battles of today can lead the workers to the decisive class conflict. In the present epoch, when all the material conditions are ripe for a socialist transformation of society, it is the revolutionary party, uniting the most advanced and experienced militants, bound by a common program and steered in a common struggle which is the decisive factor.

The absence of such a party in Germany resulted in the victory of Fascism; in Austria, the bloody slaughter of the militant workers preparatory to a full Fascist regime. Fascism, the most violent weapon of capitalism, is growing in all capitalist countries. At the same time imperialist war looms as an imminent threat to the entire world. Workers' Russia, the inheritor of the Paris Commune, is in danger of military attack.

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