



P. L. Bergoff, Rat Chieftain Brags of Scabbing in Press

"The profits of strike breaking have been large," says P. L. Bergoff, king of the scabs, in the second of his signed articles on "I Break Strikes!" appearing in the New York Post.

"My biggest job was with the Erie Railroad in the shopmen's strike of 1920. . . . The Erie paid about \$2,000,000 for that job.

"Theodore Shonts, president of Interborough Rapid Transit Company . . . paid my organization over \$1,000,000 to break the 1916 subway strike. (The cost of which incidentally was met by the people of New York City in the form of taxes. —Ed.)

"The Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Company cheerfully paid us \$700,000 for our work during the 1920 strike. The City of New York claimed my services during two street-cleaners' strikes. The United States Government has used my services."

These and other startling revelations, Bergoff makes cheerfully and proudly. For social awareness, for appreciation of the realities of class struggle, for sound understanding of the social function of crime and racketeering in capitalist society, it is hard to improve upon this arch-scab, who was ever willing to "tell all" whenever he could get anyone to listen to him.

Now a respectable newspaper gives ear, and here is some of the dirt Bergoff spills:

On every big job there are musclemen to rake in the side graces, such as "the chap that takes care of the dining room service, and another who takes care of the kitchen."

"Another man sets up his little tobacco and cigarette stand on the premises. He practically has a monopoly, for the men's movements while on strike duty are limited. If he gets a chance to peddle a little booze on the side, he does that too.

The big boss in every racket has to permit his lieutenant special rackets. That is axiomatic in gangster circles. Accordingly, it is no surprise to find Bergoff viewing mildly these minor deviations from the main grim business of his "profession."

The main business, however, is clearly indicated in the Bergoff memoirs. His agency does not merely supply scabs to fill the place of the strike breakers, but primarily thugs to murder the strikers.

"Most of the strikebreakers are soldiers of fortune. They don't really want to work in most cases. What they want is excitement and

easy money. . . . Frequently we have to equip our guards with weapons of defense and offense. Our activities in this connection today must be treated as a 'trade secret'.

"In the old days we maintained an arsenal. We had 2,500 rifles with plenty of ammunition. A couple of thousand nightsticks and clubs were always at hand. . . . Today we keep pace with modern requirements."

"Keeping pace with modern requirements" refers to tear gas and sub-machine guns.

Bergoff is highly indignant at Governor Talmadge, who "hampered his work" (i.e. cut in on his racket) by sending out the National Guard in the recent textile strike.

"Our men were sent at the request of W. D. Anderson of the Bibb Manufacturing Company," Bergoff complains, with a great air of injured pride. "He said he preferred one of our men to ten of the National Guard."

Out of all these revelations, emerge certain facts of interest and usefulness to the working class. One need not trouble long to discover the reason why Bergoff spills the beans. He is not altogether the big shot he pretends to be. There are serious competitors, including the National Guard. Bergoff can stand a little advertisement.

But the main point with which we are concerned are these:

In the first place, against the natural solidarity of the working class it is necessary to maintain a private army recruited from the lumpen proletariat—not to fill the places of strikers (which they can never do) but to terrorize them by gangster methods. And despite Bergoff's boasts, these rats are inadequate. Hence, the National Guard.

Again, this mobile body of strikebreakers operates to weaken the morale of the workers by giving the superficial appearance that their jobs can be easily filled. These scabs are unfit as workers; they can never man the machines, but they enable the boss to print statements, which the newspapers seize upon eagerly, to the effect that n places of the strikers are 80 per cent, or 80 per cent or 90 per cent filled. These thugs are the workers we hear about, to protect whom, it is necessary to call out the police force, the army and navy.

Thirdly, the Bergoffs, and their slimy army of stumblebums and cutthroats are as essential to the operation of industry for the capitalists as are the top-hatted boards of directors.

What is Happening In the C.P.

militant will print startling documents and material

Beginning with its next issue, the MILITANT will begin the publication of a series of articles, documents and other material on what is going on behind the scenes of the Communist Party of the United States, which are sure to arouse the keenest interest and discussion in the entire radical movement.

The series is of a nature that concerns not only the members of the Communist party but deals with questions that are of importance to every active worker in the labor and revolutionary movements of the country. The documents and material which will be printed either in whole or in part have been carefully concealed from the membership of the C. P. up to now, so as to keep them in the dark about the real status of the problems and tasks confronting them and the actual conditions of the internal regime existing in their party.

The MILITANT is in a position to guarantee fully the authenticity of the material it now has on hand. It has been received by us from a quarter absolutely trustworthy, and whose reliability is further confirmed by the contents of the documents themselves.

Do you remember the notorious "Japanese campaign" of the Communist party, whose central slogan—"Drive out the Japanese ambassador!"—created such a scandal in the revolutionary movement? What were the circumstances in which this campaign was conceived? To what extent were our criticisms at that time justified? What did the Executive Committee of the Communist International have to say about it after? Our first installment next week will present the truth about this campaign for the first time.

Do you remember the "bonus march" to Washington? What were the disputes inside the Communist party on this issue? What did the Communist International have to say about THAT question? You will get the answer in the Columns of the MILITANT.

What is going on in the ranks of the upper circles, the "top" leadership of the Communist party? What are the intrigues and chicanery by which "leaders" are made and unmade? by which once "prominent" figures suddenly vanish from the political arena? by which General Secretaries are manufactured? by which critics and potential critics are "liquidated"?

How is a C. P. convention actually organized nowadays by the Stalinist bureaucracy? Does the membership really elect the delegates—or are they carefully scrutinized in advance and appointed from above? Is workers' democracy in the C. P. a reality or a fiction?

What is the truth about the terrific fluctuation in membership in the Communist party?

What is the cause for the terrific turn-about-face in the trade union field? Just how far has it gone and how far is it still to go? Do the Stalinists intend to "liquidate" all the T.U.U.L. and independent unions? How? Why?

These are the questions which the MILITANT will answer in a thorough and conclusive manner, with unchallengeable documents to back up the replies. Follow the coming issues closely; don't miss a copy. Order an extra bundle of papers for widespread distribution among all militant workers.

BULLETIN

As we go to press news arrives from Spain.

This is the first authentic information about our organization, smuggled out of that terror-stricken country has been received at our headquarters in New York.

The communication contains the shocking report that most of our comrades of the Madrid section of the Communist Left were overpowered at the army where they had congregated in response to the revolutionary need of the moment.

Comrade Ferson, one of the leaders of the organization, has been arrested and incarcerated. He faces court martial, charged with high-treason.

At this writing the whereabouts of comrade Nin and other outstanding members is still unknown.

The author of the communication is greatly apprehensive as to the fate that might have befallen these comrades.

BOOST NEW PARTY FUND!

With the publication of the draft programmatic statement appearing below, the new party—the Workers Party of the United States—is about to become a reality. We submit the draft to our readers to enable them to become acquainted with the basic position upon which the new party will be launched.

A new and a great forward step will be recorded. The working class movement, torn by dissent and splits, betrayed again and again in severe struggles, will be able to look forward to the beacon light of the new party. But it will not represent just another working class party. The most outstanding fact in its emergence is that it represents the unification of two groups, the A.W.P. and the C.L.A. Unity on a principled revolutionary program designed to extend beyond the borders of this country in the effort to also lay the foundation for the new International, that is what is about to be accomplished.

In view of this great objective, being so near its realization we address an urgent appeal to all those

ready to give the final support necessary. We address it to our League branches, to our friends and sympathizers, including every reader of the MILITANT. Our appeal is for immediate help in that final push which will bring us to the immediate goal—the new party. We are turning this remaining period before its launching into a campaign to build and solidify its foundation. We need your active support, and for that we need funds. We want to strengthen the League to become a stronger factor in the new party; but we must also have the means required to do it.

At this moment one way of expressing your support is in United States currency. Help us raise a new party fund. "New Party Certificates" in the amounts of five dollars and one dollar have been issued. Buy them and sell them. Send in your contribution for a certificate, whichever you can afford; but do it without delay. Become an active participant in the campaign to build a new party in the United States. We expect to hear from you right away.

Silk Industry Tied up as Strike of 25,000 Dyers Involves Eastern Cities

Roosevelt Is Applauded By Bankers

President Roosevelt in his latest address to the bankers was greeted by them with a thundering ovation. After listening to his explanation of what the New Deal really means, they decided rapturously that they were all for him, and it, Jackson E. Reynolds, Morgan agent, and president of the First National Bank of New York City, almost literally fell on knees before President Roosevelt, and begged forgiveness for the "misunderstanding" that had kept the bankers aloof from the present administration.

"It is now in such a chastened and understanding mood," said Reynolds, "that you can accept with hospitality any overture of co-operation on the part of the leaders of the (banking) fraternity."

Does this mean that the bankers are now prepared to renounce their former sins, and to sacrifice their private interests for the benefit of the NRA and the ingenious remedies of the Brain Trust?

Now, now, Oswald! Do you want us to send you back to kindergarten? What then has caused the change in heart? One needs only to read President Roosevelt's speech to find the clue.

President Roosevelt guarantees no Government interference with the swindling operations of the money-changers, against which he spoke so eloquently when he was first elected. He reminded them of all that he had done for "them," towards bolstering up their crumbling concerns, towards guaranteeing them payment on their bad loans, towards "restoring public confidence" in them at a time when their reputation was unsavory, to say the least. And he delicately hinted that he would do as much or more for them in the future.

The benefit of this juggling to the Government is an artificial relieving of the strain on the budget, caused not by relief expenditures, but by direct loans to industry.

Higher Wages and Union Shop Are Issues of Walkout

As we go to press, the strike of 25,000 silk and rayon dress dyers in North Jersey and New York City seems definitely on. The strike was scheduled for Thursday night at midnight.

Needless to say, any attempts at stalling the strike, or marking time by further negotiations with the manufacturers, would have been nothing less than a complete sellout of the workers. There was never a time more favorable for the strike than now, at the opening of the busy season.

The bosses themselves have demonstrated this by their panicky efforts at compromise. They have offered to extend the present contract with the union for another six months, and have offered verbal concessions.

But the strike is apparent when one realizes that in six months the busy season will be at an end, and the bosses in a position to clamp down.

Workers Want to Fight

The militancy of the workers, however, makes it practically impossible for the bosses or misleaders of labor to stall for time. Flushed with their success in raising the wage scale from 17 to 25 cents an hour, for a 40-hour week, the union members are now prepared to press their demands to the utmost, calling for a fight to the finish.

The chief issue is union recognition. The workers want fewer honeyed words, and more concrete recognition. They demand the closed shop.

On the matter of wages, they demand a 30-hour week, at a minimum wage of \$1 per hour. Under the old contract, wages have averaged \$13 per week during the year.

The strike call has been issued to the locals of the Dyers' Federation in Paterson, Lodi, Garfield, East Paterson, Union County, New York City and Pennsylvania.

Grounds for Victory

Conditions for the success of the strike are unusually favorable. The union is well organized, and the membership is composed of militant union fighters, with past successes to hearten them. This plus the fact of large shops, permitting concentration of picketing and the further fact of the busy season should, if the strike is at all properly directed, lead to victory.

A mass meeting, to rally militant workers in support of the strike, has been called in Paterson this Sunday, at Oakley Hall, 211 Market Street, at 8 P.M. It will be addressed by Hugo Oehler, of the Communist League of America, and by A. J. Muste of the American Workers Party.

Meanwhile, the New Jersey authorities, in cooperation with the bosses, are laying plans to crush the strike by the use of armed thugs and police bullets. Vacations and days off for policemen have been cancelled by Police Chief John Murphy, and "adequate protection" has been promised all scabs.

Attempts of the Department of Labor Conciliator to bring about a "truce" settlement, similar to the one in the textile strike, failed when the union officer flatly refused to consider the "terms" of the Institute of Dyers and Printers, the boss organization, and announced that they would meet no more with the manufacturers until the stoppage of work was complete.

With the calling of the silk strike, with numerous textile locals in open revolt against the sell out by Francis P. Gorman, with many weavers already on strike, and more coming out each day, the President's truce in the textile industry seems doomed to a grand flop.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

Due to the publication of the programmatic declaration for the new party we were obliged to omit many articles of importance and interest. A mong them is a splendid analysis by one of the former leaders of the German Communist party, Erich Wollenberg, who writes on "Has the Comintern Learned?" An excellent article on the "Vigilante Raids in Minneapolis" etc.

PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR THE NEW PARTY

(The document below is the first draft of the joint programmatic statement issued by the Negotiating Committees of the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party. It is submitted to the members of the League for discussion and for final ratification at the convention.—Ed.)

(Prepared by Joint A.W.P.-C.L.A. Committee)

Foreword

The American Workers Party and the Communist League of America have united on the basis of the following program to form the Workers Party of the U.S.A. Capitalism, everywhere in decline or complete collapse, subjects the masses today to insecurity, misery, Fascist terrorism and war. In this critical hour the Socialist and the Communist Party, the Second and Third International, have attacked utterly unable to protect the workers from attack, much less to lead them to victory against their oppressors and to a new world order. We urge all revolutionary workers and groups to join with us, therefore, in building the New Party and the New International.

(The workers of the world press on, in spite of all obstacles and defeats, to the final victory. Following the suffering of the Great War and the betrayal of the masses by the Second International in that war, the standard of revolutionary Marxism was raised again, resulting in the victory of the Russian workers and peasants and the revolutionary upsurge of the masses in many other lands under the leadership and inspiration of the Party and the International of Lenin. Following the onslaughts of Fascism and reaction in Germany, Italy, the United States and other lands and the betrayal of the workers under that onslaught by the Second and the Third Internationals, comes renewed struggle, hope and victory under the leadership and inspiration of the New Party and the New International.)

Program

DECLINE AND COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM

The present world crisis marks much more than a depression or dip in the business cycle. The mighty mechanism of capitalist society is crumbling in the sight of all. Under the capitalist system of social and political relations the productive machine can no longer function effectively. Its operations are directed not to fulfillment of human needs but to the making of profits for private individuals and corporations. It cannot expand the productive forces further—it contracts them. It cannot feed the masses—in the very midst of plenty it starves them.

IMPERIALISM AND WAR

Seeking cheap raw materials, profitable markets for the goods which their own populations could not purchase, and new profits for the invested capital, the capitalist nations entered the imperialist phase of their development. Having divided the world among themselves the struggle for raw materials and markets now becomes daily more intense. Driven by the lash of the crisis the powers are plunged into economic, tariff and exchange struggles and armament competition. The period of the decline of capitalism is accordingly marked by a series of the mightiest struggles in history, imperialist wars, wars of liberation of the colonial peoples, and the revolutionary struggle of the working-class for its own emancipation.

FASCISM

Under the domination of finance capital, Fascism succeeds in mobilizing on a reactionary basis the discontented and desperate middle class elements, when the working class party betrays its revolutionary character and relinquishes its leadership of the masses against the capitalist dictatorship.

In its early progressive period capitalism fought against feudal and clerical reaction, sought to free men from tyranny and repression, and relied for its victory upon the support of the workers and farmers. Today the owning class cannot maintain a measure of profits and its position of privilege save by constantly reducing the standards of the dispossessed majority and presently plunging them into war. This the masses would not tolerate if they retained any freedom to assert their will. Consequently in its decline capitalism resorts to Fascism. All democratic rights are violated, all forms of democracy, freedom of thought, speech, press and assembly, abandoned. The trade unions and all other independent organizations of workers and farmers are smashed or compelled to become a passive part of the state machinery. The right to strike is abrogated in the name of "harmony and the general welfare". Open terror is exercised not only against avowed revolutionists but against any workers engaged in a militant struggle for their own defense. Since these outrages would be resisted and those who perpetrate them swiftly destroyed if all the groups in the population which suffer under the present system stood together under the banner of the revolutionary working class and its party, Fascism sows division among the people by appeals to the basest racial prejudices and nationalistic passion. Thus capitalism allies itself in its period of decline with everything that is archaic and reactionary and threatens to drive whole nations

back into barbarism and savagery.

AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

With the war, the United States rose to the position of the leading imperialist power in the world. The pillars of its vast power rest on the soil of Latin-America, of Europe, of Asia. In the very nature of its power, there ore, lie those irrepressible conflicts and convulsions that herald its collapse. It cannot expand further, or even maintain its existing world position, without cutting deeply into the share of world power now in the hands of the other imperialist nations, as well as into the living standards of the millions it exploits directly or from whom it exacts tribute. This circumstance relentlessly sharpens the antagonisms with which the further existence of the reactionary American colossus is confronted.

THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM

U. S. capitalism is in rapid decline. The Roosevelt program is essentially that of monopoly capitalism, concentrating power and wealth in the hands of a decreasing few financiers and industrialists. Despite its democratic postulations the Roosevelt administration is carrying out measures likely to facilitate the growth of a Fascist movement, if that should suit the interests of the capitalist class and fall to meet with effective opposition. It fosters an open alliance between industry and finance and the government. It strengthens monopolistic tendencies in the form of codes and cultivates the view of the state as umpire in conflicts between capital and labor. It seeks to tie the trade union movement to the capitalist state machinery, breaks strikes under the pretext of impartial composition of differences by government boards, and attacks militant workers and their organizations. Its vast military program is designed both as an instrument of dissatisfied sections of the population at home and as an agency of American imperialist interests against those of other nations in the wars which are inevitable so long as capitalism endures.

THE ONLY WAY OUT

Today there is only one alternative to capitalism and Fascism, to crises of cumulative intensity, growing unemployment and impoverishment, war, and chaos, ending not only in final collapse of the capitalist system but in a relapse into barbarism. The alternative is to wipe out the central contradiction of capitalism, to take the ownership and control of the natural resources, the productive plant and the agencies of distribution and communication, out of the hands of private individuals and corporations, to use and operate them for the fulfillment of human needs and not for private profit, to build a socialist,

i.e., a truly civilized, society. Thus and only thus can the masses in the modern world achieve plenty, security, peace and freedom.

THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS ALLIES

The central position among the social forces which must be depended upon to destroy the capitalist economic system and the capitalist state and effect the transition to a scientific socialist economy, belongs to the working class. The fundamental solution even for the immediate problems of the workers is much more obviously than in the case of any other group, the full solution. The only way in which they can be assured work, security, and a decent living, is to have the shops run to serve the needs of society and not to make a profit for private individuals and corporations.

While the leading position in the struggle for a new social order is occupied by the working class, it cannot achieve a victory without the assistance of other sections of society who are also exploited or oppressed. The cruelly tormented Negroes, the debt-ridden farmers, the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the American Empire—these are the allies of the American workers fighting a common foe. The liberation of one is inconceivable without the liberation of all. It is only in the socialist revolution that all groups of workers and producers, all the oppressed sections of the population—the agricultural laborers, share croppers, farmers, professionals, technicians, small traders, the Negroes and other oppressed racial groups—can find deliverance from insecurity, want and tyranny. Victory against the common oppressors will crown their united struggle.

THE CAPITALIST STATE AND DEMOCRACY

This deliverance can come only as the result of victory in a revolutionary struggle. The belief that we live in a free, democratic society in which important economic changes can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and parliamentary methods, is an illusion. Such a belief must be an illusion in every capitalist society, and, in fact, in any society which is divided into socio-economic classes. Freedom and democracy can be realized only in a society based upon the economic and social equality of all individuals composing it, and no social and economic equality can obtain so long as the means of production and distribution, by which the members of society live, are outside the control of the members as a whole. Capitalist society, in which a small minority owns and controls the means of production, means and must mean capitalist dictatorship. The political forms of capitalist society (monarchy, democracy, military dictatorship, fascism) are only the means

(Continued on Page 4)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

It is not altogether out of place in a column headed Reviewing the News to say something about the movies. As disseminators of bourgeois opinion and ideology they stand second to none. Their approach is more disarming than is the approach of the press.

They boldly proclaim their intentions to be merely that of entertainment. Are some of these cinematographic entertainments occasionally nothing but vicious pieces of ruling class propaganda? Propaganda? Nay, comes the deafening roar from the Hollywood moguls. But propaganda, nevertheless, a good deal of the films we witness daily are. Then are we against the use of the cinema as an instrument of propaganda? No. We are not against the instrument—we are against the propaganda.

Recently there was released a picture titled "Our Daily Bread". This picture was preceded with a lot of publicity as a departure from the usual run of Hollywood goo, as an independent venture, as a revolutionary document, etc. etc. And to top it all the scenario was written and directed by none other than King Vidor, a staunch cultural friend of American Stalinism. We waited impatiently for the picture to be shown. Finally on the second day of its run, unable to contain ourself for another day, we bumbled two bits from the editor, rushed down to the Rialto theatre, bought a ticket, entered and sat back, prepared for a spine-tingling experience. . . . But "Our Daily Bread" is the most obnoxious piece of fascist, semi-fascist or near fascist effusions that has been disgorged by the motion picture behemoth to date.

There have certainly been other reactionary films, less concealed in their intentions, cruder and hence less impressive. But this film, because of its subtlety, because of its unquestionable appeal to the more reactionary instincts of the impoverished middle class and because of its really dynamic finish will accomplish more for the Huey Longs of this country than any of its cruder competitors.

The picture deals with a group of unemployed workers, an impoverished farmer and professionless professionals setting up a cooperative farm in an effort to prove the director's thesis that the way out for the unemployed is the back-to-the-land movement. In his effort to prove this thesis, Mr. Vidor has thrown together a farmer, a bricklayer, a mason, a shoemaker, a clerk, a musician, a tailor, an ex-convict and a sort of species of Mae West (for a little sexual zest). Since the sex appeal is so crudely, baldly and even from a Hollywood point of view cheaply and unintelligently interpolated, we shall dismiss it now and forget it.

The cooperative gets organized by all pooling their resources and by the hero of the piece, the young husband of the couple who started the venture, making a speech for cooperation and for all pitching in and thus ridding themselves forever with the menace of landlords asking for rent and of grocers and butchers who refuse to extend that credit just a little longer. After the various posts in the cooperative are allotted, someone demands to know what kind of government shall prevail on the little commonwealth. Someone shouts back—A Democracy. This is met with jeering and the comment "It's that what got us here." Then someone suggests that the government should be a Socialistic one. This is met with a brooding rumbling of dissent. Then the farmer of the group speaks up and declares that since it was the young husband who organized the group he should be the boss—the boss of the cooperative farm. This proclamation is cheered to the echo.

The fascist ideology in this can be noted by any keen observer. It only has to be recognized and grasped by the vast impoverished middle class of this country to make this picture the most effective stump speech for fascism yet undertaken. Back-to-the-land—yet man-rule—mockery of democracy, these are the stock in trade of the fascist here, there and everywhere. True, the picture has a magnificent ending. The last ten minutes of the picture stand up well with the finest products of the Soviet cinema industry. The dramatizing of the construction of an irrigation ditch to save the corn crop smitten by drought is stirringly effective. But, Hitler, too, told the German movie producers that they should model themselves on the Russian rather than on the Hollywood style. It is much more effective for propaganda, for convincing people. And King Vidor has learned that, too. Taking advantage of the Soviet form and technique he has stuffed it with a reactionary content. Its artistic superiority to the brazen Hollywood products will unquestionably disarm many as to the true viciousness of the film.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

FALL FESTIVAL at IRVING PLAZA (15th St. & Irving Place) Saturday, October 27, at 8 P.M. Dancing, Refreshments, Entertainment, Prizes. MAX SHACHTMAN Master of Ceremonies Admission 25c 35c at door

LECTURE THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR Where Is It Going? The Issue of Industrial Unionism. Speaker: ARNE SWABECK Sunday, October 28 at 8 P.M. Stayvassant Casino 2nd Avenue and 9th Street

NEW YORK ELECTION RALLY Speakers and other details will be announced in next issue. SUNDAY, NOV. 4, at 8 P.M. Irving Plaza (Irving Place and 15th St.)

BRONX LECTURE Reform of the Second or Fourth International? Speaker: ARNE SWABECK Friday, Oct. 26, at 8 P.M. 1739 Boston Road Auspices: Bronx Branch, C.I.A.

PHILADELPHIA—INTERNATIONAL WORKERS FORUM 431 Pine Street Sunday Evenings at 8:15 P.M. October to May 1934-35.

Oct. 28—Lecture: "Civil Liberties in the Class Struggle" JOHN V. STANGER, Phila. Sec. Penna. Civil Liberties Union. Nov. 4—18th Anniversary Celebration of the Russian Revolution—

THE MILITANT

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IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Teachers Attacked By Ives Bill

At the special session of the New York State Legislature last July the forces of reaction and the professional patrioters scored a victory by securing the passage of the Ives Bill which requires that all public and private elementary, high school or university teachers take an oath of loyalty, pledging themselves to uphold the government and constitution of the United States and of the state of New York. They must also pledge to faithfully carry out all duties assigned to them as teachers. The bill was signed by Governor Lehman without affording the teachers a public hearing and over the protest of the Teachers Union.

The passage of the Ives law was the opening shot in a new campaign against the schools and the teachers. In a letter to the Board of Examiners which has charge of the examinations for teachers' licenses, George F. Ryan, president of the Board of Education, said: "Let us close the door now against anyone who may seek a teaching position for the purpose of teaching American children un-American or subversive doctrines. Let us have no one whose professed zeal for academic freedom is merely a high-sounding excuse to make an attack on American ideals. . . . Let us have no more ill-mannered people such as those the Board of Education was forced to dismiss for conduct unbecoming a teacher." The last sentence refers to two teachers who were dismissed because they protested the dismissal of a third teacher, without his having been given an opportunity to defend himself at a public hearing.

New Espionage System The Board of Examiners replied to this letter. They announced the institution of a system of regulations for candidates for teaching positions which in effect introduces an espionage system reaching back into their college records and which resembles the system in vogue under the Lusk laws. It also suggests that supervisors in the schools help the Board of Education to weed out the progressive teachers who are now teaching by introducing a similar spy system. These measures are not isolated phenomena but are directly related

to the attacks on education and teachers which have been going on since 1930. For years this attack has assumed different forms. Since 1928 no new teachers have been appointed in the elementary schools, and until recently none were appointed in the high schools. The building of new schools has also been suspended, and the Board of Education has discharged almost its entire staff of architects and engineers. The result has been the children have been crowded into classes ranging up to sixty to a class in many instances and making effective teaching of even bare essentials impossible.

It has also created an army of unemployed teachers fully prepared to teach, even licensed, but denied that opportunity. Thousands of other candidates have been failed by the Board of Examiners in previous examinations and denied even a license.

The Economy Knife The educational authorities backed by large propertied interests, not content with these economic measures, also proceeded to attack teachers' salaries. First they imposed an involuntary contribution to finance lunches and clothing for the children of the unemployed in order to avoid taxation upon the propertied interests for unemployed relief. On top of this they put through a salary cut in 1932 and in 1933 a month's payless furlough. In addition full pay when on sick leave, in force for decades, was cut in half and based on the salary schedule in force before the cut. The latest attack has come in the form of a proposal from the state of education to abolish life tenure of teachers and to substitute for it a system which in effect would make permanent probationers of teachers.

As these measures were enacted they aroused the protests of teachers and progressive forces. The Board of Education replied by persecuting militant elements and by the enactment of measures to silence teachers and lay the basis for future wage cuts or retrenchment policies. One of the measures is the Ives law. The second major measure is the proposed abolition of tenure which would make it possible to dismiss teachers on any pretext and hire substitutes at a lower salary scale.

Modern Lusk Laws The present attacks resemble the situation that existed during the

reactionary wave of 1919-23 when both the labor movement and the teachers were attacked. In this period there also occurred a strike wave followed by a wave of unemployment. To offset this unrest the capitalist press created a red scare, which resulted in the Palmer raids and the Lusk investigation. In 1919 the Union League Club, a reactionary Republican organization, initiated and obtained the appointment of the Lusk investigation and its representative in Albany, Archibald Stevenson, became the chief counsel for the investigating committee. The committee not only spied on such organizations as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the L.L.G.W.U. but raided the offices of workers' political parties, schools, press, fraternal and cultural institutions. Gitlow, Larkin, Ruthenberg, Winternitzky, and two editors of a Finnish workers' paper were sentenced to long prison terms on the charge of violating a criminal anarchy law passed after the McKinley assassination but which had never been used before by the state authorities. Five duly elected Socialist party assemblies were expelled from the New York State legislature for disloyalty. New York teachers too were included in this infamous investigation and suffered dismissals and persecution.

The Lusk investigation resulted in the passage of the Lusk laws, one of which provided for the dismissal of any teacher who advocated a form of government other than the present government. It required every teacher to take an oath of loyalty to uphold the Constitution. In order to carry out the provisions of the law (with a vengeance) the state department of education set up an Advisory Council headed by the same Stevenson to investigate all suspected teachers in secret star-chamber proceedings. Principals and supervisors were required to draw up lists of teachers whose loyalty and morality they were certain and lists of those whose morality and loyalty they were uncertain. The latter were investigated by the Advisory Council.

There is a marked resemblance between the Lusk laws and the Ives law and the measures proposed by Dr. Ryan and the Board of Examiners. The latter are a second edition of the former. The Ives law can, and will be used as a club to smash the tenure rights of mili-

MARCH OF EVENTS

Hunger Strike of Workers

In the "advanced" countries the hunger strike is a weapon used by workers only when they are horribly mistreated as prisoners in jail. The starvation strike of the twelve hundred Hungarian miners at Pecs, resorted to in utter desperation to call the world's attention to their unbearable misery, is not merely a symbol of the low level of organization of the working class of backward Hungary, but also a warning to the industrial proletariat of the entire world of the unutterable depths to which they can sink if they permit their organizations to be crushed under the iron heel of brutal capitalism or fascism. The Hungarian miners are indeed prisoners held in the chains of capitalism. The coolie level of existence of these miners threatens to become the normal level for the world's working class unless they learn the lessons of the October Revolution, the need for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishing of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the Orient, in Japan and China, the workers have also practiced the feudal custom of suicide strikes to force concessions; time and again the frightfully exploited girl textile workers (and the men too) have shut themselves up in the factories and threatened hara kiri if they were not granted relief. But these methods are slowly giving way to the militant action of an organized working class, more conscious of its ultimate goal. The strike of the miners must not only evoke the profoundest sympathy of every worker, but it must steel our determination to bring about a united working class struggling militantly for revolutionary aims.

Unity of the Working Class.

The series of black defeats of the world proletariat in one country after the other drives the class conscious workers to feel the urgent need for unity of the working class in its struggle against the further advance of reaction. Those workers who are unaware of the history of the Communist movement over the period of the last decade and more, uncritically demand such unity at all costs. They do not realize even now the need for something more than the mere cry for unity, the need for a program and a revolutionary strategy that, with the hegemony of a firm revolutionary party, alone can assure victory and not defeat in the struggle.

Nor is it possible to revive that utterly decayed corpse, the Comintern, and expect it to transform itself once again into the revolutionary instrument forged by Lenin and Trotsky. After its fresh crime of utter disregard of the needs of the Spanish Revolution, at the very moment the Spanish workers are suffering defeat, bloody defeat, at the hands of the fascists, the Comintern issues an appeal for a united front to aid the Spaniards,—the appeal that should have gone out years ago. Literally years ago! Whether this appeal made by one organizer of defeats, the Third International, to the other organizer of defeats the Second, will lead lowly or more rapidly to a proposal for organic unity on a world scale is as yet merely a matter of conjecture. In view of the converging interests of the two bureaucracies of these defunct international, it is not altogether impossible that such a move may ultimately be made. A move of this nature consummated as a deal between them, ignoring as it unquestionably would if the revolutionary workers permitted it, the real needs of the struggle in the various countries free from the stranglehold of fascism, would only lead to new defeats. But such a move would aid in the release of entirely new forces by helping to clear the road of what have become two great obstacles for the workers of the world. That clearing of the road, indicative of the need for the Fourth International and new parties in every country could be utilized by the Marxists to bring about an entirely new orientation of the workers' movement everywhere.

A Sign of the Times The bookshop of the Communist Party in Minneapolis was raided by elements undoubtedly of fascist nature, all the books removed and burned. This was done at night and a warning for Communists to get out of town was left behind. Without the slightest hesitation we can be sure that in the background, supporting this beginning of a struggle that may at any moment take on a bloody character, are the forces of finance capital, the Citizens' Alliance, controlled by the banks and aroused to frenzy by the militant struggle of Trotskyists' Local 574. There is only one answer to these early provocative acts that tomorrow will take on a fiercer aspect,—the organizing of a united front of all workers' organizations immediately, without delay, for defence against fascist attacks, the organizing by each organization of Workers' Guards to be placed at the disposal of the united front.

Some Fundamental Aspects of Youth Work Youth - Adult Relations

By ALBERT GLOTZER

In the social democratic movement the youth organization is more like an orphan child. The parties dominate the youth organizations with an iron hand. And so it was ever since the birth of the youth movement in 1907. The bureaucracy of the 2nd International always feared that the youth might get out of their hands. As a corollary to their political program they endeavored to create a youth organization on a purely cultural basis, lacking connection with the class struggle. The Party controlled the youth organizations not only politically, but also in a technical selection of its officers, never permitting the youth organization the slightest initiative. Only in the more recent years has this changed in some respects. The youth organizations have assumed a greater independence, upsetting in a measure, the former relationships. This is due more to the pressure of the youth within the adult organization. The Young Communist International began with a more or less proper relationship, which changed for the worse with the victory of Stalinism. The Y.C.I. became transformed into a factional instrument in the struggle against "Trotskyism", which occupied the greater part of its time.

The youth organization is politically dependent upon the party, but is organizationally autonomous, within the limits defined by the political relationship. That is, it particularly retains independence in fields of work that are carried out largely by the youth members and organization. This is how the question was regarded some thirty years ago. While the Party lays down the main political tasks of the working class as a whole, the youth organization applies them to its own particular problems. The youth must not be an "object of education" by the Party. Nor themselves, than because of any fundamental change of opinion should the youth organization be placed in a "second category". The Party must patiently permit the youth to work out its own problems, even allowing mistakes to be made (providing these are not of a major political character) in order thereby to enhance the initiative of the youth. The exacting character of the Party and the demands it makes of its membership cannot be applied with the same rigidity to the youth.

It is absolutely necessary that an exchange of representation takes place in all fields of activities and on all major committees between the party and the youth organization. This would assist greatly the political relationship outlined above. It would demonstrate to the youth that the party is really interested in the promotion of the youth organization and would serve as a means of educating youth cadres, to perfect their communist training. Naturally, all of this is dependent on the correctness of the policies of the Party. If Party policy is correct the youth organization will reflect it at once in growth and influence. Contrariwise, if the Party policy is false

in its theory and practice, the youth organization will also mirror it. The growth and decline of the Young Communist League (the true inheritor of the Stuttgart Conference of 1907) is a glaring proof of this contention.

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE OF THE YOUNG WORKERS

In his report on this question at Stuttgart in 1907, Alpari dealt primarily with the conditions and struggle of the apprentices. The system of apprenticeship was then fairly prevalent in the European countries. In the United States there never was a really acute apprentice problem and at the present time it does not even exist. Without a complete knowledge of the European situation, it appears, however, that the problem has lost its former significance, there also.

For the United States, distinct economic problems of the youth, separate from those of the adult workers, do not exist. Here, in the main, the youth and adult workers labor under the same industrial conditions, an equal number of hours, and the same wages. The mistake of Stalinism is that it artificially attempts to raise special youth demands in the factories. Yet they fail to raise properly those youth demands that have validity and strength. For example, if the youth workers do not differ essentially from the adult workers from the point of view of the rate of exploitation, this does not invalidate putting forth such demands as: less hours for youth labor, paid vacations of one month in each year, creation of special educational facilities for the working youth, labor etc. Instead, they raise a slogan of: equal pay for equal work. Such a slogan has no real existence in fact. In the field of shop nuclei organization, after a great deal of experimentation, the net result is a series of errors. These errors in method and application do not, however, invalidate the basic correctness of the shop the revolutionary party of the working class—a problem yet to be solved adequately by our movement.

In the United States particularly, nucleus form of organization for there was always a policy to create special youth shop nuclei, where the problem was that of the creation of one shop nucleus under the leadership of the Party, in which the youth engages and raises youth demands along with the general demands of the nucleus. Even where the young workers predominate, the task of the shop nucleus is to struggle for the interests of the class as a whole (because under these conditions it represents the class and not any special section of it) rather than to narrow the nucleus to represent only the youth. Everything that has happened in recent years in this respect was a result of a revision of the early

programmatic concepts of the Y.C.I. which on this question declared: "The Y.C.L. formulates and represents the economic demands of the working youth where these exist in the broad masses of the young workers as also in the working class, and in respect to their organization. The trade unions and the Communist party draw up these demands and fight for them in the struggle against capital and state authority. The Y.C.L. consolidates the masses of working youth and leads them into the economic struggle, whilst representing their interests within the proletarian world, but the trade unions and the Communist party are directly concerned in the carrying on of the struggle against the bourgeoisie. It would only be on special occasions such as when big movements occur among the masses and when there is active support from the C.P. that the Y.C.L. would then be able to successfully carry on a fight for an economic demand without the support of, or even in face of opposition from the trade unions. In all its struggles it must attempt to get the support of the trade unions.

"A SPECIAL ECONOMIC FIGHT ON THE PART OF THE YOUTH IS NOT ONLY COMPLETELY WITHOUT PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS BUT ALSO A DANGEROUS ILLUSION; IT DOES NOT EXIST. Therefore the trade unions must also be the organizations that conduct the economic struggle of the working youth. It is absolutely unnecessary to have a special organization of the youth because it would only tend to assist the en-

deavors of the bourgeoisie to set youth against age within the working class." This follows from the principle that the working class organizations as a whole are also the organizations of the working youth in their economic fight. The youth league must agitate and activate itself in the trade unions; it must constantly raise valid YOUTH demands and seek to obtain their support in all movements of the working class, never separating the youth from the adult workers and always striving to create unity of the class as a whole. With this conception we can begin to concretize the work of the revolutionary youth organization in this field, bearing in mind that the youth organization is neither a political party nor a trade union.

There has developed a new problem with which the revolutionary youth organization must seriously concern itself. It is the problem of the mass of unemployed youth, a large majority of them having left the elementary and secondary schools, NEVER PARTICIPATED IN THE FIELD OF PRODUCTION WITH THE LIKELIHOOD THAT A GREAT PORTION OF THESE WILL NEVER WORK IN INDUSTRY. The danger of degeneration and reaction effective this group is a serious one. It is incumbent upon the revolutionary movement as a whole and especially the youth organization, to carry out such an activity as will bring this large grouping to the side of the proletariat and prevent the forces of fascism from gaining their support.

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QUESTION BOX

ABRAHAM Z. BROOKLYN—

Question: In view of the fact that Lenin recognized that Industrial Unionism as formulated by the American socialist, Daniel De Leon, would supply the basic form of the Socialist Republic and that ultimately the labor unions of Russia would control all production and in fact be the government, is not your failure to teach such principles here in America anti-Leninist?

Answer: One can hardly avoid a feeling of stupefaction at the manner in which the advocates of "Industrial Unionism", as expressed by the above questioner, attempt to use the prestige of Lenin to justify their position.

What facts do you present to prove their contention? In the pamphlet "Socialist Construction of Society" (a speech made by De Leon in 1905), published by the Industrial Union Party, four quotations are given of people WHO SAY THAT LENIN SAID what our questioner attributes to him; namely Arno Dorsch-Pleurot in a Petrograd dispatch to the N. Y. World, Jan. 31, 1918; Arthur Ransome in "Russia in 1919"; Robert Minor in the N. Y. World, Feb. 8, 1919; and John Reed, May 4, 1918. This is surely not an impressive list of authorities and authoritative revolutionary publications.

Do these "facts" at all justify our good "Industrial Unionists"? First of all one has the right to ask: Wouldn't Lenin have devoted at least one full article to a question as important as this? Secondly, even if we give the "De Leonists" every benefit of doubt and grant that the above four individuals accurately reported Lenin's statements, and that other stray sentences of a similar nature could be adduced, the question still remains: what could Lenin, considering his position as a whole, have meant by these remarks?

The Leninist position (and our position) for the emancipation of society involves the creation of a vanguard party of the proletariat to lead the latter in smashing the capitalist state machinery by FORCE and to REPLACE it with its own, i.e., POLITICAL, state power, under whose direction industry will be organized and the remnants of the exploiters suppressed. Under SOCIALISM, when classes will have withered away, the remaining "state", having purely administrative functions may take the form of industrial unions, every working member of society being eligible to such unions.

De Leon, on the other hand, combines the reformist with the syndicalist position: The workers will form industrial unions and after they have, through their political party, peacefully captured the power by the ballot box, thus forcing the capitalists to "BEE", the political party of the workers is to "ADJOURN . . . ON THE SPOT, SINE DIE", otherwise this would be a "usurpation", and the industrial unions will then form the basis of society. In addition to his reformist orientation toward the workers' seizure of power, De Leon thus skips over the dictatorship of the proletariat, substituting for this historical stage a form of society which can be realized only under Socialism.

What has this in common with Lenin? Particularly how can one claim that he could have given support to De Leon's naive contention that the American social revolution will be peaceful because the capitalists, being swindlers, are cowards, whereas in Europe, because of feudal remnants and training, the ruling class is brave and will fight? . . . Though guilty of all the crimes of the decalogue, there is one vice that the feudal lord is substantially free from. That vice is COWARDICE. . . He will fight whatever the odds. . . But how is the lay of the land here, in America? . . . Let the political temperature rise to the point of danger, then, . . . your capitalist will quake in his stolen boots; he will flee. . . At least I, for one expect to see him flee. . . (For De Leon's complete position see "Socialist Construction of Society", particularly pp. 36 to 47.)

A complete polemic against the position of the "Industrial Unionists" would, of course, occupy more time and space than is at our disposal. The correctness of their viewpoint, however, is not decided merely by whether it agrees with what Lenin might or might not have said, but since it has no foundation in the revolutionary position of the latter, we would recommend that it attempt to stand on its own feet. Chicken legs, after all, are something.

A. L. DES MOINES—

"Fontamara" is now available in an English translation and can be obtained at the Pioneer Book Shop, 102 E. 11th Street, New York, N. Y. The price is \$2.50.

H. M. D. BROCKTON—

Question: Can you give me a quotation from either Marx or Engels in which the "Materialist Conception of History" is given?

Answer: The following is from Engel's "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific": "The materialist conception of history starts from the proposition that the production of the means to support human life and, next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders, is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in men's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the PHILOSOPHY, but in the ECONOMICS of each particular epoch."

Editor's note: Because some questions require more investigation than others, they are not being answered here entirely in the order in which they are received. The indulgence of the questioners in this matter is requested.

J. SHERMAN, N.J. (Continued)

Question: What is the Communist position on "immediate demands"?

Answer: In general the Communist position is that the fight for immediate demands is a necessary stepping stone toward the seizure of power, without which it will not be possible to organize the workers. The historical sense of this position was stated by Lenin as follows during a debate on whether to abandon a minimum program: "Our entire program would be nothing but a scrap of paper if it were not to serve us in all eventualities and in all the phases of the struggle by its application and not by its non-application. If our program is the formulation of the historic development of society from capitalism to socialism, it must naturally formulate all the transition phases of this development, and must be able to explain to the proletariat at any time the process of the transition toward socialism." (From speech made in autumn of 1917, quoted at the IVth congress of the C.I.)

WHAT NEXT FOR FRENCH LABOR

WORLD OF LABOR

The first phase of the development of Bonapartism in France began on February 6 under the "truce government". A new stage is now in preparation. The maturing crisis of the summer months is reaching the point of explosion. A solution is near at hand.

Let us review the situation in a few words. The policy of deflation has brought no improvement. The economic crisis is raging more intensely than ever with no prospect of ameliorating the difficulties of industry as of agriculture. But, on the contrary, the economic conditions of the workers of the city and country have worsened with the prospect of growing unemployment and large scale pauperization looming big. Large sections of the country are discontented with the fate which is being forced upon them. This has been attested by the partial elections where in many places the socialists and communists have recorded gains.

Strengthening of Bonapartism and the Struggle Against the "Common Front"

The big bourgeoisie is alarmed. It feels the foundations of its rule over the country shaken. Its forces of coercion, its apparatus of repression, reveal a very advanced state of decay. The big bourgeoisie also feels the need of re-arming itself immediately. Doumergue developed in his speech over the radio the program that it wants to carry on in the new period. He demands, by means of a reform of the constitution, reducing parliament to a shell, making the state administration a vast barracks where the civil servant will be no more than a soldier without any rights, submitting to the strictest discipline (the teachers have already received a direct blow), with the power concentrated in few hands, thoroughly obedient to the orders of big capital. He demands a strengthening of Bonapartism, of the power which imposes "law and order" by basing itself primarily on armed force.

In order to realize its program, the big bourgeoisie is effecting a rapid mobilization of its servants and formations. Doumergue has issued an appeal. The various bourgeois groups reply: present. But its acceptance by the toiling masses is still to be had and the difficulty facing the bourgeoisie is great. Years of relative "prosperity", the absence of great social struggles, together with the confused policy of the C.P.—all this has caused harm to the revolutionary current, but has deeply strengthened parliamentary and democratic illusions. The victory of Fascism in Germany has also reacted in the same way. The urban and rural masses of France, hardly touched by reaction, are attached to the democratic liberties acquired over a period of years. And this attachment is translated today, even for important sections of the petty bourgeoisie, by an inclination towards the bloc of the Socialist and Communist parties which appears to them to be the best defender of these freedoms. The big bourgeoisie well understands the danger latent in this state of affairs. In order to ward off the blow from "the man with the dagger between his teeth" it denounces the "common front which will send the franc down to zero". In addition the fighting formations of capital have begun to attack workers' organizations and militants with revolvers. The Croix de Feu is going through mobilization exercises. It is attempting to intimidate the workers' organizations, to reduce them to passivity and inaction while the bourgeoisie carries out its plans.

The C.P. and the S.P. on the Plane of Bourgeois Legality

The leaderships of the C. P. and the S. P., instead of orienting the workers towards struggle, are retreating before the pressure of the bourgeoisie. The leadership of the C. P. is bound up with Soviet politics which needs the friendship of France. Discontent with the policy of inaction is making itself felt in the ranks, but this is drowned in the ideological confusion created by the recent turn. The leadership of the S. P. dreams of the democratic past. It is only beginning to accustom itself to "unity of action". Profoundly imbued with conceptions of gradual political development, it is overwhelmed by even the eventuality of a period of instability. As to the rank and file, although in certain federations as the Seine, the illusions of a return to democracy are dissipating, there still obtains far from a clear conception of the conditions of struggle.

To the mobilization of the bourgeoisie, to its shock troops whose purpose it is to deprive the masses of their meager liberties, the bloc of the Socialist and Communist parties responds by issuing an appeal which is based strictly on the grounds of bourgeois legality. A parliamentary interpellation and then, after the cantonal elections, which absorb now the greatest part of the activities of the C. P. and the S. P., they envisage meetings and demonstrations. Parliamentary cretinism flows in big waves.

On this path, the same as that followed by the Austrian Social Democracy, defeat will be inevitable. Occupying a constantly narrowing arena, the working class will suffer defeat after defeat, and reaction will impose its program of multiplied misery, of redoubled preparations for war. It is absolutely necessary to smash this official perspective of resorting to the bourgeois Parliament. It is no longer possible to keep silent about this. There can be no return to the former democracy. It is doomed. Neither the bourgeoisie nor the proletariat can use it for its class interests.

The real perspective must be: The Only Perspective: Fight for a Workers and Peasants Government! The real perspective must be

Editorial Note

The article printed herewith is a translation from la Verite, official organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist Fraction of the S.F.I.O. The clarity of its analysis of the political and economic situation in France and the realism of its program for the French proletariat make it a guide for every militant in the United States towards an understanding of the turbulent conditions now transpiring in that country. Trade union unity, workers militia, general strike against the reactionary Doumergue government, workers and peasants government—these constitute a revolutionary policy to arouse the French masses out of the united front of inaction. They are the measures necessary to stand off and finally smash the fascist movement. With this program we are in complete agreement. There is, however, one point of this article which we are obliged to take sharp issue. Two references are made to the need for a united party which la Verite says is "on the order of the day". The concept here referred to is the moot issue of "organic unity". With this the National Committee of the C. L. A. is in disagreement. However, the problem cannot be exhausted in the space of this editorial note. We will return to the question of "organic unity" in future issues of the Militant. The New International August number carries articles of interest on this subject.

able. Occupying a constantly narrowing arena, the working class will suffer defeat after defeat, and reaction will impose its program of multiplied misery, of redoubled preparations for war. It is absolutely necessary to smash this official perspective of resorting to the bourgeois Parliament. It is no longer possible to keep silent about this. There can be no return to the former democracy. It is doomed. Neither the bourgeoisie nor the proletariat can use it for its class interests.

Discussion Article

The Question of Intervention by U.S. Imperialism in Cuba

The highest point of a social revolution so far reached on the American continent occurred in Cuba, starting with the struggle that overthrew the Machado regime. The formation of the elementary nucleus of the Soviets in some parts of Cuba was a reality and a living threat to the rule of American imperialism. As the main enemy of the extension of the October revolution, the American imperialists were confronted with a situation in the Cuban uprising that threatened the plans of the United States to "organize the world". Soviets are no longer "Russian" institutions; they have been established in every revolutionary upheaval in Europe and Asia, and with the Cuban revolution have invaded America.

Although the working class of Cuba did not obtain the objective of state power in their struggle against the exploiters, nevertheless, the lessons of the struggle are of utmost importance. One of the outstanding questions which proved to be a stumbling block to the extension of the intervention of the United States. A clear position on this question is essential for the Cuban workers as well as the American workers.

When the Cuban revolution reached its most favorable stage of development, the decisive conditions, under the given international situation were in favor of the working class. The Cuban ruling class was in confusion. The American aide blundered and was hated. Bitter resentment against American imperialism ran high. The economic condition of the country, revolving on the axis of sugar, had long ago reached the point of breakdown. The sugar industry had reached its worst stage. The masses were in motion. Large layers of the middle class and peasants were following the lead of the proletariat. The army had revolted and had removed its officers and in some cases were either in support of the workers' struggles, or were neutral in given cases of the seizure of sugar plantations. The establishment of Soviets was gaining momentum and their establishment on a national scale was favorable. The arming of workers and peasants, involving large layers of the class was taking place. In other parts of Latin America anti-American and anti-imperialist feelings ran high, and threatening opposition to the United States took shape in some countries.

The most important factors unfavorable to the revolution were the following: the Cuban revolution came on the heels of the most disastrous defeat of the working class, the Fascist victory in Germany. The intervention of American imperialism was a reality the whole period of the struggle. It took on the form of bottling up Cuba with American warships and the carrying on of secret work within the country. The Third International had reached the point where it stood beside the Second International, and could no longer be used as an instrument for revolution. The Fourth International was only in the formative stage. No united front action in America was carried on to rally the support of the workers. The wave of strike struggles that were rapidly maturing in the United States had only reached the initial stage due to the position of the A. F. L. leadership on the one hand and the Stalinist forces on the other hand, thereby not making it possible to take full advantage and give full cooperation to the Cuban workers.

At a most critical stage of the struggle of the Cuban workers, when opposition to American imperialism was still on the upgrade, the Stalinists took the position and issued instructions to the workers not to seize American property. This was the directive of the C. I., through its Latin American Secretariat to the Cuban section. In order to hold off intervention the Stalinists informed the workers to stop seizing American property.

To instruct the workers not to seize the American property when over eighty percent of the cultivated land and property of Cuba belongs to American interests is to tell the workers to stop the revolution. A social revolution, a proletarian revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is impossible without the seizure of the property of the imperialists.

The question is: can intervention be prevented by this Stalinist retreat? Intervention did exist in a peculiar form. But could this Stalinist position modify its form? Capitulation to intervention by refusing to seize imperialist property is capitulation to imperialism in the revolutionary period. The American imperialists changed the form of its intervention in Cuba because it feared the effects of direct intervention, realizing the powerful forces and opposition such action would release throughout the whole of the Americas.

The success of the Cuban revolution demands the seizure of American property. The revolutionary government must be prepared, in order to modify and postpone intervention, to take up negotiations with the American owners the question of their former property. It is always necessary to conduct a policy that will modify and delay intervention. But to carry this over to a system whereby a policy is pursued within the bounds of action that checks the further development of the revolution to prevent intervention is suicide.

THERE CAN BE NO SOCIAL REVOLUTION WITHOUT INTERVENTION. The given class relations on a national and international scale can be such as to modify the effects of intervention, or on the other hand make intervention a direct threat to success. But one cannot modify intervention by putting the brakes on the factors which extend and strengthen revolutionary action. The modification of intervention depends upon the extension and the deepening of the revolutionary forces.

A social revolution cannot be confined to one country. Further development and the deepening of the Cuban revolution would have caused its extension into other parts of Latin America and would have effected the American workers by accelerating the class antagonisms and by giving impetus to the developing strike waves. The extension of the Cuban revolution beyond its national boundaries does not necessarily mean success in these countries. But its extension would rouse the workers and other layers of the population of these countries, who in one form or the other would give battle to the exploiters and the American imperialists, thereby preventing the full blows of intervention from striking. Under such conditions the revolution in Cuba could further consolidate its power through the Soviets. A social revolution in an advanced country will confront intervention, although the relation of forces are far more favorable in

facied. Either the working class and the toiling masses organize, strengthen their defensive (that is what they are restricted to, today) which will soon be transformed into an offensive, or they will suffer a debacle. This perspective should guide all the activity of the working class. There can be no return to the democracy of the pre-February 6th days. The clock of history cannot be turned back. The alteration is: deeper into Bonapartism, towards Fascism and war, or forward to Socialism. That is why the working class must not agree to merely asking parliamentary questions of the bourgeoisie which holds them in scorn, but must take its post as the champion of the widest democracy possible. The struggle against the Doumergue program can be carried on only for the following aim: All power to the toiling masses, to the workers and peasants' government.

The Methods of Struggle

By which methods shall this will of the working class to resistance and to its historic goal be organized in order that it does not disintegrate itself in sporadic movements of revolt provoked and crushed by state and fascist reaction? All the fanfares of leaders, without solid organization, can but precipitate constantly worsening conditions and only play the enemy's game.

How shall this struggle for the workers and peasants' government be conducted?

The coup de Force of February 6 has cemented the workers' ranks. The threat of a new blow should bring about without any delay the greatest solidarity of the workers' ranks.

The question of a united party is on the order of the day. For its realization, united preparatory meetings must be held now at which the problems of the party in the present situation should be examined.

The question of trade union unity must be solved in the immediate future. Not a single trade union should agree to a delay of several weeks and months when danger is so imminent. The most efficacious method of struggle against the reactionary offensive is the general strike, carried on to victory, until the bourgeoisie capitulates. It is precisely for the purpose of assuring the preparation and organization of the general strike as the method of struggle of the workers under the most favorable conditions that trade union unity is necessary at once, without bureaucratic delays.

A united party and a united trade union movement is not enough for the solution of the problem of uniting the workers against the reactionary danger. The great majority of the workers are unorganized. All of the toiling masses must be drawn into the struggle against reaction. How is that to be done? In every factory enterprise and workshop workers committees should be elected by the workers in factories and enterprises. Organize these committees locally. Centralize all these local committees nationally. In this manner, parallel with the unification of the organized workers, the organization of the entire toiling mass will take place and thus against the Bonapartist pretensions of the bourgeoisie and against the rump parliament quite ready to satisfy these pretensions, there will develop the only honest parliamentary representation of the workers of the country, and in this struggle the workers and peasants' government will be born.

Anti-Fascist Militia and the Arming of the Proletariat to Beat Back the Reactionary Bands

But the struggle has begun to shift to the plane of physical force. It can develop only on this plane, for it is by force alone that a crisis will be bridged. The workers, because they can place no confidence in bourgeois legality, must take practical measures to assure themselves the defense of their rights. Anti-Fascist militias must be set up in every locality and every district. The revolutionists who seek to oppose this under such pretexts as that "the bourgeoisie will use this against our organizations; there must be no provocation" are at bottom camouflaged partisans of restricting the struggle to the plane of bourgeois legality. The forward march of reaction will not be averted "by eschewing provocation". If necessary the bourgeoisie will use this against our organizations; there must be no provocation" are at bottom camouflaged partisans of restricting the struggle to the plane of bourgeois legality. 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PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR THE NEW PARTY

(Continued from Page 1)

by which the actual dictatorship of the controlling minority expresses itself. The state or government is thus the political instrument through which the owning class exercises and maintains its power. As the necessary political phase, therefore, of the change of ownership and control of industry, the workers in the cities and on the land must take control of state power by revolutionary means.

ROLE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Consequently a revolutionary political party becomes all-important and indispensable. The class war is fought by class armies. The working class as a whole—to say nothing of its necessary allies in other sections of the population—is not characterized by firm homogeneity. It is divided by conflicting philosophies by separatist interests of caste, religion, nationality, race, sex, age. As is tragically evident today, without the revolutionary party its most valiant struggles fall to achieve lasting results. The working class as a class, as a whole, cannot directly plan and guide its battles, any more than each platoon in an army can elaborate the strategy and tactics of war. For that a staff, a vanguard is necessary—not imposed from above as in a capitalist army, without the possibility of control and verification from the ranks, but rising from the rank by tested ability and common approval. This is the revolutionary political party. It embraces the most advanced, the most militant, the most devoted workers, unites them firmly on the basis of tested principles, and welds them together in rigorous discipline.

CONQUEST OF POWER

The opportunity for the workers to take power will come in the course of the disintegration of material life and of culture under capitalist dictatorship. The masses will find themselves faced with growing hunger, impoverishment, curtailment of social services, and the threat or actuality of fascism and war. Taking advantage of the growing discontent generated by the crisis in the capitalist dictatorship, led on by the advanced workers in the revolutionary party and supported by ever larger and more significant sections of the population, the workers will take power and put an end to the destructive course of capitalist dictatorship.

In this struggle the workers, under the guidance of the revolutionary party, will forge new weapons. The united action of workers' organizations, defending workers' rights in the period of capitalist disintegration, will provide the basis for the building of genuinely united revolutionary organizations of the workers, the Workers' Councils. It is through them, not through the existing governmental apparatus, that the workers will take power. This will be no violation of essential democratic principle, for it is not the existing governmental forms, representing the interests only of the capitalist minority, but the Workers' Councils that express the political will and social interests of all the socially productive elements of the nation. To defeat the capitalist government and to transfer all power to the Workers' Councils, the workers must be prepared to use whatever means are necessary.

CONSOLIDATION OF WORKERS' RULE

Having taken power, the revolutionary government must be ready to meet the violence of the overthrow but still dangerous forces of reaction. The workers will abolish the whole machinery of the capitalist state in order to render it incapable of counter-revolutionary activity and because it cannot serve as the instrumentality for establishing the new order. Its place will be taken by the workers' state. Thus the workers' state, while assuring and continually extending far more genuine and substantial democratic rights to all those who accept the new order than ever enjoyed by the masses under capitalism, will function as a dictatorship of the entire working class against its enemies.

Against the forces seeking to restore the old order, the workers will fight with every weapon to establish and to assure their own democracy. Workers' democracy will not mean democracy for capitalists, exploiters, and parasites. The workers' state will represent only the working and socially useful elements of the nation, and will function openly as the enemy of all who uphold the old capitalist order. Against capitalist legality, serving the interests of a bankrupt minority, will be set revolutionary legality, resting on the will of the overwhelming majority.

FOUNDATIONS OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The most important of the economic measures to be taken by the revolutionary government in its initial period is the appropriation and socialization, without compensation, of all monopolies in industry and land; all mines, factories and shipping; all public utilities, railroads and other organized means of communication; all banks, credit agencies, gold stores; and all other supplies and services that the revolutionary government finds it necessary to take over in order to lay the foundations of a socialist society. This socialization of the means of production and exchange injures only the small handful of financiers, landlords and industrialists whose private control of the resources of the country is the source of hunger, unemployment and insecurity for the great bulk of the people. The policy of socialization pursued by the Workers' State will make possible the guarantee to every willing worker of a well-paid job, security against unemployment, and insurance against industrial risks, old age, and sickness. There will be no need for the Workers' State to impose arbitrary and oppressive measures upon small individual proprietors and farmers. The example of the social and personal advantages of the socialist organization of production, and assistance from the workers' government, can be trusted to lead them to voluntary collectivization. Socialism will release the productive forces to serve the needs of men, and will enable production to be planned rationally in terms of actual social requirements. It will allow the utilization of every technical improvement. The leisure and educational opportunities which will accompany these material advantages, together with removal of the dead-weight of the perverted capitalist culture, will offer every individual possibilities for the fullest creative development.

THE GOAL OF A CLASSLESS SOCIETY

The elimination of all socially useless and parasitic classes and groups will proceed simultaneously with these material and cultural changes. The entire population of the country will be transformed into a community of free producers owning the total productive wealth and resources of society. The need of coercion and repression of socially alien classes will disappear with the disappearance of these classes. With it will vanish the need for a state machinery—even the workers' state. The noblest objective of the human race, the classless socialist society which inaugurates a new era for all mankind, will be realized.

WORLD-SOCIALISM

The Workers Party of the U. S. aims not merely to lead the working class in taking political power and establishing socialism within the United States, but to join the revolutionary workers of all other countries in building world-socialism. Modern forces of production have compelled capitalism itself to

transcend national boundaries. Imperialism, itself a predatory force, can not, however, achieve a harmonious society. World-socialism is the only solution for the conflicts and disorders in the modern world, as well as for the major contradictions within a single nation. A socialist society will utilize rationally the natural resources and productive machinery of the earth in the interests of the people of the earth, and solve the conflict between the efficient development of productive forces and the restrictions of artificial national boundaries. It will grant the rights of free cultural self-determination and self-development to all nations and all individuals. World socialism will remove the causes of international wars that under capitalism now seriously threaten to send mankind into barbarism or complete destruction.

INADEQUACY OF EXISTING PARTIES

The founding of the New Party on the basis of the present program is the one possible step toward revolutionary unity. A mere attempt to fuse the programs and tactics of existing parties of protest would lead nowhere since careful analysis reveals their falsity and inadequacy.

a. Socialist Party

The Socialist Party is not a party of revolution but of reform and pacifism. The fundamental error of all wings of the party is the failure to grasp the nature of the state. From this flows its parliamentary illusions, its notion that the workers can achieve power within the framework of existing state forms, its faith in the sweet reasonableness of the capitalist dictatorship, its fetishism of capitalist democracy, its policies of class collaboration. It is affiliated and gives allegiance to the bankrupt Second International, which bears the responsibility for supporting the last imperialist war, and whose leading section, the German Social-Democracy, openly aided the capitalists to suppress revolutionary uprisings of the workers and made possible the triumph of Fascism in Germany. The Socialist Party conducts no systematic struggle against the reactionaries in the trade union movement and important sections of the Party are directly associated with these elements. Though now as at other periods in its history the Party contains many sound and leftward moving workers, the powerful right wing elements of the Party openly spurn and combat all revolutionary tendencies. The radical phrases of the centrist wing represented by the "Militant" leaders serve as a cover for an essentially reformist attitude. The Party and the Second International with which it is affiliated therefore serve the purpose of preventing the consistent evolution of the workers to revolutionary Marxism.

b. The Communist Party

The rise of fundamentally anti-Marxian nationalist tendencies and the abandonment of the principle of workers' democracy in the Third International and its sections, constitute the twin source of their decline and impotence. No semblance of party democracy obtains in the International or its sections. They have sponsored divisive tactics in the trade unions and other mass organizations, the policy of building dual sectarian unions, the theory of social fascism and the tactic one day of the united front from below, and the next day of purely formal united fronts "only from above" in which non-aggression pacts with reformist parties are concluded. They have brought low, vicious tactics into the labor movement, time and again ordering their members to break up meetings called by other labor organizations, and to beat up spokesmen of other viewpoints. They have followed an unprincipled zig-zag policy, which in the United States, for example, has ranged from the "broad" opportunistic efforts in support of the LaFollette agrarian movement to partisan exclusiveness and ultra-Leftism. In their own ranks, dissident opinion is stifled and bureaucratism reigns supreme.

The C. I. and its sections are completely and mechanically dominated by the C.P.S.U. As the revolutionary tide temporarily subsided in other countries, the Russian workers were obviously confronted with the need of concentrating upon the tremendous task of laying the foundations of a socialist economy in the Soviet Union, in expectation of decisive aid from the workers in other lands when the next revolutionary wave raised them to power. At this juncture the leaders of the C.P.S.U., however, instead of pursuing this work of laying the foundations of a socialist economy in the U.S. as one significant part of the movement for world revolution, adopted the position that socialist society could be built in the Soviet Union even though revolutions did not take place in other countries and that the building and defense of "socialism in the Soviet Union" is the first and well-nigh exclusive task of the entire world revolutionary movement. In the process of mechanically imposing this position upon the Communist parties of other countries all semblance of party democracy was wiped out. These parties, instead of concentrating their attention and energies primarily upon advancing the revolutionary movement and seeking the overthrow of the capitalist state in those countries, became little more than agitational groups dedicated to so-called "defense of the Soviet Union", pacifist activities for disarmament and "against war and Fascism", etc.

This degeneration of the Communist parties everywhere and their diversion from the task of achieving the revolution in the capitalist countries, weakened the defense of the Soviet Union and contributed to the defeat of the workers in other lands, as so tragically demonstrated by the collapse of the C. P. in Germany when Hitler came to power. In order therefore to accomplish the effective defense of the Soviet Union today, as well as successful workers' revolutions elsewhere, it is necessary to establish new revolutionary parties throughout the world and a new revolutionary International. The Workers Party pledges its support to these revolutionists in the Soviet Union who fight for the revival of the Communist Party of Lenin's time, based on the principles of revolutionary internationalism and party democracy. To accomplish all these objectives we devote ourselves with all our energies to the building of the new revolutionary party and International in the United States and other capitalist countries.

THE DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

Our opposition to the Stalinist parties, in no way affects our unwavering solidarity with the Soviet Union. Our attitude toward the Soviet Union differs basically from our attitude to any capitalist country: The Soviet Union is a workers' state, product of the Russian revolution and beacon light of inspiration to the workers of the entire world. Despite all the difficulties imposed upon it by its isolation within a ring of capitalist enemies, the Russian workers have already accomplished marvels, and have demonstrated beyond doubt that a socialist order of society is manifestly superior to capitalism even in its best period. The unconditional defense of the Soviet Union is an elementary duty of every worker and progressive-minded person. Any attempt by the imperialists of any land to attack or undermine the Soviet Union will find the revolutionists of the Workers Party ready to defend it to the utmost. Against all anti-Marxian nationalist tendencies, however, we

reaffirm that socialism cannot be built in the Soviet Union alone and that the real defense of the Soviet Union depends not upon the League of Nations, non-aggression pacts, or any such measures, but upon successful workers' revolutions in other countries.

c. Intermediate Groupings

While challenging the C.P. and S.P. and the Internationals of which they are a part, the Workers Party of the U. S. likewise firmly opposes the formation of any centrist organization based upon a national existence and trying to occupy a middle-of-the-road position between the C. P. and S. P. The party opposes any utopian attempt to reconcile reformism and revolutionary Marxism or to find an independent position between the two.

d. Labor and Farmer-Labor Parties

At present the Farmer-Labor party movement in this country is weak and inconsequential. It is, however, possible that there will rise into being a fairly "radical" farmer-labor movement, or some combination of farmer, labor and middle class movements, which will seek to reform capitalism.

The workers' revolutionary movement faces a complicated problem in dealing with such developments. It is not the task of the revolutionary party to engage in building up any party of reform. In the period of capitalist decline, so-called reformist parties cannot pretend to the progressive role they have played decades ago. Political and economic concessions can now be wrested from the capitalist class only by means of the most resolute and militant class struggle. Besides, any party which purports to represent two or more classes on an equal footing, or to direct its appeal "to all classes", is essentially a middle class party doomed to irresolution and surrender to the big capitalists in every decisive test. We do not believe that the American working class must inevitably pass through a protracted experience with reformist parties. It is entirely possible that it will either skip this stage, or else concentrate it within a brief period. Another dangerous aspect of middle class reform movements, in the present period, is the fact that they easily fall prey to those demagogic appeals, chauvinistic slogans and reactionary ideas of class harmony which are the hallmark of the fascist movement. However, the membership of these groups represent real blocs of social unrest and of potential antagonism to the existing order. They must be won to support the revolutionary movement. The revolutionary party will show them by theory and historical example, and above all by its own activities that the actual consequences of the policies of reform movements, here as in all other countries, are directly opposed to their avowed aims, that they act to preserve, not to reform capitalism into something that is not capitalism, and hence are of no lasting value to the workers. In order that it may effectively perform this task the revolutionary party must at all times maintain its own political and organizational integrity.

FOR THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

The W. P. realizes that the liberation struggle of the working class is an international struggle and that the working class must be an international party. We hold that the existing international organizations of labor of the Socialist and Communist parties are bankrupt and can no longer serve its interests. We are therefore committed not only to the formation of new revolutionary parties throughout the world, but the formation of a New (Fourth) International. Such an International does not now exist. It cannot be brought into existence by an amalgamation of the Second and Third Internationals or created on the basis of a mixture of the bankrupt policies of the two. It must be built up on the foundations of revolutionary Marxism. The Workers Party is therefore prepared to cooperate with all groups and parties in other countries which stand on the same fundamental program as our own for the speediest possible establishment of the New International.

THE MAIN TASK

The main and immediate task of the W.P. is the mobilization of the American masses for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' republic in the U. S. To this end the Party will work within the mass organizations of workers and farmers and will support and seek to give leadership to all their immediate practical struggles, strikes, demonstrations, mass action for relief and social insurance, fights against lynching, evictions, foreclosures, etc. The W.P. will participate with its own candidates and program in election campaigns. It will carry on constant propaganda to convince the workers of its theoretic competence by the cogency of its analysis, the accuracy of its predictions and the applicability of its proposed solutions. Everywhere, it will seek to demonstrate in action the success of its mass leadership.

THE TRADE UNIONS

The trade unions are the basic organs of working-class defense against capitalist aggression, and of all trade unions the most important are those in the large shops, mills, factories, and mines of the basic industries.

With these as its base, the Party will penetrate similarly the unions and federations of all groups of workers, activating and politicalizing their struggles. The main aim of the W.P. in the trade unions is to infuse them with the spirit and policy of class struggle and to aid in developing a militant leadership in accord therewith. We shall encourage and inspire workers in the unions to fight against autocracy, corruption and gangsterism and against the class collaboration tendency so prevalent in the trade union movement, wherever these appear. We are opposed to any general policy of dual unionism, recognizing that a divided trade union movement facilitates the progress of reaction and Fascism. In particular, the Workers Party is opposed to the Communist party policy of building paper unions, mechanically controlled by the Party, which are in no sense genuine mass organizations. The W.P. stands for rank and file control, trade union democracy, as essential if the workers are to have confidence in their organizations and are willing to fight for them.

The Workers Party does not believe, however, that the American Federation of Labor has any right to claim a monopoly in the field of labor organization. Too often the Federation has repelled workers in the basic industries by an insistence on craft unionism. In numerous cases, important groups have been forced out of its ranks by bureaucracy, racketeering and other evils which have tended to bring the labor movement into disrepute. Where the masses form independent unions as a result of such intolerable situations the W.P. will support them in their efforts and struggles. It will, however, continue to work for a united, industrially constructed and militant trade union movement.

The Workers Party stands for industrial unionism, and will press forward the issue of amalgamation in every field in which such action is necessary.

We warn the organized workers against the tendency, particularly noticeable since the NRA, to tie the trade union movement up with the capitalist government. This trend, nourished and supported by many of the leaders of the American Federation of

Labor, must inevitably result, if it is allowed to continue, in emasculating the unions, in restricting the right to strike, to picket and carry on any normal activity, and in preparing for the fascist "corporate state".

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS AND FARMERS

The section of the agricultural population on which the Workers Party bases itself directly consists of the agricultural laborers whose standard of living is even lower than that of the industrial workers and whose efforts to organize in order to improve their conditions are met by the most brutal repression. The organization of these workers into militant unions is an essential part of the development of the revolutionary movement in the United States. The Workers Party will give special attention to this task, and pledges its fullest support to all the struggles of the oppressed agricultural workers.

Millions of share-croppers and tenant farmers in various sections of the United States have been reduced to virtual servitude and a peasant basis of existence. Even those farmers who nominally own the land they occupy, are loaded with a growing burden of mortgages and debts and under capitalism are less and less able to make a living from the sale of their produce. This situation has driven them to openly violent "Holiday" movements, milk strikes, anti-foreclosure and anti-eviction demonstrations, etc. The Workers Party pledges its support to the struggles of the farmers against our common enemy. These struggles, however, have a consistently progressive character and can achieve lasting results only if they are directed against the capitalist system itself. For the farmers, as well as for all oppressed groups, emancipation and security can come only through joint revolutionary struggle with the working class for a socialist society.

NEGROES AND OTHER OPPRESSED RACIAL GROUPS

The Negroes compose the most exploited and persecuted section of the population of this country. Racial differences are used by the capitalist dictatorship to drive down the standard of living of all workers and to keep them from uniting against their oppressors and thus achieving complete emancipation. The Workers Party will labor unceasingly to convince the white workers on the one hand, and the Negroes and other oppressed racial groups, such as Japanese, Mexicans and Filipinos, on the other hand, that their interests are the same. It stands for the complete social, political and economic equality of the Negroes and all other races, and will fight against every form of race discrimination, wage differentials, lynchings, Jim Crowism, the barring of Negroes and other groups from the trade unions, and all other forms of racial and national chauvinism. At the same time, we point out that the Negro urban and rural masses cannot achieve deliverance by reliance upon Negro capitalists and middle class elements or a so-called "Negro capitalism". Only by allying themselves with all other workers for the complete abolition of capitalism will they gain freedom from exploitation and tyranny.

COLONIAL PEOPLES

The workers in the United States and the peoples of Latin America, the Philippines, Hawaii and Liberia, have one enemy in common—American imperialism. The Workers Party pledges its unqualified and active support to these peoples in every progressive struggle they undertake to gain the unhampered right of self-determination, free from military, political or economic intervention or pressure by U. S. imperialism. Our Party stands for the unconditional and immediate independence of the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Virgin Islands and all other colonies and dependencies of the U. S., and for the withdrawal of all troops from any territory outside the boundaries of the U. S. The Workers Party is further pledged to active opposition to any endeavor by American imperialism, be it open or masked, to infringe upon the right of self-determination of any nation or people.

PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL WORKERS

The Workers Party will seek to overcome the traditional hesitancy of American professional and technical workers to take part in social and political activity and to draw them along with all other exploited groups into the labor and revolutionary movement. We recognize that the professional and technical workers have a distinctive contribution to make both in the struggle to overthrow capitalism and in the building of a new social order. With these considerations in mind the W.P. will build up organizations of these workers and seek to penetrate existing organizations.

THE UNEMPLOYED

The great and largely permanent army of the unemployed during the period of the rapid decline of capitalism is a vast depository of every kind of social discontent. In a position where the conduct of their lives has lost social meaning, the unemployed will join with the movement that convincingly promises them a new and integral place in the social order. Unless the working-class movement by giving support to their struggles and by convincing presentation of the revolutionary way out of the crisis, draws in the unemployed, they will be prey to chauvinistic and military propaganda, to fake social nostrums and to fascist demagoguery. The Workers party will resist all efforts to erect barriers between the employed and unemployed and will constantly stress the community of interest between them. It pledges support to all struggles of the unemployed masses for relief, against evictions, for social insurance, etc.

STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

The Workers Party is pledged to a revolutionary struggle against war, which can be eliminated only by the overthrow of the society which breeds it. It will strive by every means in its power to prevent the outbreak of another imperialist war. It will combat the idea that it is to the interest of the workers to support defense of the (capitalist) "fatherland", based as this idea is on the conception of a community of interest between classes which capitalism by its very nature makes impossible. The masses have no fatherland save the one they conquer when capitalism is overthrown. The Workers Party rejects the utopian and illusory ideas of pacifism. We support ardently the wars of the oppressed against the oppressor, of the enslaved peoples against their imperialist exploiters, of the colonies against those who keep them in servitude, of the nationalities, races and minorities who groan under the yoke of a ruling caste. Against imperialist war the Workers Party opposes not a futile policy of folded arms, passive resistance, "conscientious objection", and other middle class nostrums, but the working-class policy of utilizing the crisis into which capitalism is plunged by such a war, for the purpose of bringing the war to an end by overthrowing the warmongers and establishing the rule of the working class.

THE YOUNG WORKERS

The capitalist system has throughout its existence been marked by the most hideous exploitation of children and youth. Capitalist society today cannot offer jobs even at starvation wages to millions of its youth, but only frustration or actual destruction un-

Intervention in Cuba

(Continued from Page 3)

such a country to the revolutionary forces. Within a backward country the revolution cannot be brought to a close with the proletariat in power unless intervention is defeated. Intervention can only be defeated by a policy that combines the extension and the deepening of the revolution with maneuvers to modify intervention. Such cannot be accomplished if instructions are issued not to seize eighty percent of the property of the country.

The first task of the revolutionary force is to square accounts with its own exploiters. And in Cuba this primarily means American imperialism. When a worker of the United States or Cuba speaks of his own exploiters he is speaking of American imperialism.

The Stalinists' betrayal in Cuba is an American expression of the revision of Marxism and their concept of the character of the Cuban revolution as the "Agrarian Anti-Imperialist revolution" that establishes a "Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry". It is the logical result of the theory of socialism in one country. It is the first fruit of the American-Soviet recognition and a victory for American imperialism.

—HUGO OEHLER.

der Fascist reaction or war. The working and student youth will and in the Workers Party, which aims at the establishment of a socialist society, the constant champion of their interests.

The Workers Party stands, first of all, for the abolition of child labor up to the age of 16. In its place we demand the provision of adequate educational, vocational and recreational opportunities, and adequate governmental maintenance of school children. The Workers Party advocates breaking down the archaic and harmful bars established in many trade unions against young workers, and the admission of the latter without discrimination. The party stands for equal wages for equal work for young and old. The Workers Party proposes that all those eighteen years of age and older shall have the full right to vote. It energetically opposes all attempts at militarism of the youth in the interests of the capitalist class, condemns compulsory military training in the schools of this country, and such institutions as the C.M.T.C., R.O.T.C., C.C.C., the Boy Scouts movement and the like. The Party will undertake as one of its most urgent and important tasks the building of a youth organization embracing young workers, young farmers and young students and based on the party's principles of revolutionary Marxism.

THE UNITED FRONT

In spite of organizational and political differences, the workers, to defend their rights and advance their interests, must achieve united action. If they do not, wage and relief cuts, increasing abrogation of political and civil liberties and finally war and the victory of fascism are assured. This does not mean the false and in practice disruptive united front such as was proposed by the Communist party in the "united-front-from-below". Likewise, the W.P. rejects arbitrary arrangements between bureaucratic officials imposed upon the masses, and so-called "non-aggression pacts" which in practice mean capitulation to reformist tendencies since they obscure differences of principle between reformist and the revolutionary party. The Workers Party stands for an honest, straightforward, carefully defined united front of organizations on specific and immediate issues facing the workers. Such united front actions in which the participating organizations retain complete political and organizational independence, teach the workers the need and value of unity, expose the weakness or treachery of reactionary and reformist leaders, and give the revolutionary party the opportunity to show in action the correctness of its principles and tactics. Thus, united front actions are indispensable preparations for the genuine unity which, in the revolutionary crisis, will enable the workers to take power. The Workers Party, therefore, urges vigorous united front actions of all working class organizations whenever the interests of the working class as a whole can be defended or advanced thereby.

CONCLUSION

We call upon the American masses not to submit passively to injustice, not to be deceived by half-measures and so to drift into greater and greater misery. The present social order is out of tune with the enormous progress labor or productive capacity has made. Due to this discrepancy we starve while there is plenty, and unless the prevailing social system is replaced by a scientific socialist economy, the modern world will sink into barbarism. Catastrophe will be avoided, and happiness for all will displace misery if the masses realize the truth and act positively on that basis. American workers and their allies must make real the vision of a nation of free men and equals, knowing no oppressors, no oligarchy of birth or wealth, no class distinctions. They must join with the workers of the world in the creation of a new society, a world federation of workers' republics.