



Fight Cripples Strike of New York Painters

What amazes the trade-unionist of average honesty and intelligence, and fills him with disgust, is the ease with which the corrupt Zausner machine is running roughshod over what every painter thought were the natural and legal rights of members inside their own union.

For years the supporters of Zausnerism have proudly boasted that the union men in the Brotherhood are a class apart from the rest of the painters, that they possess skill, courage and brains, and that under no circumstances would they permit themselves to be victimized and enslaved by any group of self-appointed bureaucrats and gangsters. But—alas and alack—another boast has become a myth and degenerated into a tragedy!

Wide Open Racketeering

Racketeering flourishes most freely at the present time in the Painters union. It is supposed to be un-American in principle, but seems to be really American in practice. The union constitution, the Executive Board and the local leaders have the power to stamp out this pestilence, but it does not, because it has become a racket itself. It is probably impossible to exaggerate the corruption of the union leaders and officials. They impose enormous sums of taxes and assessments on all kinds of pretext and coolly pocket the money as they did during the strike a year ago when more than \$180,000 were collected from painters inside of four months. Now the District Council reports that it is broke again, and what is more, has made a loan of \$25,000 and is negotiating for another loan of the same amount. All of this is expected to be paid out from the forthcoming work tax, which is to be 50 cents a day for every working member.

The Zausner machine makes loans, then doubles and multiplies its debts without creating any improvement for the painters. The painters have informed the officials in the past of their inability to pay dues and taxes. But the union constitution, by-laws and brother-in-laws and outlaws have held him up, walked on him, sat upon him, flattened him out, squeezed and terrorized him until he does not know what, where, or why he is. These laws compel him to pay per capita tax, work tax, kickbacks and when dead probably also an inheritance tax.

The "Brilliant" Strike

This "brilliant strike" (Daily Worker, August 6) is now in its second week. Nothing has been accomplished so far. The leaders are unwilling to embarrass the bosses with picketing and the rank-and-file has become completely demoralized and disorganized. The former have already signed up with nearly 200 independent bosses in a fake agreement of \$9.00 for a seven hour day. In actuality their scale is \$5.00 per day with no limit to working hours. The object is that money should start rolling in immediately, because the strike is a "source of income" for the leaders. The membership, on their part, do

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General Strike in Knit Goods Trade

Three thousand more knit goods workers walked out yesterday to join the twelve thousand who answered the strike call of their unions on Thursday. Of the eighteen thousand workers who ratified the strike proposal a couple of weeks ago, fifteen thousand have responded while the remainder are expected out within the next few days.

The Knit Goods Workers Union and Locals 155 and 2085, under whose joint leadership the strike is conducted demand a 35-hour week instead of the former 37½-hour schedule, recognition of the union, a guaranteed minimum wage, and abolition of the speed-up.

The walkout has caused complete paralysis of knit goods manufacturing operations in New York and New Jersey. The Metropolitan Knitted Goods Ass'n has shut down all of their 200 plants in the Metropolitan area.

Ben Golden, representative of the Labor Board here, and erstwhile ally of the employers, has called bosses' and strikers' representatives to a meeting at which he will attempt to "mediate" the differences. So far union leaders have stood pat on the demand for a thirty-five hour week.

In New Jersey, where the courts recently tried to legalize picketing, several strikers were arrested while distributing leaflets. Ten strikers were arrested in New York on the trumped up charge of disorderly conduct.

Report Silver Shirts Arming in San Diego

The danger of the rapid growth of the fascist movement in America can be adduced from the startling testimony recently given to a Congressional committee investigating the activities of the Silver Shirts in the San Diego region of California. A direct link was established between the Nazi government of Berlin and purchases of arms by their American emulators for the purpose of training an American Storm Troop section.

The disclosures revealing a connection between the German government and Pelley's organization pointed to Dr. George Gysseling. The latter, Berlin vice-consul in Los Angeles, refused to appear before the committee, claiming diplomatic immunity. The immediate cause for his name being involved was a mysterious check for \$215 coming from the office of the Consul, which it is believed was used as payment for the purchase of arms and ammunition by the San Diego Silver Shirts.

Link Between Nazis and Silver Shirts

A further link was seen between the latter organization and the German National Socialists in the parallelism existing between the two organizations, and in the professed admiration by those leading the American movement of the Hitler movement in Germany.

Aping the German movement, the Pelley organization has carried on a vehement campaign against all Communists, Socialists and Jews. They have demanded the dismissal of the "Jewish advisers" of President Roosevelt, Morgenthau and Baruch. In addition they have carried on a campaign against parliamentary government, calling for an outright dictatorship.

The investigation further revealed that besides having swastika prominently displayed about their homes, the Silver Shirts have set up Storm Troop groups on the German model. It was for these Storm Troops that the arms and ammunition was purchased with this check coming from the office of the Consul General.

The testimony before the committee revolved about these disclosures. It was pointed out that regular drill was carried on in strict military style, in many cases having army officers leading the groups. Rifles and ammunition of regulation U. S. army and navy stock was being used by the group. **Collision with Police and Soldiers**

A Marine corporal who had been sent into the Storm Troop group by the intelligence service of the army to investigate the disappearance of these rifles, revealed that some of them had been stolen, while others had been obtained for the Storm Troops by governmentals officials in sympathy with the fascist organization. The corporal claimed that the office of the sheriff of San Diego county as well as the police department of San Diego had direct connections with the Silver Shirts.

He also gave testimony to the effect that elaborate plans had been made by the Storm Troops to break up the May Day demonstration of last spring. The failure of any large demonstrations materializing probably prevented a serious clash from occurring.

The aim and tactic of the Silver Shirts is made sufficiently clear. Their goal is a fascist state in which all labor organizations, political as well as trade union will be wiped out. The only answer that can be given to these embryo fascist organizations is an answer in kind. They must be physically wiped out, today, while they are still weak and insignificant. A campaign for the extermination of the fascist movement is something that the working class will have to undertake sooner or later. The more speedily it is done the more easily will the task be accomplished, and the more quickly completed.

How the workers feel about the NRA has been indicated by the numerous strikes throughout the country. The bosses, however, registered their pleasures in quite another manner,—by the amount of profit they sweat from their wage slaves.

While the N. Y. Times editorially cautions the workers against striking at this time because there is a decline in business activity, the great steel mills which are considered a barometer of business activity generally, announce huge dividends for its stockholders.

The U. S. Steel Corporation announced its highest profit in three years. While last year their profits amounted to a measly \$4,881,554 for the quarter ending June 30th, their profits for the same quarter this year amounted to \$21,082,000.

89,000 Represented as Illinois Jobless Organize

Marking one of the greatest forward steps in the organization of the unemployed in this country, representatives of 89,000 jobless workers gathered in Staunton, Illinois, and established the Illinois Workers Alliance.

100 delegates from 138 groups in forty-seven counties in Illinois climaxed eight months intense organizational activity in this convention. This new movement no doubt will be one of the great stepping stones towards a national mass movement that will give the unemployed a powerful weapon in the battle against starvation rations of government relief.

Condemn Roosevelt Program

Resolutions were adopted by the first convention of the Illinois Workers Alliance condemning the failure of the Roosevelt administration to supply "even the most meager standards of subsistence relief or to supply a permanent solution for our troubles". The convention took a clear stand towards the policy of organized waste as embodied in that ingenious child of the brain trust, the A.A.A. which was attacked for its "program of disguised subsidies to large banks, corporations, loan and mortgage companies, for its large scale destruction of food and crops."

A comprehensive program of immediate demands was accepted by the delegates among which are cash relief, unemployment insurance, work for all at union wages and representation of I.W.A. members on all relief boards.

For Abolition of Capitalism

Pointing out the trends towards Fascism and war, the resolution concluded with a call for the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of a workers republic. In a true non-partisan spirit all members of the I.W.A. were

urged to support the candidates of all working class parties pledged to the overthrow of the profit system.

Holding out a hand of solidarity to the employed workers and the organized labor movement here and internationally, the declaration of principles avows its support of all labor and farmer organizations in the common battle against oppression and exploitation.

Militant Executive Board

An executive board among whom are men and women who have fought not only in the interests of the unemployed but whose names have been distinguished in the struggles of the Illinois coal miners was elected at the convention. Ed Morgan and Otto Sturm, both of Staunton, were designated respectively chairman and secretary of the Illinois Workers Alliance. Other members of the executive board are Katherine De Korre, Simon Trojar, Paul Rasmussen, Jerry Johnson, Archie Crabtree, Ralph Cox, Glen Bullock, R. M. Hendrickson, Harold Kennedy and Jim Shipley. The majority of these men and women come from the battle-scarred mine communities of Illinois.

The first meeting of the newly elected executive board met soon after the convention and adopted a program of action to put their convention decisions into effect immediately. Six field organizers were appointed to spread the message and build the organization in those territories where it has not as yet penetrated. Mass demonstrations and strikes on relief projects were projected by the committee wherever it was necessary to bring to bear the might of organization to win the demands of the jobless.

The Illinois Workers Alliance has a great future. More power to it!

Detroit Automobile Workers Revolt Against Treacherous A.F. of L. Policy

Revolt is rising in accelerated tempo throughout the automobile centers and in the newly formed Federal Unions in the United Automobile Workers Union of the American Federation of Labor. Press reports have it that 7,000 workers in the Hudson Motor Car Corporation in Detroit have broken with the A. F. of L. and that hundreds of men in the General Motors Truck and the Fisher Body locals in Pontiac have indicated their readiness to support the move. The new organization resulting from this split is called the Associated Automobile Workers of America.

Danger of Craft Unionism

The recent conference held in Detroit on June 23 could do nothing but occasion the greatest suspicion of the Automobile workers in the motives of Green and Collins, chairman of the National Council of Automobile Workers and A. F. of L. representative. These reactionary resisted the formation of an international union and kept the automobile workers in the uncertainty of Federal Unions affiliated to the central body of the A. F. of L. That the suspicion of the workers in Detroit was not unfounded is shown in an article in the **American Federationist** for August which states that the reason for not organizing the auto men into an independent union is because "the unions are new; their officers require training and guidance from experienced union men; their financial situation is not strong enough. . . ." In such a program the danger of craft unionism, ineffective against the mighty General Motors and obsolete in the mass production industries, looms big.

Secondly, although not mentioned in statements by Arthur Greer, leader of the insurgents, there is the huge and growing discontent with the sell-out agreement engineered by Roosevelt and agreed to by Green and Co. on March 25 of this year. Throughout the reports by representatives of automobile workers in various factories appearing in the July issue of the **American Federationist**—reports which are completely devoid of any fighting spirit—there are complaints that the "president's agreement" is not working out. They state—although in the tone of salesmen making a monthly report to a corporation—that they have not secured recognition from the bosses who everywhere refuse even to meet with the workers' representatives, that the National Labor Board of the NRA has done nothing for the auto workers.

"Patriotic Duty"

"This settlement," says William Collins in the same issue of the **Federationist**, speaking of the betrayal in March, "was by no means satisfactory to the unions. Nevertheless union representatives looked

upon it as their patriotic duty to accept the settlement, since it was the direct request of President Roosevelt that they should do so: it was accepted on the assurance of the President that it was the best way out of a situation which might very well prove serious not only to the automobile industry but to the country as a whole, and might retard the entire recovery program." Is it any wonder that the gathering storms of indignation at this treachery have finally burst?

There is no doubt that the action of the Detroit workers in the Hudson plant is the expression of a forward movement of the rank and file. As such it is a step that may herald big doings in the automobile industry which will have immense repercussions throughout the entire labor movement. The strike of the auto workers for union recognition is long overdue. The accumulated grievances and sufferings of the men on the conveyor line will lead them sooner or later to challenge the power of the Automobile trust in a struggle that will teach lessons in militancy to the workers everywhere.

That the capitalist class recognizes this eventuality is seen in an editorial comment in the N. Y. **Herald Tribune**. This revolt, it says, "is capable of leading on to radicalism, extremism, even the class struggle—as the reported dissatisfaction of the Hudson workers with the A. F. of L.'s role in the Pacific Strike may indicate."

Conservative Leadership

Whether the move of the Hudson workers is premature or not cannot very well be judged from here. Time alone will tell that story. The greatest danger to this new union, however, is from the reactionary leadership that has seized control of it. The spokesman, Arthur Greer, is an outspoken conservative and class collaborationist. He says in his report to the **Federationist**: "In meeting with the management we have up to this time shown them various grievances, thus far presented which are not only beneficial to the employees but the management as well. We are building up a mutual confidence that is desired." It is clear that he has placed himself at the head of the new union in order to crush its militancy and steer it into harmless channels.

As yet there have been no signs of a Left wing. Without the insurgent movement is bound to go the way of the Progressive Miners—extinction; with the auto workers can place an entirely new complexion on the labor movement.

The question for the left wing, in this instance, is not dual unionism but how to remain with the masses of dissatisfied workers so as to lead them on the road of militancy and struggle.

Drivers Ranks Hold Firm As Bosses Committee of 166 Begins to Crack

"Confidence is Returning" Says Artful Dodger Roosevelt

One of the dignities of the presidency is the art of talking much and saying little. Franklin D. Roosevelt once again showed himself to be a master of the dodging profession in his speech at Green Bay, Wisconsin on August 9.

Those who expected an expression of policy will be sadly disappointed in Roosevelt's address. Those who know his role will at once recognize the skillful game of playing for popular support by promising to promote the common-weal and boasting the taps of milk and honey that have been opened during his administration.

Roosevelt returned from his good-will trip to Hawaii aboard a battleship to find the nation he had hoped to reduce to tranquillity stirred up to turmoil. Strikes everywhere. Pickets murdered. Troops on the streets. Martial law declared in Minneapolis. NRA arbitration authorities taking the leadership of the strikebreakers. Bosses openly defying the sham of section 7a. Johnson heading the red-baiters. Business stagnating and unemployment on the increase.

Very Discreet Omissions

All this passed over Roosevelt like water off a duck's back. A naive person would surmise that there were no newspapers in the delightful millionaire's trip made by the president. That is the impression he would like to convey. Roosevelt's silence on these matters is deliberate. It would be incorrect for him to express his open satisfaction with the crushing of the Frisco general strike. It would be unwise for him to expose his hand by an outright endorsement of NRA strikebreaking. It would be bad politics for him to condone the willful lassitude of Labor Board administrators in permitting flagrant violations of Section 7a. No use pouring salt on open wounds, Roosevelt reckons.

But let there be no misunderstanding, the President did say something positive. He reassured the capitalist class that he means no monkey business. "The government intends no injury to honest business. . . . In this modern world, the spreading out of opportunity ought not to consist of robbing Peter to pay Paul." In other words: Bankers and bosses! I am your faithful servant. The workers may endure hunger and privation but to separate you from any part of your bloated profits would be robbery.

bery. Far be it from me!

"Confidence is Returning"

Now comes the demagogic par excellence. "Confidence is returning. . . . Yes, confidence to the farmer—for whom the great heart of Franklin bleeds—who was forced by the A.A.A. to destroy his crops only to find himself ruined when the drought swept over the agricultural areas. That would be confidence in capitalist insanity."

Confidence is returning to "the workers who have achieved under the National Recovery Administration rights for which they have fought unsuccessfully for a generation. . . ." The steel and the auto workers, deceived, betrayed, a company union rammed down their throats with the help of Washington, have had a rebirth in confidence—not in Roosevelt, but in their own strength. The thousands of other workmen, who have been cheated out of the rights they were about to win for "the first time in a generation" by the quivering arbitration set-ups of the NRA, will no doubt find a way to show their "returning confidence."

Credit Where It Is Due

But Roosevelt is right. "Confidence is returning to the manufacturers who, in overwhelming numbers, are comparing the black luk of today with the many years gone by. . . . to the fair and sincere bankers and financiers and business men, big and little, who now, for the first time, find government cooperating with them in new attempts to put the golden rule into the temples of finance. . . . And why shouldn't 'confidence' return to them. Profits have been restored. Huge subsidies have poured into the coffers of the plunderbund. The banks have been saved from collapse. Credit should be given where credit is due."

The New Deal, concludes Roosevelt, "seeks to cement our society, rich and poor, manual and brain workers (read: parasites) into a voluntary brotherhood of freemen. . . ." This rhetoric of a class collaborationist utopia comes only a year and a half too late. It comes when the workers are learning that this "brotherhood of freemen" has been a Hell of slaves and masters. Of vomit gas, bullets and bayonets. Of exploiters and exploited. The real "brotherhood of freemen", which is not the enslaving "new deal" but socialism, remains to be achieved.

FOR A HOT TIME!

The steamer "Seagate" has been chartered by the New York Local of the Communist League of America and the International Workers School for a moonlight sail up the scenic Hudson River to Bear Mountain and back.

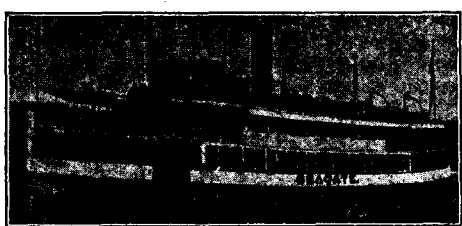
There are three decks to the boat. Those who wish to rest after a week's toil and enjoy the cool breezes of the beautiful Hudson will have the upper deck. The same goes for those who find their pleasure in conversation and discussion. The middle deck is equipped for dancing. The music is furnished by the Rainbow Ramblers Jazz Band. In addition we have arranged for a program of entertainment which will include among others a noted violinist, Mr. Ellis and a singer from the Hippodrome Opera Co., Mr. Farber. On the lower deck of the boat you will find refreshments of the most delectable variety, prepared by skilled food workers.

Tickets for this excursion are available at the City headquarters of the League, 444 Second Ave. The price is \$1.00. The boat will leave Pier 11, East River foot of Wall Street at 6 P.M.

Do not miss this event. You will spend an enjoyable evening and help us financially at the same time. Do not forget the date: **Saturday, August 18.**

MOONLIGHT EXCURSION

Saturday, August 18th, 1934



Dancing
Entertainment
Refreshments

S. S. SEAGATE

Leaving Pier 11, East River, foot Wall St., at 6 P.M.

Ticket \$1.00

Auspices: International Workers School, 144 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

574 Backed By Workers In Mass Meet

Minneapolis, August 9.—While the ranks of 574 holds solid in the face of insuperable obstacles as the third week of the truckers strike reached its end deep cracks in the bosses' front are becoming more noticeable every day.

The beginning of a partial victory for the fighting drivers were in sight here when scores of small trucking employers began to operate vehicles after having consented to abide by the Haas-Dunnigan mediation proposal which has been accepted by the union.

On the other hand, the bigger enterprises, the notorious "166" most closely allied with the Citizens Alliance and instigators of the infamous red-scare, adamantly refuse to deal with 574 which they claim is led by Communists. Yet, the pinch of the strike which is eating away at their profits is making itself felt even among the recalcitrants. Two of the firms associated with the "166" have broken its discipline, signing the Haas-Dunnigan pact. Twenty others are reported to have wanted to follow their example but were prevented from doing so by the Citizens Alliance.

Meanwhile martial law continues here. The freedom of the three strike leaders imprisoned by the military and the return of the strike headquarters to the union were a direct result of the call for a general protest strike of 574. The fever of indignation at their arrest and the sentiment for a general strike spread like wildfire throughout the Minneapolis labor movement. The conservative labor leaders of the Central Labor Union went scurrying to Olson, pleading with him to free the Dunnes and Brown and return the Sutorious Garage to 574 because of the unpleasant situation which might have been created for them if this was not done.

The role of these leaders has been most timid and cowardly towards martial law and the raids on union headquarters. Every move of theirs in recent days has been to whitewash Olson and hide his strikebreaking acts. They attempt to explain the raid on 574 headquarters as an act to "help" the strikers. Just how is not stated.

Governor Olson is continuing his double-faced maneuvers. On the one hand, forced by the pressure of the truck drivers and the working men of Minneapolis, he issues an order refusing military permits to all concerns not agreeing to the Federal Mediators' plan and on the other he keeps locked up in the military stockade 120 of the most militant pickets and picket captains who are the only ones who can really keep scab trucks from moving. These men are held on no other charge than peaceful picketing, the right for which is supposed to be guaranteed in the laws of the country and protected by the "friend of labor" Olson.

Now that the damage has been done and the blow of martial law already delivered to the strike, Olson is making desperate if not successful efforts to retrieve his reputation as a pro-labor man in the eyes of the strikers. This accounts for his denunciation of the police whom he claimed set "a deliberate trap" for the pickets on Bloody Friday. This statement was made at the Federal Court hearing where the employers applied for an injunction against martial law. The bosses, it was disclosed by Olson at the hearing, wanted the troops to be placed under the absolute control of Sheriff Wolfe of Hennepin County. The Sheriff certainly could not do a better job against the drivers than Olson with his soft-spoken phrases.

Answering the call of the union and testifying to the support it is receiving from the laboring population here, 40,000 workers massed on the knoll of the Parade on Monday night where they listened to addresses by union leaders who explained their attitude towards Governor Olson, martial law and the proposed "settlement" offered by the bosses.

This settlement, which offers no wage increases and would discriminate against outstanding pickets,

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QUESTION BOX

COMRADE K. T. Waukegan, Ill.—If you will re-examine the "Question Box" of July 14th, you will note that it does not say that the workers in the Soviet Union control the means of production, but that they own them. In modern society, the means of production are either the property of the capitalist class or else the property of the proletariat. Despite the Stalinist bureaucracy, it still belongs to the proletariat in the Soviet Union.

Your statement, based upon your own experience, and which is undoubtedly true, that the Russian workers do not have anything to say about the management of industry, etc., does not contradict this. This merely means that workers' democracy has been destroyed; that the proletarian dictatorship is sick. Lack of space does not permit us to print your letter in full, nor to go completely into the questions you raise. We are taking the liberty of sending you Trotsky's "The Soviet Union and the 4th International" which goes fully into the matter.

Y.C.L., Brownsville.—The Stalinist position on the Saar plebiscite before it came out for the "status quo" is indicated by the following quotation, which is the only one handy at present: "We are and remain in the Saar district a part of the German proletariat, and we fight for the abolition of the frontiers and the return of our class brothers. We are not frightened by the fascist terror, we are strengthened by the pledge of millions of German workers for the revolution and the will to fight for a free socialist Soviet Germany." (Quotation from the Saarbrücken Arbeiterzeitung in the International Press Correspondent, April 21, 1933, p. 411) A question on the Saar referendum was answered in the "Question Box" of July 28.

Your other question is covered by the following answer to a neighbor of yours.

BROWNSVILLE WORKER.—What you state is quite correct. There did appear in the Daily Worker of August 8, 1925 an article by comrade Trotsky, directed against Max Eastman and the pamphlet "Since Lenin Died", in which the rumors of a split in the party and the existence of Lenin's will are denied. To the personal knowledge of this editor comrade Trotsky has never directly repudiated this document although many of the articles which he has written since that time, such as the article in the latest New International are indirect repudiations of it.

Your question, of course, implies doubt as to the existence of the will. However, Stalin himself admitted its existence: "... It has been proved over and over again that nobody has concealed or is concealing anything, that Lenin's 'Testament' was addressed to the 13th Party Congress and that it, this 'Testament' was read at that Party Congress (Cries of 'Quite true') ..."

"It is said that in the 'Testament' in question Lenin suggested to the Party Congress that it should deliberate on the question of replacing Stalin and appointing another comrade in his place as General Secretary of the Party. This is perfectly true. Let us read that passage, although it has already been read repeatedly at the Plenary session: 'Stalin is too uncouth and this fault of his, which is tolerable within our intimate group and in view of the connections between us, becomes unbearable from one who holds the post of General Secretary. I therefore suggest that the comrades should discuss the question of dismissing Comrade Stalin from this post and appointing for it another person who, in all other respects, is only distinguished from Stalin by one quality, i.e., that of being more tolerant, loyal, civil and considerate towards the comrades, less moody etc.'" (J. Stalin, Speech delivered at the October Plenary Meeting of the C. C. and the C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U., International Press correspondence, November 17, 1927, p. 1428, emphasis ours.)

Now as to the reason for Trotsky's 1925 article. In the same speech is contained the evidence which shows that, under the pressure of party discipline, he was forced to sign the document: "As Eastman had formerly associated with comrade Trotsky, we, comrades Rykov, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Stalin, and Molotov, members of the Politbureau, requested (117) comrade Trotsky to dissociate himself from Eastman. . . . Comrade Trotsky actually dissociated himself from Eastman and made a statement to that effect in the Press, which was published. . . ."

If there is doubt left in your mind as to the nature of Stalin's "request", just bear in mind that, as his speech shows, he knew of the existence of the will at the time he and all the other members of the Politbureau "requested" Trotsky to deny its existence.

COMRADE E. F. D., New York.—We certainly "do not disregard the ballot box." The following briefly gives the Communist position on this:

"We are Marxists and not anarchists. We are supporters of the utilization of parliament: it is not an instrument for transforming society, but a means of rallying the workers." (L. Trotsky, "A Talk with the Socialist Workers", Militant, April 1 and 15, 1933.)

"... participation in parliamentary elections and in the struggle on the parliamentary platform is obligatory for the party of the revolutionary proletariat just for the purpose of educating the backward masses of its own class, just in order to awaken and enlighten the undeveloped, downtrodden, ignorant mass. Just so long as you are unable to disperse the bourgeois parliament and other reactionary institutions, you are bound to work inside of them for the very reason that there are still workmen made fools by priests and the remoteness of village life; otherwise you run the risk of becoming mere babblers." (Lenin, "The Infantile Sickness of Leftism in Communism," emphasis in original.)

Pioneer Notes

"War and the Fourth International"

You have probably read the ad in another page of the Militant for "War and the Fourth International", the Draft Theses of the International Secretariat of the League of International Communists. We take this occasion to stress the great importance and timeliness of this pamphlet. With the Imperialist powers heading at breakneck speed towards a new imperialist slaughter, in a situation where any "incident" may light the powder keg of a world conflagration, the question of the struggle against war must become uppermost in the mind of ever revolutionist. The theses of the International Secretariat is the most comprehensive Marxian analysis on this problem since the first four Congresses of the Comintern. No class conscious worker can afford to be without this pamphlet. It sells for ten cents a copy and seven cents in bundles of five or more.

Bound Volumes of the Militant for 1933 have recently been received from the bindery and can be obtained from us at \$1.50 per copy. We do not need to agitate our readers as to the enormous value of possessing one of these volumes. In them are writings by comrade Trotsky which cannot be found anywhere else in the English language, as well as the great store of revolutionary tactics and strategy which the Militant has offered its readers throughout its existence.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY--IN 1914 AND TODAY

Twenty years ago today the imperialist war. . . . The World War of 1914-18 was preceded by a series of "Incidents". No more important than many preceding "Incidents" was the final signal at Sarajevo.

A series of "Incidents" are now again taking place. For the second time in a year Austria last week became the likely crucible of the world carnage. Manchuria, the Saar, or a dozen other spots will provide the next occasions for war. As the Balkans burned for two years before the conflagration spread, so, today, conflict rages in Chaco, guerrilla warfare continues in Manchuria, Britain, France and Japan wage warfare against the Chinese peasantry.

Where shall the masses of the world turn for leadership against imperialist war?

August 4th is not only the anniversary of imperialist war. It is, even more significantly for the workers of the world, the anniversary of the betrayal of the masses to the war machine by the Social Democracy. Twenty years ago today the German Socialists in the Reichstag voted war credits to the Kaiser.

How did it happen? Haase, who made the declaration in the Reichstag, was only a week before denouncing the war-mongers from the forum of the International Socialist Bureau. July 29th gigantic mass meetings of Socialists throughout Germany were organized under the slogan: "War Against War." On July 31st, martial law having been declared, came the final message of the Socialist Party Executive: "Up to this last moment the international proletariat has done its duty. . . . So we must look at that which lies before us, firmly, unflinchingly. . . ."

Meanwhile, the party organ, Vorwaerts, was sounding the note of revolt against war, denouncing any war of whatever kind waged by capitalists. Even when mobilization was ordered July 31 Vorwaerts continued to denounce its own bourgeoisie. On August 3, Vorwaerts denounced German "patriotism" and those who suddenly talked of fighting "for freedom against Czarism". Yet, that very afternoon, it had already been decided, and the next day the Socialists in the Reichstag voted war credits, in the words of their official declaration, "for the protection of our country", "in its hour of danger Germany may rely upon us." How could this happen?

We have on numerous occasions pointed out the unrealistic character of the program of fighting war with a general strike, which

An Appeal for Robins and Gras

The argument of a motion for a certain certificate of reasonable doubt, which if granted would free Harold Robins and Andre Gras on bail, was postponed on Thursday at the instance of the District Attorney.

Victimized for their loyalty to the labor movement in the recent general strike of hotel workers, Robins is serving a term of two to four years, and Gras from one to two years, in Sing Sing.

Robins, an organizer for the Amalgamated Food Workers union, and Gras, a striker, were sentenced by Judge Corrigan of General Sessions, a judge whom the labor movement knows for many sentences against striking workers. Their accuser in an assault charge was a chief who was not even eligible for union membership. This was the only "eye witness". Despite this chief's contradiction of his own evidence, the lack of any other evidence, and despite a host of witnesses for the defense, the workers were convicted.

The Robins-Gras Defense Committee, a broad united front of political organizations and trade unions, has opened a fight for appeal in the case. The appeal will be argued in the Supreme Court on October 9th. The Socialist Lawyers Association is handling the legal work.

Meanwhile the Robins-Gras Defense Committee is attempting to secure the certificate of reasonable doubt, in order to have the two workers released on bail. If the District Attorney does not arrange further postponements, the certificate may be granted next week.

The Committee is appealing to all organizations and sympathetic individuals to rush funds for bail and the costs of the appeal to the office of the Robins-Gras Defense Committee, 22 East 17th Street, New York City, Room 731.

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was the pre-war program of Social Democracy. But this was scarcely the reason for the outright chauvinism of the main wing of Social Democracy, and the equally shameful pacifism of the centrists who either voted war credits or while not openly supporting the war, defended the right of socialists to do so. No, social chauvinism and social pacifism was not caused by their unrealistic anti-war program, because they didn't even get to the point of trying to start a general strike, or even raising the slogan.

Causes of Social-Chauvinism

The causes of social-chauvinism and social-pacifism—socialists in words, chauvinist or pacifist in deeds—lie deeper than the specific anti-war program which is violated. The three groupings of socialists during the World War was, as a whole, a direct reflection of the pre-war groupings on fundamental principles.

Right wingers became chauvinists, centrists became either chauvinists or pacifists of the Kautsky stripe, which meant to defend the chauvinists and to stick to the bounds of legality in advocating the war. Only the left wing—led by Lenin and Trotsky, Liebknecht and Luxemburg—remained adamant on the war question. Turn the imperialist war into civil war, cried the Bolsheviks, and they did. Then to the horrible crime of fighting on the side of the bourgeoisie in the imperialist war, the Social Democracy added the horrible crime of fighting on the side of the bourgeoisie in the civil war.

As war is the continuation by forcible means of day-by-day politics, so the position on war of groups within the working class is a continuation of their general politics. If the masses' hatred of war led the Social Democratic leader-

ship to talk general strike before war, it was their general politics that prevailed when war did break out. They did not throw aside their general politics, with its worship of legality at any price, their fetishism of peaceful means, their worship of the sacredness of the capitalist state, their practical class-collaboration. The weight of this reformism crushed the specific anti-war program. When, with the outbreak of the war, the choice became clear: Either fight the capitalists or accept the war—the reformists made their choice and the centrists went with them. This happened wherever reformism held control, including America.

American Socialists in War

There is a myth abroad in the land about the conduct of American Socialists during the last war. Let us tell the truth. The chances for honorable action by American Socialists were great. First, the war had been going on for three years, with consequent disillusionment everywhere. Second, the party had a strong left wing—which later split off to become Communist. Despite these advantages, the true story of the American Socialist Party, and especially of most of the outstanding leaders, is a shameful one.

Within two months of the St. Louis convention the S. P. leadership was organizing the "Peoples Council", hand in hand with liberals and pacifists. The "Council" said nothing about opposing war, nor did it even discuss its causes and the necessity of eradicating them. Soon after, the Socialist leadership of the needle trade unions frankly came out in support of the war. In April, 1918 Algeron Lee and six other Socialist leaders in New York voted for the

The Crisis in the Socialist Party

The Coming Referendum

(This is the first of a series of articles on the problems facing the workers in the Socialist party.—Ed.)

I.

The Referendum Before the S. P. The members of the Socialist party will soon be called upon to vote on the various declarations of principles before them. In addition to the Detroit declaration, there is the right wing declaration of the New York State convention of the S. P. (endorsed by the New York central committee), and the amendments to the Detroit declaration by the so-called "Unity Group". Both of the latter groups are right wing. They differ only on the question as to how to defeat the Detroit declaration.

After a heated dispute in a national sub-committee, the Thomasists decided to amend their own declaration in one respect. The original phrase that Socialists would support "any of their comrades who for anti-war activities or refusal to perform war service come into conflict with public opinion or the law" was changed to read that they would support, in the event of war, those of its members who come in conflict with the law in their anti-war work not in contradiction to "Socialist principles". All groups agree on this amendment.

But—the right wing is furious! "The National Committee has no constitutional right to amend the convention declaration". And according to the best lawyers this is quite so!

The original wording was in line with Thomas' attempt to appear very radical. Under the hammer blows of the Right he flinched and retreated. Politically there was no real difference even at Detroit.

Why did Thomas reject the other amendments of the right wing "Unity Group"? "The sub-committee could not find that other changes of this sort were necessary or would command general support." (Thomas, New Leader, July 21st, 1934. Our emphasis.)

Thomas did not basically disagree with these amendments, that is, to the program of the right wing, but he found the changes unnecessary or that they would not be accepted by the ranks. Thomas' strength lies above all in his forming a leftist buffer between the genuine leftists, the Communists, and the right wing reformists.

It is therefore not surprising that Thomas finds that "There is no cause for split. We need instead to increase unity among the workers in the face of war, fascism and a disintegrating capitalism." Thomas seeks, nay, pleads for unity with the Waldmans, Solomons and Cahans. And rightly so, for he enumerates the common basis of their mutual program. (Same as above.)

The Centrists Versus Right Wing Then what are the differences between the groups?

The criticism of the Detroit declaration by the right wing, the Committee for the Preservation of the Socialist Party (no less!) is summarized in its pamphlet "The Crisis in the Socialist Party"—The Detroit Convention". A reply to this criticism by the defenders of Thomas, the so-called "Militant" group, has been penned by its leading theoretician, Haim Kantorovitch in "The Socialist Party at the Cross Roads". Here is a "left" interpretation of the declaration.

Let us examine some of the high-lights. Kantorovitch examines the right wing's criticism point by point. We shall follow his arguments.

1. The charge that the declaration of principles is not legal. A committee of eminent lawyers, states Kantorovitch, has found that the declaration is within the law. The right wing had stated that "Our left wing (!) want to find out whether it is against the law to be revolutionists". The defender of Thomas, in chiding the right wing on its police-criterion of good socialism, forgets to mention that it was Thomas who submitted the declaration to the group of lawyers!

2. That the Socialist Party is against "insurrectionism, illegal acts, and acts of individual terrorism" is substantiated by the declaration statement that "the Socialist Party seeks to attain its objective by peaceful and orderly means", and other such phrases. On this score there is unanimity in the camp of the right wing and centrist forces.

3. The reference in the Detroit declaration to the support by the S. P. of their comrades who, in time of war come in conflict with the law or public opinion is explained by Kantorovitch as meaning a defense of those who work within Socialist policies. This latter position was supported even by Louis Waldman at Detroit! As stated above, the Thomasists have already amended the section. It should be noted in passing that the original ambiguity was caused by one factor: the attempt to appear very radical and thereby control the leftward movement in the S. P.

The Socialists and War

4. On the question of Socialist program on war.

a). Kantorovitch, for the first time, scores the pro-war record of Waldman and Lee of 1918. Only yesterday in his "Militant Program", when discussing the record of the S. P. during the World War, he forgot all about these actions! He also quotes Abe Cahans as being in favor of the defense of the American government in case of an attack by Japan or Germany. (Page 12.) But what conclusion is drawn? A break with the supporters of imperialist war? No, that would mean communism!

b). The phrase "massed resistance" is interpreted by Kantorovitch as meaning "mass protests, mass meetings, mass demonstrations, mass petitions" and if "practicable" a general strike. Then why was this not made clear in the declaration? Again because the Oneils and Waldmans would not have disagreed with such formulations—they have given similar pledges in the past. The term was left unexplained because it could be interpreted by the genuinely left wing workers as something new for the Socialist party. Incidentally, is "mass resistance" at a time of war legal? Kantorovitch does not say. But it is obvious that in periods of social crises a working class party is hindered by the laws of capitalist democracy, then the party must conduct illegal work. But with what apparatus is the S. P. going to conduct this mass resistance? An illegal apparatus? Kantorovitch is silent on this essential practical question. Again the only clear, consistent and effective answer is given by the Communists.

—JOSEPH CARTER.

WORLD OF LABOR

MASSACRE IN CHILE

We are in receipt of definite information concerning the recent peasant uprising in the little village of Ranquil, Chile, which was featured a few weeks ago in the press as a Communist led revolt of the peasant masses. The truth of the matter is as follows: Having no other means of subsistence, a group of unemployed workers numbering about 600, ascended an uncultivated mountain valley some months ago and making their home in that unoccupied region, commenced the cultivation of the land. The ground was cleared, the soil was plowed, and at last it was time to reap the harvest. At this point the "Producers Society of Industry and Commerce", claiming that this land was part of the 40,000 acre estate of one of their members, the colonists were ordered to move and upon their refusal the troops were sent in. A frightful massacre followed, in which the colonists gave a good accounting of themselves, but which could have but one result. In spite of the declared solidarity of the Chilean workers, accompanied by the hysterical antics of the Stalinists who claimed they were "leading a revolution", the colonists of Ranquil found their efforts to gain a livelihood, drowned in their own blood.

The Chilean government, seeking a plausible excuse for the massacre, claimed that there was a Communist insurrection afoot. The Stalinists fell right in with this maneuver of the reaction by claiming the same thing when nothing was farther from the truth. Among the irresponsible followers of an irresponsible movement, the Chilean Stalinists merit the first prize. Not so long ago, when the sailors of the fleet rebelled in Coquimbo, these poor clowns issued fantastic proclamations, claiming to have organized the outbreak. When the uprising failed due to lack of organization, it then became apparent that the officers themselves had inspired the whole thing. Other cases could be cited, such as that of the carabinieri conspiracy of Captain Villouta; and each time we find the Stalinist party of Chile claiming leadership.

While making no claims to lead non-existent revolutions, the Communist Left of Chile is laying the basis of the new party that will be found when the time arrives, in the leadership of the Chilean workers' revolution. New forces rally daily to the banner of the Fourth International in Chile, Stalinism loses ground daily, the Socialist Party is heading for a split, and the Chilean Communist Left announces that the first issue of its theoretical magazine, *The Fourth International* will soon be off the press. In this way the basis is being laid for the new party.

SPAIN

The Spanish Communist Left, while growing organizationally, is distinguishing itself by its printed material. A fortnightly paper *La Antorcha* is now being published. It is devoted primarily to matters of general popular interest, written in a free, more popular style, and thus supplements *Comunismo*, the organization's theoretical magazine. Innumerable books and pamphlets, most of them by members of the Spanish Communist Left, have been published in the recent period.

The rightist government of the "republic of workers" is bounding the working class organizations to the very brink of illegality. A new ruling now provides that only regular licensed news vendors may sell the publications of political and working class organizations. It is claimed that this aims at the Fascists as well as the working class organizations. But this is not true, because the Fascists' newsboys have already been forced off the streets by the workers through "direct action" methods.

Mass arrests are taking place in connection with every strike, publications are suspended, and "fines" levied on them before they are permitted to reappear. In spite of all difficulties, however, most of the working class papers still continue to appear with more or less regularity and all of them are attempting to maintain a legal status.

SPANISH YIPSELS FIGHT OPPORTUNISM

Between the radicalization of large sections of its following, and the natural opportunism of many of its leaders, the Socialist movement in Spain is in the throes of an internal crisis. On the one hand, the Socialist Youth Federation at its latest congress declared for the armed insurrection and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat; on the other, the party's parliamentary fraction and its leadership generally, orient towards a new coalition with the left republicans. Largo Caballero, president and most outstanding leader of the party, while sincerely striving for a militant leftist policy, attempts to preserve the unity of the heterogeneous movement.

In *Renovacion*, organ of the young socialists, for July 7th, a demand is made for the purging of the party, through the expulsion of the members of the parliamentary fraction. The treacherous policy of capitulation followed by the latter in a whole series of situations in the recent session of the Cortes are the basis of the charges now leveled against the right wing elements, who are making a fetish of parliamentarism and legality in a period of revolutionary agitation. On several occasions the Youth Federation demanded that the S.P. deputies withdraw from the Cortes, a demand which coincided with that raised by the Communist Left.

Recent issues of *Renovacion* publish photographs of Young Socialist Red Shirt detachments in which thousands of uniformed youths can be seen marching and drilling in preparation for the coming struggle. The caption in one issue, hails the "future Spanish Red Army".

NEW PARTY IN AUSTRALIA

Greetings to our Australian comrades who by this time have probably founded a new revolutionary party. We are in receipt of the Draft Program and Policy of the new Workers Party of Australia which was issued in May by the provisional executive committee elected at a conference of the organization in the same month. A twelve page mimeographed bulletin, the draft theses includes an outline on the present world situation, notes on the situation in Australia, their attitude towards the labor party of that country, the Communist party, the trade unions, strikes, the united front, war, defense, immediate issues. It concludes with a constitution. From beginning to end it is a Marxist program worthy of the Communist group that will become the section of the Fourth International in that far-away corner of the world.

The Workers Party of Australia issues a monthly mimeographed theoretical organ called the *Militant*. A lively revolutionary group, it devotes itself with skill and ability to the political problems in that outpost of the British Empire as well as to the unemployed and trade union movement in which it is active. Similarly the Australian group is thoroughly imbued with the ideas of internationalism which are so well reflected in their paper.

Third Liberty Loan. In August, the National Executive Committee passed a resolution which said nothing about the war, except to denounce the Kaiser! Meyer London sat in Congress and neglected every opportunity of manifesting serious opposition to war. Victor Berger was frankly pro-German. To the protests of the left wing against all these outright violations of the St. Louis Resolution, the Socialist Party leadership turned a deaf ear.

How deadly did Eugene Debs pay for the mistaken belief that there was room in one party for all shades of belief! When the left wing demanded the expulsion, early in 1916, of Charles Edward Russell who had already turned pro-ally, Debs pleaded with the left wing to permit Russell to stay. What was the result of this policy? Those of the outright chauvinists who did not leave the party, as Russell did, joined together with the pacifists to keep the party impotent. Debs went to jail; but Hillquit, Solomon, Waldman, Panken & Co. could speak from every platform in the country with no fear of arrest—for they said nothing objectionable.

And even after the war was over. In the Assembly investigation of 1921, Lee and Hillquit assured the Assembly that the St. Louis Resolution was "not an incitement to the destruction of war work." Waldman swore that New York State was a "peoples government", the U. S. government "not quite" a capitalist government, and declared he would fight for his country "to repel any invasion" and that he favored necessary preparation to do so. Waldman had also voted for militia appropriations, in direct violation of the party constitution which made votes for military expenditures grounds for expulsion.

If the Old Guard and the centrists did these things after the St. Louis Declaration, what will they do in the next war? The Old Guard is by now largely and openly chauvinist, and, at the least, against any mass opposition to war. The "Militants" and the rest of the party majority which voted for the recent Declaration of Principles at Detroit, are today playing the role that Hillquit, Waldman and Algeron Lee played in 1917. Lip service to the unrealistic weapon of the general strike will be more than outweighed by the general reformist orientation of the Militants. Again we repeat: War is the continuation of day-by-day politics.

Those who, like the "Militants", are committed to the reformist fetishism of bourgeois legality and peaceful methods, will choose bourgeois legality when the choice becomes: Either fight against war or capitulate to bourgeois legality. Spokesman after spokesman of the party majority has defended the new Detroit Declaration on the grounds that, as the St. Louis Resolution did not drive the party into illegality, the new Declaration will permit the party to remain legal! True! For the same reason that worked in 1917. Then the Socialist Party remained loyal to bourgeois legality and would not fight war. Tomorrow the Socialist Party will remain true to its traditional reformism which, in war time, can only mean taking sides with the bourgeoisie against the interests of the workers of the world.

The revolutionary struggle against imperialist war will be waged only under one banner: THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

Starvation Wages for German Workers

Hamburg (TIS).—The starvation level to which the German workers' wages under the Nazi regime have sunk, is startlingly revealed by the Nazis themselves in an extensive wage investigation conducted by the "German Labor Front". The statistical compilation has been published in the official labor magazine "Arbeitertribune" and is based upon the reports of the affiliated trade unions for the month of February, 1934.

The investigation included 16,600,000 workers with a weekly wage total of 435,000,000 Mark. The average weekly income is thus 25.9 Mark, or approximately \$10.00 at the present rate of exchange. It must be kept in mind, however, that the purchasing power is much less since the decline of the German wage level has been accompanied by a steady rise in prices.

The average weekly wages for the various industrial groups are:

	Marks
Building workers	28.5
Miners	24.7
Wood and Lumber Workers	26.8
Agricultural workers	20.8
(Including goods given in lieu of cash)	
Metal workers	32.1
Textile workers	21.4
Tobacco workers	13.5
Stone and earthen workers	20.5
Public workers	28.8
Leather workers	29.5
Food workers	25.6
Other factory workers	20.0

The report also calls attention to the fact that the wages in numerous cases were much less than the above-mentioned average figures.

Since February 1934, wages have shown a further considerable decline. Before Hitler's accession to power wages were often twice as high as the average given above.

The United Front Stifling a Movement

In France the united front has been established between the Communist party and the Socialist party. Both of them were forced into this action by the menace of advancing fascism—either the united front or destruction at the hands of this merciless enemy. This issue is poised on a razor's edge.

This action is a victory for the working class, accomplished by pressure from below. This is not the united front from below, but pressure against the bureaucracy of both parties which despite all their hypocritical lip service, consistently and continuously, during the last few critical years, resisted this unity of action. We have no illusions of a genuine revolutionary policy in the agreement for this united front. Nevertheless we greet this first step as a progressive move for the French proletariat and a vindication of the stand we took long ago.

A Step Forward

While this first step does not represent, as we shall see later, a change in essence of the attitude of the leadership of the two parties, it does represent a change of form which can open up new and great possibilities. It increases the strength of the French proletariat itself. It broadens the field of working class struggle and opens up new perspectives, not only to the possibility of beating back fascism, but also for the emergence of new regroupments, leading in a revolutionary direction.

The demand for the united front could no longer be ignored and the leaders of both of the French parties accepted it. The Communist parties in other countries have accepted it and made formal proposals for a united front to the Socialist parties, which have so far been rejected by them. To this date the American Socialist party has failed to answer. Of course, the pressure of the masses for unity of action has not reached the same degree everywhere, although the issues that make it necessary exist. They exist in the United States.

Bureaucrats Fear United Front

Obviously the Socialist party leaders fear the united action of Communist and Socialist workers. Not only do the reactionaries of the old guard fear the broadening and deepening of the struggle against the capitalist attacks, but they are bitterly opposed to any struggle that will bring forward the militancy and revolutionary potentiality of the working class. Among them are outright traitors and chauvinists. But this fear obviously exists also amongst the "militants". Speaking for them, Norman Thomas declares that: "What hinders the united front is the intention of the Communists, declared openly in word and deed, to use the united front less against the common enemy than against us in the Socialist party." Questions of intention, of good or bad faith, are, of course important, but they cannot be put above the needs of the class. In doing so, Norman Thomas betrays his own lack of harmony with the working class interests.

Far more decisive than the intentions of anyone are the forces that are set into motion by the historical processes. A united working class, or at least united in action despite what differences may separate its various sections, becomes a distinctly progressive force. And those whose views are on the progressive side have nothing to fear. But that is not the case with the "Militants". By their reformist centrist position they find themselves preoccupied with the function of blurring their differences with the old guard, of adjusting their views to the standpoint of the old guard, including the traitors and chauvinists, at the expense of the struggle of the masses.

A truly left wing, on the other hand, would welcome the opportunity of working class unity of action as its own best reinforcement in the fight against the perfidious reformist bureaucrats. That is what should be expected from the Revolutionary Policy Committee. But it has so far failed as miserably as its brothers under the skin, the so-called Militants.

A Practical Test

Here is a practical test. The issue is the working class interests. Those who are maneuvering and playing for time are losing time for the working class. The common enemy does not cease his attacks.

In the United States, it is true, the Communist and the Socialist workers constitute so far only a small section of the working class as a whole. However, some very ferocious assaults have often been set afoot against this conscious minority. Most recently we have witnessed the anti-Communist campaign with its vigilante and police terror on the Pacific Coast. This method of concentrating heavily against a small minority would indicate that the unity of action of the conscious section of Communist and Socialist organizations would have a significance far beyond its numerical scope and would have an effect that would really extend to wide working masses. New inspiration and a new determination to fight and to win would be the

The Task of the Socialist Worker

There are thus very good reasons for the Socialist workers paying the closest attention to this practical test of their party and its leadership. But it is necessary to do more than this. It is necessary for the Socialist workers to demand categorically from their leaders that they make good their pretended claims of favoring working class unity. They should demand from their leaders a genuine united front which will include all workers sections and groups willing to collaborate earnestly in the realization today of definitely stated minimum aims.

In France the united front is confined to the official Stalinist party and the Socialist party. The revolutionary section, the International Communists, is excluded, apparently by common consent of the bureaucracy of both parties. In reality, as we have said before, it is a social democratic non-aggression pact. That is the reason that there should be no illusions of a revolutionary policy in this pact. In essence it represents an agreement between two centrist parties to the exclusion of the revolutionary wing in the movement. Moreover, the change of the Stalinists to this kind of a united front is primarily dictated by the needs of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union as pursued under the Stalinist regime shaped by the theory of Socialist in One Single Country.

Stalinist Foreign Policy

This foreign policy, devoid of revolutionary content, has become based exclusively on the idea of maintaining the status quo within and amongst the capitalist nations as a means of preserving peace under capitalism. It means to endeavor to forestall not only reactionary changes within the capitalist countries, but also revolutionary changes. In France especially, this non-aggression pact endeavors to create a "left" bloc to balance the right bloc (fascism), with the present capitalist government remaining in power.

There is to be no criticism within the limits of the objects of the pact although that is exactly where criticism is imperative. Criticism in action and of actions would not in the least hinder a real united front. In essence this pact is very little different from the German social democratic support of the so-called iron front with Hindenburg as its candidate against Hitler, or the Austrian social democratic support of the Dollfuss regime against fascism. It is the Anglo-Russian committee over again in a somewhat different form. This set-up, too, was created ostensibly to prevent intervention in the U.S.S.R., but served as a shield for the betrayers of the general strike and as an instrument to disarm the British revolutionists. In view of this, the revelation that the centrist bureaucracy in both of these French parties semi-openly flirts with the idea of creating one united party should not shock the revolutionists. The formal change of policy executed by the Stalinists is not a real political change but a way whereby they begin to adjust themselves to the attitude of social reformism.

Stimulus of United Front

Despite this perversion of the real united front and its outright reformist implication, even this first step will have far reaching value for the French proletariat. All its latent energies are coming to the fore and will serve as a stimulus, not consciously directed, but of a spontaneous character, to a real struggle against advancing fascism in France. By itself, this will pose revolutionary problems, the very posing of which will have serious repercussions in the proletarian ranks. In this sense it will have additional significance for the world proletariat. Because of this the possibilities, even in this kind of a united front must find attention and wholehearted support from all revolutionists. In France the actions of united struggle are already creating new left wing currents within both parties which are coming into revolt against the parliamentary illusions and the diplomatizing from the top; currents that demand that the revolutionary problems be posed for a solution.

The demand for a united front cannot be ignored for long in other countries, because it grows directly out of the needs of the working class. Revolutionists and all those who desire a genuine united front of mass struggle against fascism, against war and against the capitalist attacks on the workers must be vigilant. It is necessary to penetrate the united front in the making with the idea that a solution to the problems of today can be found ultimately only in the overthrow of capitalism.

—ARNE SWABECK.

NOTICE!

All letters, subscriptions, bundle orders, donations and any inquiries concerning or intended for the NEW INTERNATIONAL magazine, are to be addressed to: THE NEW INTERNATIONAL STATION D. P. O. BOX 119 NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Coming U. T. W. Convention

Originally scheduled for Sept. 10, the Convention of the United Textile Workers will be held on Monday, August 13th. The reason for this sudden advancement of the date is the tremendous unrest and ferment now going on in all sections of the textile industry. Facing the convention is the most important question of the general strike. Already, in Alabama alone, 20,000 textile workers are striking; throughout other textile sections, numerous smaller strikes are in progress.

Seven months ago, McMahon, the president of the U.T.W., was able to postpone the general strike on the basis of some phony promises from the NRA. Today the union is faced with either putting up a fight or losing the support of the mass of silk workers.

It is indubitable that the U.T.W. has made great strides forward. U.T.W. locals dot the textile areas in the South and in Pennsylvania. Even in New England where the stench from the past McMahon sell-outs has not yet subsided the U.T.W. is also making headway.

McMahon Spikes Autonomy

The silk workers are organized into an autonomous section of the U.T.W., the American Federation of Silk Workers. The idea of autonomy for silk originated in Paterson, the main organized silk center. It was intended to give the silk workers the same status as the Hosiery workers in the solid, American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers. But the workers in Paterson reckoned without their host, McMahon.

The A.F.S.W. exists as a national organization only on paper. Having

a national secretary, Frank Schweitzer, the union consists only of the large branch in Paterson and a few small locals in Pennsylvania. By paying Schweitzer's wages, McMahon aims not only to restrict the growth of the A.F.S.W. but to slowly choke it to death. The few A.F.S.W. organizers that are sent out to organize, organize the silk workers into pure and simple U.T.W. locals.

Silk Workers Distrust U.T.W.

McMahon's gang in a real autonomous silk federation is obvious to all, as are the reasons for McMahon's actions. The silk workers, because of their unstable working conditions and their long experience of struggles, are the most militant section of the textiles. Their previous bitter experience with the class collaboration policies of the U.T.W. have made them very distrustful of the parent organization and its corrupt leadership.

The Lovestonites, in accordance with their trade union policy, have offered no resistance to McMahon's stifling of the autonomy of the silk workers. And this certainly plays directly into the hands of McMahon. Eli Keller, the general

Minneapolis Drivers Firm

(Continued from Page 1)

was rejected by the union. In the words of Vincent Dunne in an interview to the *Organizer*: "There are several ridiculous clauses in the bosses' proposal. Whether they are meant seriously or put in merely for trading purposes—it makes no difference. Local 574 is never going to agree to a 'preferential list' which puts the rights of scabs ahead of the rights of union men. The same holds good for the proposal to discriminate against strikers whom they accuse of committing 'unlawful acts'. By that they evidently mean our pickets. Doesn't it take a colossal gall for people who sent out squads of murderers to shoot our pickets in the back to talk about 'unlawful acts'?"

The Citizens Alliance is again preparing for rough stuff in the event that martial law is lifted. Plug uglies have been imported into town. The notorious Bergoff gang, with headquarters in New York which supplies murderers and strikebreakers to the bosses throughout the country, is reported to be the agency handling this job. After Harry Ness, the second victim of the premeditated attack was John Belor who died of wounds in a hospital here a week ago. Thus is to be seen in the two labor martyrs in Minneapolis the deathless unity of the employed and the unemployed. Ness was a member of 574 and Belor of the M.C.C.W.

Even the freedom of the press is molested in the "liberal" state of Minnesota with the "progressive" Olson at its head. Salesgirls of the *Organizer* have been constantly persecuted by the militia and now comrades who sell the *Militant* are to be arrested.

—SILK WORKER.

Robins-Gras Refused Release On Bail; Appeal Pending

Harold Robins and Andre Gras, strike leaders arrested in the recent general strike of hotel workers, were today refused a certificate of reasonable doubt, in a decision handed down by Justice Valenti.

Simultaneously, however, the fight for the appeal of the original conviction was broadened, with the announcement by M. Feinstein, Secretary of the United Hebrew Trades, that his organization has endorsed the Robins-Gras Defense Committee. The appeal will be argued in the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court on October 9.

Harold Robins, organizer of the Amalgamated Food Workers, and Andre Gras, a striker, were arrested during the strike on a charge of second degree assault. Robins had previously been arrested a number of times on various charges trumped up to hamper his strike work. The only eyewitness in the assault was Andre Gras. Despite this fact, and the weakness and contradictions in the testimony of the prosecution, Robins and Gras were convicted in the court of Judge Corrigan, long notorious in labor circles for his sentences against workers. Robins was sentenced to from two to four years, Gras from one to two years, to Sing Sing prison.

Justice Valenti's decision today was a refusal to permit the workers to be released on bail pending the appeal. The Robins-Gras Defense Committee issued the following statement:

Statement of Defense Committee
"Certificates of reasonable doubt, enabling release of prisoners on bail pending appeal have in most criminal cases become the merest formality. The existence of sufficient grounds for appeal have been taken to be sufficient grounds for

at their inability to intelligently cope with a superior power, they resort to open splitting and thereby sign their own death warrant. They sacrifice the interests of the workers to their political aims.

—MEMBER OF BROTHERHOOD

A Demagogue at Work

Olson's Role in the Strike

The last chapter of Olson's role in the Minneapolis truck drivers strike of Local 574 of the A. F. of L. cannot yet be written. This is the 19th day of the strike, and the lines are holding as firm as ever, in spite of the fact that Governor Olson's militia have dealt some heavy blows to the strikers. In fact, indications are that a settlement favorable to the workers may be won.

Up to the time of the declaration of martial law by Governor Olson the strike stood solid. The market was closed 100%. Trucking throughout the city was restricted by the rules of the union. Only certain necessities, hospital supplies, and a farmers market, established by the strikers, were allowed to be hauled. The bosses were on the run. The Citizen's Alliance was whipping up a red scare but to no avail. The cops were nowhere to be seen when the strikers congregated. Peace reigned under the domination of Local 574. Even the labor fakers of Minneapolis were silent. They were waiting for a more opportune moment to serve the master class.

Permits for Scabs

Then Olson declared martial law and things began to happen. First he issued a statement which was a verbal blast against the bosses, and then he started to act against the workers by establishing a military permit system. Each day more commodities came under the heading of necessities and within three days trucks with scab drivers, under the protection of Governor Olson's militia were moving about town in droves as though nothing had happened.

The union protested and informed the Governor that his action was breaking the strike and demanded that he withdraw all permits. The Governor again answered with a verbal blast against the bosses and proceeded to act against the strikers. Picketing was becoming too prominent, so the militia prohibited picketing, prohibited meetings of the union in front of their union hall, and proceeded to issue hundreds and hundreds of new military permits to the bosses so they could run scab trucks.

In the meantime the bosses were howling against the parking ban in the Loop district informing the Governor that it was hurting their business. Many strikers thought that the day time parking ban in the Loop was a blow at the bosses, but the truth of the matter was that the militia desired to have the downtown street cleared of all parked autos, in order to have the streets cleared for action in case a mass concentration of strikers was attempted in the heart of the city. A struggle with scab trucks under these circumstances would give the militia all of the advantages. This did not materialize because operations against scab trucks are not centered in the Loop. After a week the parking ban by the militia was lifted.

Demands of the Union

These words against the bosses and blows against the strikers were not taken lightly by the union men of the city and their sympathizers. The strike committee of 100 drew up demands and presented them to the Governor. They demanded the withdrawal of the troops, a withdrawal of all permits, the right to meet, and the right to picket. This the Governor refused and the union under the leadership of the three Dunne brothers, Dobbs and Brown were forced to organize their forces to fight for the elementary right of assemblage and picketing, or else lose the strike. Governor Olson's action was breaking the strike.

The drive of the union was met by military occupation of the strike headquarters and the arrest of the strike leaders by Governor Olson's militia. The militia was unable to seize Grant Dunne and Dobbs and others. Under their leadership the forces of the union were reassembled at Central Labor Union headquarters. In less than two hours the Central Labor Union offices were raided, taken over by the militia and the strikers driven out.

A wave of protest rose from the laboring masses of the city. Farmer Labor groups sent protests to Governor Olson, declaring that his actions were breaking the strike which they were supporting. 574 called for a General Protest Strike for one day. It met with rapid approval throughout the rank and file of the labor movement. The conservative labor leaders, agents of Olson, were on the run. At the same time picketing increased. Although the militia occupied the headquarters scabs were beaten up all over town, trucks were overturned, and the militia was kept busy from early in the morning until late at night. The bosses were afraid to move trucks. A decline in the number of shipments could be noted.

Olson Retreats

This united action of the workers and the threat of a general strike brought results. Governor Olson retreated. He was losing political ground and everywhere it became apparent that Olson's action was breaking the strike and helping the bosses. Irrespective of his intentions. He released the leaders and returned the headquar-

ters to the strikers. Picketing continued, but the militia was arresting more pickets each day and throwing them in the army stockade.

Even this retreat was not sufficient for Olson to regain his former position as the "friend of labor" and the radical Farmer-Labor Governor. He was forced to retreat still further in order to hold off the general strike and to clear himself in the eyes of the workers. He issued a statement informing the bosses and the strikers that if no settlement was reached by Friday midnight he would revoke all permits. Instead he had his militia raid the headquarters of the Citizen's Alliance and extend the permits until Monday morning. All indications were that it was a tipped off raid because reliable reports which were even carried in the bosses press said that most of the files were removed before the militia arrived. The raiding of the Citizen's Alliance headquarters was of no value to the strikers, but it was of first rate political importance for Olson. The fact that permits were not revoked, but extended to Monday, and the fact that more pickets were being arrested hourly, was decisive. If the permits are revoked Monday the bosses are well stocked for several days. If permits are re-issued, the union demands that the Governor only issue them to those firms who will abide by the Ilaas proposals, recognize the union, pay union wages and hire union help.

"Neutrality" in the Class War

In more than one statement the Governor has stated that he does not take sides with either the bosses or the strikers, that he is for law and order, and will take what action necessary for the good of the people to see that the necessities of life are moved. It is a well known fact that before Olson's militia came to Minneapolis the strikers had the town "sewed up", and peace reigned. After his troops arrived scab trucks increased in number from day to day. It is also a well known fact that the people are made up of two main classes and the workers are the majority. Any one who says he is for the people and neither for the bosses nor the workers is either a liar or a damn fool. It is also a well known fact that if the Governor, who is a "friend of labor", will not tolerate any strike that interferes with the necessities of life for the "people" than the Governor is against the majority of the workers. The majority of the workers are involved in the production and distribution of the necessities of life. It is equally well known that any one who holds a strategic position such as a Governor, and says he is not taking sides with either the exploiters or the strikers, no matter how sincere he is, he can do nothing else than help the bosses. Neutrality in a class society always helps the strongest force. And since the bosses are in power neutrality plays into their hands. The words and deeds of Governor Olson in this strike proves this point conclusively.

"Good Intentions" and Results

Governor Olson is a petty-bourgeois radical. Even if he is the most honest and sincere man, and desires to help the working class, a radical type of reformer can in reality do nothing but help the bosses. The structure and framework of the capitalist system is so organized that it cannot be used for the benefit of the working class. It is an instrument for the capitalists, by the capitalists, and of the capitalists.

Olson's political life on a national scale is at stake. And the strike is not yet over. Olson thrived on the Stalinists' exposure. He grew fat and gained politically. It took a daily strike bulletin of a striking A. F. of L. local under militant left wing leadership to expose Olson. In spite of Olson's strike-breaking role the union is still strong and all indications are that a partial victory can be had.

The odds are against 574, but they will fight on until victory. If victory is had it will not be due to Olson. It will not be due to Tobin, Green or the local C. L. U. conserv., active labor leaders. Victory will be had in spite of them. Victory will be had because the militant left wing leadership of 574 knew how to expose them, how to counteract their treacherous role in the struggle between the exploiters and the workers, and thus gain the loyal support of the workers of Minneapolis.

—HUGO OEHLE.

Russian Opposition Bulletin

Our friends and sympathizers, our readers of the Russian Opposition Bulletin, know that Comrade Trotsky is its regular contributor and editor. International reaction hounds Trotsky. The French police want to stifle the voice of Leon Trotsky—They will not succeed. Despite police persecution, despite the fact that the editorial office is forced to move again, despite tremendous financial difficulties and delays, the Russian Opposition Bulletin will appear.

The next issue is ready for the press now. You can help to speed up its publication by a contribution, you can help by getting readers and subscribers to the Russian Bulletin.