

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Minneapolis and Dunne
Bill Dunne, who wrote the "profound" articles on the 1931 miners' strike for the Daily Worker is at it again. In 1931, according to Bill, the National Miners Union was leading the miners and through the miners, the working class of America in an offensive struggle against capitalism.

The truck drivers of Minneapolis carried on one of the most militant and successful strikes seen in years. It roused the entire American labor movement. It swept away the previous apathy in the Minneapolis labor movement. It gave such a stimulus to the workers in that city that they are streaming into the unions. Militant and efficient mass picket lines swept the streets and scab herders off the streets. Women were drawn into the fight. All very good. But the truck drivers of Minneapolis made one "mistake". They didn't turn to those who so "successfully" led the National Miners Union, or the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Industrial Union (Dunne was godfather of that mouthful), the Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union, etc. etc. for leadership. And when that was not done, the failure of the strike was assured in advance in the columns of the Daily Worker.

In Minneapolis the workers made a second mistake. They allowed themselves to be organized into a union by Trotskyite "counter-revolutionists" "agents of the police". Where was the C. P. with Browder under Stalin at its head? Where was "Groucho" Bill Dunne, himself? Let it not be said, that the C. P. has no truck drivers. That's a mere detail. Just call in one of the quick change artists. Ballam knows as much about trucks as he does about looms. Dallet was inside a truck at least once and that's a longer period than he served in a steel mill and I am sure that George Mink also travelled by truck at least as a passenger and that's as far as his seamanship extended. There was no shortage of Stalinist truck drivers. But, alas, they were not in the strike. So what's to be done?

Sender Garlin was sent out. And he didn't do bad. He reported "A. F. of L. leaders arranging to have themselves arrested on the picket line". He and two or three other Stalinists, without membership or influence on the trade union movement issued a "call" for a general strike. You see, they had a mimeograph machine, paper, and Garlin can write. Was the call even distributed? It doesn't matter. A copy was kept for the record and one sent to Mannilsky. That was enough.

When the battle was over and the strikers had won a partial victory, Bill Dunne was called on. Bill went into another "series" of articles. "The Trotskyites betrayed the strike", "Governor Olson could have been driven from office", etc. etc. He damned the leadership of the strike and hailed the settlement as a defeat. He did this with the same enthusiasm as he had in other days hailed Chiang Kai Slek, and Purcell and the "victory" of the British General Strike. However, the readers of the Daily Worker should be wise to Dunne and other scribes. A paper that could place the report of Hitler's victory in Germany under the title "Revolutionary Upsurge Moves Forward" might well be expected to call the victory of the Minneapolis workers a defeat.

Fascist "Victories"
A leader of New York's Italian Fascists is jailed for extortion. He claimed influence with the city government and hoodwinked a "friend" out of \$3,000. William Pelly, leader of the Silver Shirts is indicted for obtaining money under false pretences. Art Smith of the Khaki Shirts is in jail for perjury. Mussolini has further reduced the living standards of the Italian workers, built some more palaces, closed down some factories and is headed for the financial rocks. Hitler finds trade shrinking, income declining, financial panic advancing and the masses grumbling. These "Strong" men would go down like nine pins before a united and militant world labor movement. Through the divided front of labor they arise and come to power, and by the divided front kept so by Stalinist numbskulls and Socialist treachery they are able to retain power even under such conditions. —BILL.

League Activities

Chicago Hears Report On Minneapolis Strike

Chicago—Despite the discomfort of a hot night, more than a hundred and fifty workers on June 8 responded with unrestrained enthusiasm to the two-hour recital of the experiences of the Minneapolis truck-drivers' strike delivered at Communist League headquarters by James P. Cannon. Every political tendency in the Chicago revolutionary movement was represented save of course those who have raised learning nothing to the level of a fine art—the Stalinists. The eagerness and satisfaction with which the revolutionaries present received the report on the Minneapolis developments was a highly encouraging symptom of the response we may hope to get each time we test in action the Marxian principles of revolutionary labor action. The Chicago workers commend the splendid organization work of their Minneapolis comrades and hope soon to be able to match that high accomplishment here.

Cannon's report was repeated by him the following Sunday before 500 Negro and white workers in Washington Park where a puny attempt on the part of a few inspired but gloriously stupid Stalinists to object to his speaking ended in their complete silencing and disgrace. The enthusiasm of the crowd grew as the report proceeded and at its conclusion Cannon, on the motion of the chairman (a Stalinist sympathizer, by the way) was by unanimous vote made a life member of the club that holds regular nightly forums in the park.

Public Trial Clears Militant Worker

Since the League organized its new branch in Richmond, California, the Stalinists have decided that it is time to act to stop these developments. They began their attacks on a courageous worker in the Richmond Standard Oil Plant, making filthy charges, accusing him of being a stool-pigeon and a renegade in a leaflet which they published and distributed in the plant where he was working. This is the biggest oil refinery in the west.

The first this comrade knew of the attack came when he was called into the office of the company, confronted with the leaflet, and in order to find out more about the "reds" in the plant, the company proposed that he should bring the question into court. The comrade naturally refused this "generous" offer, although knowing that his job was at an end and that this would mean the county welfare board for his wife and two children. He was fired.

The League arranged for a public workers' trial in order to clear up all that was involved in the charges and to put the accusers to shame. The trial was conducted by the California Workers' Association, a militant unemployed group which has two Stalinists on its executive board. The A. F. of L. unions were invited to attend and many of the members came. At this trial the official Party was offered a preliminary closed session with the trial board where it could present its evidence. This was done in order to protect it in case there should be any company stool-pigeons in the audience.

The Stalinists refused this offer and one of their members admitted from the floor that they really had no charges. Another member who had distributed the leaflet, stated that while they had no proof they were "morally certain" that the worker under charges was an undesirable element. Undoubtedly he was undesirable to the Stalinist bureaucracy against whom he had fought and who had driven him out of the labor movement.

Being unable to substantiate their charges, the Stalinists tried a little stage play. At the conclusion of their statement made they walked out of the hall in a body. One of their group demanded that they remain until the trial was finished, but that was to no avail.

The result of this filthy attack upon a revolutionary worker has proven a boomerang to the Stalinists. The League has gained new members and new sympathizers. The California Workers' Association, due to this procedure of trying the charges in public, received a valuable lesson in workers' democracy. The A. F. of L. members present promised that they would use their influence to see that the California Workers' Association is strengthened and that unemployed A. F. of L. members support it.

Philadelphia Branch Increases Activities

Philadelphia, Pa. — The Philadelphia branch is going ahead in fulfilling its part of the League Action Program. In the first militant club plan sub drive, its self-imposed quota of 50 new subscriptions was reached and passed. The present drive finds us now with 12 chalked up. Public lectures with national committee speakers will continue right through the summer, to bring our program to persons newly attracted to us. Last week comrade Max Shachtman lectured on "The Crisis in the Socialist Party". Many Y.P.S.L.'s and S.P. members attended. Friday, June 22 comrade James P. Cannon is to speak on "The Lessons of the Minneapolis Strike" at our new headquarters, 1207 N. 5th St.

We were unsuccessful in our efforts to effect a genuine united front May Day demonstration. We judged the closest existing approach to that to be the Socialist sponsored United May Day meeting. We attended in a body, singing the "International" and brought the crowded Labor Institute to its feet in response. Our placards with "The Communist League of America is for the Fourth International" to the front, were the only banners in the meeting.

The favorable response of May 1 permitted us more than one sympathetic ear, particularly among the Socialist youth. The Spartacus Youth Club with two clubs met often in efforts for joint anti-Fascist and May 30th anti-war demonstration action with Y.P.S.L. commit-

tees. Y.P.S.L. delegates defended the seating of our youth delegates at the Y.C.L. sponsored May 30th conference. Their organization yielded to opportunist whinings after the rupture with the Stalinist conference, to content themselves with a hike for May 30th. The Spartacus Youth Club then held its own street meeting that day.

At the present time two open air meetings are held weekly. At one corner where Stalinists mobilize to disrupt, they have been effectively squelched. With the new recruits the branch has we look forward to expanding this phase of our work. A Negro comrade, a former I.L.D. functionary is busy organizing a fraternal group of Negro workers.

On Sunday, June 24 the branch has arranged a picnic in Fairmount Park, 33rd and Cumberland St. entrance. All proceeds go for the benefit of the Militant. All our friends are urged to be there with us.

And to learn that the good Mr. Lyman, manufacturer, who took time off from a Sunday School convention to go down in the market with a blackjack to show his Christ-like love for the starving workers, was, before his unfortunate demise, an officer in the Citizens' Alliance, help to stifle the reader's tears. In one respect, though, Lyman was

Mexican Nazis Attack Trotsky

There is in Mexico a fascist sheet, organ in Spanish of Hitler's embassy in Mexico. Anti-labor, anti-Communist, anti-Semitic, with all the lack of originality and logic of that movement the paper, thanks to the subsidy it receives from the Nazis, appears, unnoticed by the great majority of Mexicans. Without doubt, the most religious supporters of this paper are the Jews, who pay 5 cents for every issue in a morbid curiosity to see what new strange fables about them appear.

One thing must be impressed, and that is that this paper is the organ of Nazism. About five months ago a new ambassador arrived from Berlin bearing a membership card in the Nazis and a Baron and a Von before his name (need more be said).

When the issue of the Trotsky expulsion from France came up, in this organ appeared an article by a renegade from Communism named Mullen. The article makes a show of erudition that in its shallowness is really painful to behold. But we do not want to criticize the article. Not being very much read it does not merit criticism. What we want to do is merely to comment upon it.

The theme of this article is that the Jews are the only real internationalists, and that the expulsion of Trotsky from the Communist International is a victory for nationalism. That the struggle between Stalin the Georgian and Trotsky the Jew is really a struggle between nationalism and internationalism.

Let us extract the true core of this matter and leave the rest. That core is that the struggle of the International Communists is in essence a struggle for internationalism, which does not represent the Jew or the Methodist but represents the interests of the worldwide proletariat. Will this frank appraisal by Nazism make some of the rank and file Stalinists think?

The national-socialists of Germany find an ideological rapprochement with Stalinistic "socialism in one country", and find common ground with it in the struggle against the internationalism of Trotsky.

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From the Militants

The Farmers and the Minneapolis Strike

Minneapolis, Minn. — During the memorable days of the Minneapolis General Drivers' strike proof was given in concrete fashion that the small farmers can be made allies of the workers. The support they gave to the workers was the kind required by the situation. They declined in the most effective manner to avail themselves of the proffered protection by deputy sheriffs to break the strike. It was the same sheriffs who had the year before been used to attempt to break their holiday movement.

When the Battle of Deputies Run was in progress in the City Market, a strikers' committee was in the Court House facing two men of authority, the chief of police, Johannes and the county sheriff, Wall. It was reported that the faces of these two men expressed bewilderment mingled with dismay. They had been defeated again. "What in the Hell is this labor trouble" in 1934", was the question uppermost in their minds. For they had done everything they could think of, everything they had been told to do by their bosses and still the strikers had an upper-hand.

How well this deputy gag had worked on the farmers in the holiday movement just about a year before, when hundreds of Sheriff Wall's political acquaintances, most of them Republicans, ran the scab trucks through the picket lines to the market. But now—it does not work.

The Farmers about the city and in the state remained passive during the General Drivers strike. But if any actions would have developed amongst them, these actions would have been decidedly in favor of the strikers. A year ago town after town, county after county went "Holiday", against the packing trust, the grain exchanges, the railroads and the bankers. Tear gas, clubs, arrests and convictions were used against them. The weapons were wielded by the enemy. And how was he represented? By the deputy sheriffs, just like those recruited by Sheriff Wall of Hennepin County. Those deputy sheriffs were notoriously rough with the farmers. So when the drivers in the city struck against the produce companies, the food importers, and Sheriff Wall came to the farmers with the same deputies he had used to break their strike and offered to escort them to the market, the farmers answered by just staying home and working in the gardens. When the strikers notified them that they could bring their greens and roots to the city and sell them house to house and to the corner grocery, with or without a city license, they came up their model T's and cranked to town. It wouldn't be surprising to learn that there were many farmers among the indignant crowds in chicken chase through the spacious market square with some eight hundred special policemen as the chickens. By the way, there was some trading done on the market that day. A bushel of police badges, and a half a cord of night-sticks exchanged hands for little or nothing.

Most of the counties in California have passed similar ordinances. On the whole it is a vicious move aimed directly at the "Reds". That is why it has to be met in a serious manner. The bosses today direct their fire mainly against the working class vanguard. Their objective is the open shop. Their intention is to crush all working class organization. And while many of the most vicious open shoppers, as for example, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, carefully point to a difference between what they call the illegitimate Communist within the labor movement, and the A. F. of L., their real intention should not be misunderstood. They hope to crush the militant section of the trade union movement first and if that succeeds, then to annihilate all labor unions. —C.F.

The Holiday Movement pledged food for the strikers if needed. This pledge was never drawn upon. It was not necessary. The strike leaders spoke to the Holiday state convention, and sat with a special committee to co-ordinate workers' and farmers' strikes. In the future the alliance will prevail. —C. F.

California Ordinances Against the Reds

The United Front Civil Rights Committee of Alameda County against the serf ordinance number 282 is becoming a struggle for power between various elements, including the Stalinists, and to the detriment of the organization.

On May 30th a meeting was held as a test case against the ordinance number 282. This ordinance forbids any person or persons to stand, sit, walk, loiter, congregate, speak, or in any manner obstruct traffic on any highway, street, lane, alley or property whatsoever in the county of Alameda. The Stalinists endeavored to turn the meeting into a national Youth Day demonstration and to prevent any speakers except members of the official party from taking the platform.

At the meeting previous to this of the committee, the official party endeavored to pack the conference with delegates from sixteen of its paper organizations as well as with delegates from every branch of the I.L.D., W.I.R., etc. etc. At all meetings of the committee, the Stalinists have refused to recognize the chair, have filibustered from the floor and have proven the perfect specimen of disrupters.

The picture of the Stalinists in this conference is only a little less disgusting than that of some of the other elements who help to make up the majority of the bona-fide delegates. Nathan, the head of the conference and a Proletarian Party member, who now holds an A. F. of L. office, openly declares that he is going to throw every C. P. member out and make the thing a real mass organization. Undeniably, the latter have called this threat down upon themselves by their tactics. Still it should not be the policy of throw anybody out, but rather to broaden the organization by bringing it into closer contact with all the working class sections, the trade unions, etc. and to make it a really representative body that can lay the base for a general defense committee.

For many years Rockefeller has maintained a subsidized strike-breaking agency called the Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc. This agency has the support of Cyrus McCormick (ardent promoter of the company union), A. H. Woods, Owen D. Young, etc. This outfit "gives advice" in matters of "personnel" to all the big industrialists including the steel barons, the oil magnates, the manufacturers of farm machinery, the electrical trust" etc. Since 1926 Rockefeller has supplied generous funds to enlighten the boss class on the best methods for trapping the workers in "employee representation plans" or company unions. This organization became especially active in the period following the adoption of the NRA with its 7a fake labor clause. A widespread campaign was conducted through the subsidized technical press, urging the bosses to defeat independent unionism by setting up fake, controlled unions. Thus in Automotive Industries for December 1933 we read, in an unsigned article entitled, "Organizing a Company Union": "Shall we, or shall we not, sanction a 'company union' in our plant?—If you do not, someone will organize your employees for you. This is not in the least meant to be interpreted as a threat, but is merely a foregone conclusion under current conditions." The article then proceeds to outline minutely the best method of going about enticing (and forcing) workers into the boss' union.

MARCH OF EVENTS

The Textile Crisis
Nothing illustrates so well the utter inability of capitalism to lay down plans for production of wide-range character, as does the textile crisis. The need for a sudden drastic cut in production reveals clearly that even a capitalist cartel including all of a given industry, cannot regulate production to consumption. All it can do is to order sharp curtailment when production gets out of control. It cannot avoid crisis, for the present situation is a distinct crisis brought on all the quicker by the capitalist attempt to regulate production. What is happening in the textile industry is a forerunner of what will happen in all the big mass production industries under monopolist control.

The Workers and the Forces of Production

The working class can see here too, the meaning of the NRA and the way in which its operation affects their livelihood. When the Cotton Textile Code Authority orders a decrease in production by 25% for three months without any change in hourly wage rates it places the burden of the crisis in this industry immediately on the backs of the proletariat. The NRA is a police club which beats down the forces of production when they threaten profits for the bosses. At the same time this club descends on the heads of the workers, the class that is concerned with and represents the social forces of production. The working class encounter this sort of action more and more in the future. Ultimately they must learn that not capitalist control of production for profits, but workers' control of production for social use can assure them a livelihood and eliminate starvation. Capitalist control means the sabotage of production, workers' control means its unlimited expansion for the benefit of the masses. The closed shop is the first step in the direction of workers' control but its achievement depends on the building of powerful, militant trade unions. Through such unions, casting off the treacherous leadership of the reformists, the textile workers can best reply to the bosses when they put through wage cuts.

Company Unionism

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Sidelights From the Great Battle of the Minneapolis Workers

It requires days, weeks, to settle down to normal existence and dispassionately run together the surging snapshots garnered during so tremendous an event as the Minneapolis strike. So much took place in those two weeks that had never taken place here before.

The orderly and vital throngs at headquarters. Through the loud-speaker would come: "Volunteers wanted to go to Lyndale and 52nd. A car and five pickets wanted. Who will volunteer? (A pause.) Here's the car, and one picket—two pickets—three pickets! That's the stuff! Two more pickets wanted. Come on, fellows, step up. It's your battle." At this point the crowd outside the headquarter doors would surge forward. Two young men, obviously office workers and dressed up for the evening would make their way to the doors, their girls at their elbows. The young men's eyes would shine. The girls would look up in their faces. "What do ya say, Hal?" asked one. "Geez yes," says the other, "let's go. It's our battle, all right." The men spoke to the girls, the girls squeezed their arms and gave them encouragement. "We'll volunteer", the pair say to the doorman. The door is opened, the two men disappear into the garage. Through the loud-speaker comes: "Here's the rest of the carload. Five men and a car to Lyndale and 52nd." As the motor roars up the eternally cheerful loud-speaker says: "Make way at the door there, please. And let's give the men a hand as they go out! Let's give 'em a hand!" Amid shouts of applause and a big hand, the car full of pickets wheels out of headquarters, five determined men smiling grimly back at the crowd. In the front office, the windows of which are now soaped to render them opaque, sits the Brain of the picketers—the dispatchers. There

they sit in their vests and shirt-sleeves, calculating, alert, red-eyed from loss of sleep—there they were sitting 24 hours ago—48 hours ago—there they will stay until the strike is victorious, until the union is recognized, to come forth at the end a hundred-fold stronger than when it entered the battle.

The unforgettable mass meeting at the Parade Grounds. On Tuesday afternoon, but a few hours after the market was won, men and women appear on the downtown streets with armfuls of circulars: NO SURRENDER. And all day Wednesday, on every corner, in the middle of every block, strikers, wives, sympathizers, are handing out these challenges, this call to the mass meeting in support of the workers. Cops and business men, white faced with venom, stare their hatred at these distributors. The meeting at the Parade is called to counter the infamous Law and Order get-together of the Citizens' Alliance which met at the West Hotel on the previous Friday. That first meeting represented the Citizens of Minneapolis, said the capitalist press. Only employers are Citizens in this country, you know. Well, the workers would show what they could do. At 7:30 that night, on the far end of the Parade, under the trees, the workers began to arrive. There was only a rude platform of wood, hastily constructed; and a truck bearing loud-speaking apparatus. At a little after eight, the chairman began to speak. Already, there were five thousand, six thousand people there. Men in working clothes, holding little children in their arms, women, veterans, girl factory workers, the unemployed. All so eager to show their solidarity with the strikers; all tense and still to hear what the speakers were saying. How this

mass contrasted with the foppish, hysterical mob of "citizens" in the Moorish Room of the West Hotel! And for over an hour, from the east and south, through the gathering dusk, thousands of strike-supporters continued to stream across the Parade toward the loud-speaker, to silently listen and furiously applaud the militant agitators. There was a wild fire spirit abroad that night at the Parade, a spirit surging with hope. There, in the darkness, was welded together a solidarity of the workers of Minneapolis that will hold—hold through another strike, and another, until finally the rotting carcass of this murderous system gasps out its last fetid breath and goes down under the heels of the victorious wave of—Soviet America.

One of the better-known special deps was none other than the once-famed pug, one Dick Daniels (out on bail, after confessing to a half-dozen hold-ups). Daniels figured—and rightly—that our judges, before whom he is to come up in the near future, would view with leniency a bandit who had a distinguished record as a scab to offset any little minor anti-social display such as breaking into a few stores here and there. But, alas, Mister Daniels' record will never furnish material for a fascist saga; the last we saw of him, he was fleeing down toward Washington Avenue from the market, with a handful of strikers triumphantly threatening his rear.

And to learn that the good Mr. Lyman, manufacturer, who took time off from a Sunday School convention to go down in the market with a blackjack to show his Christ-like love for the starving workers, was, before his unfortunate demise, an officer in the Citizens' Alliance, help to stifle the reader's tears. In one respect, though, Lyman was

a peculiar "sport" of the Alliance breed; for it is the common practice of this brave gang of pirates to learn the news of their victories and defeats by telephone or wire, in the safety of their offices and homes; and not in the streets, where their cocos are apt to be tapped by poor misguided workers. Oh no! Why in Heaven's Name should a Citizen's Alliance man go forth to battle—when, by opening the jails, by calling forth all the horrible scum that is spawned by a poisonous system, by sending for the National Guardsmen, the Alliance can get others to fight their battles for them.

At the funeral of the above mentioned Christian Soldier, the better element was so afraid that strikers would attack the coffin (thus do the minds of these gentilefolk work) that the cemetery was packed to the gills with private dicks—who were mourning on their own account, no doubt, the loss of a good meal ticket. For Lyman, you know, paid the men in his own factory munificently—20c an hour. It takes lots of spies to be able to pay wages like that.

One other social group distinguished themselves by the brilliancy of their strike-breaking efforts. I refer to the fraternalites at the University of Minnesota. Possibly alumni pressure was brought to bear; or maybe these young hopefuls did it of their own sweet will. Anyway, in some cases entire chapters rushed down to scab headquarters to swear in as deputies, anxious to show the strikers their proper places in the scheme of things. How utterly characteristic of the atrophied social appetites of these "brothers in the bond". Unfortunately, these fraternity men, too, proved but poor allies to the thugs and gangsters. Such was the

quality of their courage before the determined strikers that scarcely a one had the courage to pin on his dishonorable badge or exhibit his sap. And when the break came, the boys dropped badges, clubs and all, feeling to a man before the fury of the workers.

A word about the special deps being outnumbered. That's a lie broadcast to cover up their cowardice. There were over fifteen hundred armed deps in that market on Tuesday, and probably half as many armed strikers. But when the blow-off came, the deps deserted, the strikers stuck to their posts. That's the difference. After the battle, a keg of deputy badges were picked up from the streets and taken to strike headquarters—but at a single driver's union badge as a trophy of the chase.

Olson, the Farmer-Labor governor, who boxes the political compass whenever he gets into such a jam as was precipitated by the strike, didn't care to appear at the Wednesday night mass meeting. So he sent along his lieutenant. The crowd listened patiently for ten minutes while this man spouted. At the close there was no applause. The lieutenant was desperate. An idea flashed in his mind. Turning back to the mike, he said, "And I say 'God speed you, if that means anything.'" It didn't. Silence. Then a hoot from the audience. The workers are learning that God is certainly not on their side. God is against them. Yes, on the side of the workers is only right, a fierce willingness to struggle, and a growing determination to build a better world; a socialist world. The frantic attempt of this pious gentleman to drag in God by the heels proved the crowning disaster. —C.H.

More recently the industrial counselors have been mobilizing their forces wherever the threat of mass strikes arose. Thus the head of the organization, A. H. Young, was thrown into the steel industry as soon as "trouble" threatened there. He is now with the U. S. Steel Co., just as C. J. Hicks is with the Standard Oil Co. of N. J. for the same nefarious purpose.

Smash Company Unions!

The company unions are the latest form of "yellow dog" contracts forced on the working class. Drive against the organizing of the workers in real unions has been well planned long in advance and has the support of all the big financiers, from Ford to Swope, Teagle to Rockefeller. Roosevelt merely obeyed the voice of his masters in the Auto Strike when he legalized the company union. The same tactics are being applied now to defeat the steel workers. We must mobilize labor to smash company unionism by militant action! The capitalist government attempts to carry out the strike-breaking program of big business. We must checkmate Roosevelt!

—J. WEBER.

Stalinist Record in the Cuban Revolution

In Cuba in the summer of 1933 there were only two serious organized political working class forces: The Communist Party (Stalinists) and the Bolshevik-Leninists. Our section was not quite two years old, and, at that time, still committed to the orientation of reforming the C.I. and the C.P. of Cuba, and was a comparatively small organization. Its greatest strength lay in its connections with the trade union movement. It wielded great and almost decisive influence in the Havana Federation of Labor composed of thirty trade unions in which anarcho-syndicalists were also influential. It was a leading organization in the general strike.

But in size, prestige, and influence it was weaker than the Communist Party which had a wider and more powerful organizational structure and base. In its trade union center, the C.N.O.C., National Confederation of Cuban Workers, were thirty-five unions. The C.P. had auxiliaries and peripheral organizations embracing thousands of workers. If it was not, as it claimed, the leader, it was the outstanding organized political force in the working class. On its record and in its policy, therefore, are to be sought the reasons for the failure of the workers to advance toward their liberation, and for their set-back at the hands of Mendieta.

Stalinists Come to Aid of Class Enemy

One the ninth of August, two days before Machado fell, when the general strike had reached its seventh day, the Executive of the C.N.O.C. (the Cuban Stalinist T.U.U.L., section of the R.I.L.U.) and the Political Bureau of the Communist Party issued a manifesto in which they said that "... Machado cannot be overthrown by strikes" and that the Labor Federation of Havana (trade union center, at that time under the leadership of anarcho-syndicalist elements and the Bolshevik-Leninists) "was leading the workers to massacre".

Let no one think that the view expressed here was only a question of evaluating the situation and working out a strategic line of struggle. No! although that in itself were enough to confuse the workers at the decisive moment and demoralize them, disrupting their struggle and doing yeoman's work for the class enemy. The manifesto was the "ideological" motivation for a treacherous act of strike-breaking. The Stalinists called on the workers to go back to work!

They themselves admit it. In one of the resolutions prepared for the Fourth National Labor Unity Congress of the C.N.O.C. held in Havana in January, 1934 they say: "The National Confederation of Labor of Cuba, failing to see and apply the experience acquired in so many years' of strike struggles, which showed in every strike that all economic demands have their profound political content—drew a false analysis of the content of the general strike. . . . The false appraisal which was a grave error (!) gave as a natural (!) immediate, consequence, a second, graver (!) error, which consisted in the belief that the workers of each industry, once their demands were obtained, should return to work, and telling the workers that they should not be moved by the slogan of continuing the strike, when in reality the masses, who realized clearly the political content of the strike, were determined to continue it." (quoted from the January 12 Manifesto of the General Union of Commercial Employees of Cuba, an affiliate of the Havana Federation of Labor, to the Fourth Congress of the C.N.O.C. (Our emphasis throughout.)

Daily Workers Gives Assistance
Fatal admissions! The Stalinists claim the authority of Marx and Lenin! they call themselves the vanguard of the working class, yet they cannot recognize the political content of a general strike (!!) they are so obtuse with bureaucratic conceit they do not know what the masses want in the fire of the revolution itself!!

But it is not a question of stupidity alone. The Manifesto of the Commercial Employees Union charges: "What the Confederation does not say is precisely that knowing the profound political content of the movement that was developing, it believed in its own miserable con-

cept of the movement, that it was necessary to have Machado remain in power in order for them to continue to enjoy illegality"—that is, maintain the appearance of being illegal.

There is the ugly story of how the epigones sold out the general strike in Cuba. Let us see how their American brothers-in-shame covered up the deed. On August 21 the Daily Worker reported: "Havana, August 14 (By Mail). At noon today the bus and tramway workers returned to work, having won all their demands. With them went back the barbers, bakers, foodworkers, railroad workers, etc. However, the shoe plants, textile factories and many others remained out, firmly holding out for their demands. The decision to go back to work was reached last night at 9:15 at a packed meeting of over 700 bus workers in the Trade Union Center of the C.N.O.C." It is clear that the Stalinists were sending men back to work.

Lying Out of the Whole Cloth
But this report contradicts one which appeared in the Daily nine days before, on August 12: "Havana, August 11.—The yellow union leaders, to help Welles and Machado, have called on the bus workers (note: the bus workers) "and street car workers to return to work."!! On the 14th the same story: "Just before Machado flew Cuba the yellow trade union leaders in his pay attempted to call a halt to the general strike."

On the 15th the Daily tried to make it appear that the C.N.O.C. was standing firm against the strike breaking of the "yellow" trade union leaders: "The leaders of the transport workers, and especially those of the Railway Brotherhood, had already attempted to break the strike without asking any concessions. The representatives of the revolutionary C.N.O.C. held fast to their demands. . . ."

And finally in the same dispatch printed on the 21st which announced the meeting in the trade union center of the C.N.O.C.: ". . . 50 young bus workers signed application cards for the Y.C.L. This was the reply of the workers to the scabby statement of the reformist Havana Federation of Labor leaders headed by the renegade Junco that the leaders of the C.N.O.C. were strike-breakers because the accepted the concessions of Machado." (Our emphasis.)

By their own words they stand condemned! Yellow trade union leaders indeed! It is all lies, fraud, treachery!
The "Insurrection" of September 29
Emboldened by the valor and revolutionary ardor of the masses, who, a month later, overthrew De Cespedes, the Stalinist adventurers declared for the armed insurrection and set the date for September 29, the day of the arrival of Mella's ashes from Mexico. Here ultimatum reached its greatest and at the same time its most tragically absurd height. True that Grau's regime was unstable, under fire from the American imperialists; true that the Cuban bourgeoisie were planning counter-revolutionary coups; true that the masses were pressing it from below to carry out its demagogic, anti-imperialist and democratic pronouncements.

But the influence of the Stalinist Party which was to carry through the insurrection did not extend to the majority of the workers. In fact, following the August strike-breaking, entire unions were freeing themselves from Stalinist influence. The organs for the preparation of the insurrection and the seizure of power, the soviets, did not exist on a national scale nor was the Stalinist party the dominant influence in those scattered Soviets which did exist. And the army, decisive factor in the civil war, had given no demonstration of its sympathy for the Communist Party. In terms of the seizure of power by the working class, it was an unknown quantity. In Russia the Bolsheviks tested the Petrograd garrison before the insurrection when the Soviets countermanded the order of the Provisional Government sending two thirds of the garrison to the front. They were rooted in the soldiers' soviets and committees. The Cuban Stalinists' connection with the armed forces was not great. Simani reported that two weeks before the "insurrection" the army was only beginning to pass over to the side of the workers.

Not An Insurrection But a Putsch
In reality the events of the 20th of September were not an insurrection but a putsch on the order, if not on the scale, of Canton. Scores of workers gave up their lives as a sacrifice to Stalinist criminal adventurism. The soldiers began to turn against the workers and Grau gained time and strength.

Panic seized the impotent! For twenty days the Stalinists called on the workers to come out in a general strike! The Manifesto of the General Union of Commercial Employees says: "Nobody paid any attention to their tearful entreaties."
—T. STAMM.

(Continue in Next Issue)

New York Teachers Union Fights Red-Baiting

New York.—For the last two months the capitalist press has been calling for the blood of the "reds" in the New York school system. By "reds" is meant anybody who has the courage to put up a squawk against some aspect of the feudal regime of the reactionary Board of Education or who lifts a finger to fight against wage cuts. The yellow Hearst press is beating the patriotic drum louder than all the others combined. On the 4th of May the New York American tried to smear a coat of red-wash over 700 teachers who had signed a petition circulated by the Teachers Anti-War Committee. On the 8th the Evening Journal called the signers of the petition a "curious medley of alien and non-American names", "enemies from without, but, unfortunately settled within our gates", "such people must be rooted out like germs of pollution and disease". And so it goes.

The central purpose of this barrage was to whip up a red scare and create sentiment for the passage by the state legislature of the Ives Bill. In its original form this bill required every teacher in the system to swear support of the constitutions of the U. S. and the state of New York and to faithfully discharge "all the duties of any position to which I am now assigned or may hereafter be assigned". Under pressure of the storm of protest which this reactionary measure aroused the framers withdrew the last five words. But in this amended form the bill was merely a repetition of the oath required of teachers on entering the school system. The governor vetoed the bill and it is now dead. The next session of the legislature in the fall may see attempts to reintroduce it.

Persecuting Protesting Teachers

The bill was intended to place man-hunting weapons in the hands of the state to crush the teachers' resistance to wage cuts and other "economy" measures by expelling the militants as seditious and treasonable people. The defeat of the Ives Bill has not daunted the patrioters who are continuing the press campaign and who will concoct equally reactionary substitutes. Preceding this campaign and during it the Board of Education has been busy persecuting all teachers who have the courage to protest against its medieval rule. Wage increases established by law have been summarily denied on false pretexts; in some cases criticism of a superior has resulted in a punitive transfer to a school under a notoriously reactionary principal whose forte is a regime of petty persecution, etc., etc. Other teachers have been fired.

The Teachers' Union of New York, Local No. 5 of the American Federation of Teachers, chartered by the New York Federation of Labor, has picked up the gauntlet thrown down by the reaction and is fighting back. The high point in its campaign thus far was a remarkable mass meeting held Friday, June 8th, attended by about 1200 teachers. The principal speakers were Norman Thomas and Arthur Garfield Hays. Thomas, "militant" leader of the S. P. spoke mainly about values in education; Hays amused the audience with a witty, liberal speech. William Burroughs, victimized teacher and Stalinist candidate for comptroller in the last municipal election revealed that the president of the union himself had poured oil on the flames of the red-baiting campaign by informing the Daily News in

Union Members Defeat Demagogue

what teacher organizations Communists are to be found! A dramatic struggle took place over an amendment introduced from the floor to a resolution offered by the union, branding Superintendent of schools, Campbell, a red-baiter for vicious statements made by him in the press. Lefkowitz, legislative agent of the union, pillar of the union administration, apologist for La Guardia, former socialist and now member of the Fusion Party Education Committee, who is nursing bourgeois political ambitions took the floor in Campbell's defense. Everybody understood that Lefkowitz was keeping his record clear in order not to get in bad with the big boys higher up. He got his answer from the union members, however, when the amendment was carried, 415 to 152. The teachers want to fight!

With the passage of the amendment—although the union is not technically committed, since the vote was taken at a public mass meeting and not at a union membership meeting—the issue is squarely joined between the teachers and the Board of Education. The union has only one honest course—to fight the Board of Education over the issues of academic freedom and red-baiting. The union has indicated that it will fight and that it will conduct an energetic campaign and will welcome the assistance of labor. Labor is vitally interested in the question of the regime in the schools to which it sends its children and the subject matter taught them. If the issue is taken into the trade union movement support for the fight of the Teachers Union can be won. All labor organizations should get behind the union.
—H.L.

After the Socialist Party Convention

The Right Wing of the Socialist Party is determined to bludgeon the majority into submission or split the party wide open. The events of the Convention in Detroit, June 1-3, and of the week following, show how far the Right Wing is willing to go.

Outright defiance and repudiation of the majority vote which established the new centrist Declaration of Principles was declared in a public statement by Louis Waldman, Chairman of the New York State organization and leader of the Old Guard, the day after the convention. Mr. Waldman, after three days of shouting himself hoarse at the convention in the name of democracy against illegality and violence (when used on capitalists), flatly declared on June 4 in a statement issued to the press, that he intends to disobey the mandate of the Party Convention. He said:

"The declaration that has been adopted, which was sponsored by Mr. Thomas and his allies, commits not only the national organization, but attempts to commit also the State and local organizations, to a program which runs contrary to everything for which the Socialist party has stood and which it regards as fundamental. I know that New York State Socialists will not permit themselves to be driven into a position which they consider indefensible and untenable, and I am confident that I express the sentiments of many other State and local organizations.

As between the program of orderly, peaceable, constructive and intelligent political action and the insurrectionary, destructive and violent methods proposed by the left wing (i.e., the centrist majority) Socialists will have no difficulty in making their choice." (New York Times, June 5. Our emphasis.)

Old Guard to Flaunt Convention Decisions

Waldman's bold repudiation of the hegemony of the national organization over the State and local units makes clear—his statement was issued before the National Executive Committee of the S. P. met—that no matter what the results of the referendum on the Declaration of Principles, which the N.E.C. decided on the day of Waldman's statement, the Old Guard has no intention of following the democratic decisions of the S. P. if they are not dictated by the Old Guard. Thus the S. P. will either back down, mutilating the already diluted Declaration of Principles or accepting the substitute prepared by the Old Guard; or it must face the fact that the Old Guard does not consider itself bound by Party decisions. This means, either collapse of the already-weak national structure of the Party, by capitulating to the complete autonomy for State and local organizations demanded by Waldman, or else the Socialist Party must expel the Old Guard for outright sabotage of its decisions.

So far, however, no sign has come from the N. E. C. that it will face the insulting repudiation of the Party by the Old Guard. All talk of splits in the party has come from the Old Guard, in the form of threats against those who disagree with them.

On the next day of the convention, when the resolutions voted for at the 2nd International Con-

gress in Paris by four out of six of the American Delegation, came on the floor for the party's approval, the Old Guard opened up the attack with an explicit threat by Judge Panken: "Pass this resolution and you split the party." On that issue the Old Guard was triumphant.

Old Guard Renews Threat of Split

In the debate on the Declaration of Principles, the Old Guard went even further. While every speaker for the centrist Declaration talked unity, almost every Right-Winger talked split. The speakers in this debate were picked by the leaders of the factions, as Vladeck, the chairman, explained. Significant of the lengths the Old Guard will go was the fact that one of the spokesmen they chose was the veteran Joseph W. Sharts of Ohio, whose first words were: "This is probably the last meeting of the Socialist Party I shall ever speak to," declared that he and his ancestors had always followed the flag and that in the choice between the flag and the "red internationalists" (Thomas, etc.) he would follow the flag, and that anyone who would not fight for "his" country was a traitor. Choosing Sharts as spokesman shows that the Old Guard are ready to use the basest passions of chauvinism in their fight against any progressive tendency in the party. Their leader, Waldman, did not wait for the end of the convention to make clear his intentions. In the debate he openly declared that he could not, "as a Social-Democrat", follow the line of the Declaration. The same high-handed tone was taken by Panken, Solomon, and the rest of the Right-Wing spokesmen.

One of the most unscrupulous tactics of the Old Guard was their use of the columns of the New York Times. The convention was covered for the Times by a friend of the Right-Wing, Joseph Shaplen, and his stories were deliberately written to scare wavering elements into the right wing camp. One story played up the presence of representatives of the various Communist groups, and made it appear that the left wing and Militants were under their direction. All Shaplen's stories were designed to indicate that the party was in imminent danger of a split due to the tactics of the opponents of the Right Wing.

"Militants" Afraid of Themselves
Instead of denouncing the provocative tactics of the Old Guard, the Socialist Party majority, including the Militants, have either been conciliatory to the point of further diluting their confused principles, or have pretended to ignore the Old Guard's bull-dozing. In the debate on the Declaration, whereas the Old Guard stood sharply by its reformist principles and taunted the Militants for bringing in a Declaration full of ambiguities, the spokesmen for the Declaration diluted its meaning even further by their verbal interpretations. Andrew Biemiller, chairman of the Platform Committee and Militant leader, said the views in the Declaration "have always been the real views of socialists"—which puts Biemiller to the right of Thomas, who at least speaks of a "new beginning for socialism". Daniel Hoan, Mayor of Milwaukee, watered the meaning of the Declaration still further by declaring that "the St. Louis Anti-War Resolution of 1917 went further than this", and gave a broad hint by reminding the convention

that "we never lived up to the St. Louis Resolution". Leo Krzycki, elected chairman of the party, spoke for the Declaration by saying: "I look upon this as the Socialist Party reaffirming the St. Louis Resolution"—and appealed for support to the memory of Hillquit, late leader of the Old Guard! This was the context given to the "radical" Declaration by the spokesmen for it!

The most creditable point in the majority spokesmen's support of the Declaration was the assertion, repeated by nearly all of them, in answer to Old Guard charges that the Declaration committed them to illegality in war-time—that what is legal or illegal is a question which is decided not by reason or an umpire, but by the capitalist state itself, and therefore the capitalist state would rule illegal anything it chose. But the next day, at a meeting of the new N.E.C. which has a pro-Declaration majority, it was precisely this principle which was scrapped. The N.E.C. voted to submit the declaration to a committee of lawyers for their opinion as to its legal aspects!

Split in the S.P. is Inevitable

When Norman Thomas returned to New York June 6 he issued a statement to the press which reveals the weakness and confusion of the S. P. leadership. In the face of the open challenge to the party and repudiation of its decisions by Waldman, Thomas said he hoped Waldman "would have the good comradeship to remain in the party", and denied the possibility of a split. As to the committee of lawyers, it was, said Thomas, "being consulted purely on matters of phraseology." "But his statement ends: The phraseology "has a certain possible importance in some States in view of the nature of the American tyranny that has been set up in them. The party can fight that tyranny better by effective organization than by endless legal cases." In other words, Thomas is now ready to let the states' conception of legality determine his program.

That the party majority is conciliatory and further dilutes its move to the left, and that the Right Wing continues to bludgeon its opponents in a determined drive to rule or ruin, does not mean that the majority will capitulate completely or that the Old Guard will win. The classic reformism of the Old Guard is dead, completely discredited by Germany and Austria, and the inevitable tendency in the Socialist Party will continue to be toward obscuring the gap between reform and revolution with the ambiguous formulas of centrism. The fight between the two camps in the Socialist Party will inevitably continue to the point of a split, as the Old Guard is well aware. The Old Guard, however, by fighting step by step, and forcing its opponents into conciliatory moves and confusing formulations, will split away at the moment most favorable to itself, taking with it the largest forces it possibly could muster—not to speak of the party property which is now in its hands and which it will never relinquish to the majority. The majority, on the other hand, will find itself on the day of the split weakened both in forces and ideology by its futile conciliatory moves, an incoherent mass with neither prestige nor strength.

The Foreign Policy of The Soviet Union

Soviet foreign policy has taken a decidedly anti-Leninist turn particularly since the recognition of the Soviet Union by the U. S. A.

In the first place, this recognition was granted only after American capitalism had been fully convinced that the Third International would no longer serve as an instrument of world revolution in general nor as a revolutionary incitement and inspiration to the American laboring masses in particular. Secondly, in order to emphasize their good faith, the Stalinist bureaucracy officially declared that President Roosevelt represented peaceful American capitalism which was honestly seeking a democratic and pacifistic solution to present-day imperialist contradictions and conflicts.

Recently Alexander A. Troyanovsky, the Soviet Ambassador to Washington, stated that the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. should be able to find a "common ground" in an endeavor "to secure complete or partial disarmament". "The foreign policy of the Soviet Union", he continued, "shows an increasing activity for peace. . . . We greeted the resumption of normal relations with the United States from this point of view. Not material gains for our country, but the gain for international peace was regarded in our country as the important thing in friendly relations with the United States."

Lenin's Teachings Forgotten

One can hardly doubt Troyanovsky's love for peace, especially if we take some of his other statements into account. "The cause of peace", he declared, "was so great that it must prevail over all other problems." And among these problems he cited the most important economic contradictions of our epoch. "All secondary (!?) problems, such as those of debts, of commercial competition, of tariffs, and so on," he explained, "must be settled as soon as possible by mutual agreements and to mutual satisfaction, for these relatively small (!?) questions spoil the international atmosphere and prevent friendly efforts to consolidate peace."

Can the worthy Stalinist Ambassador really mean this? Has he completely forgotten Lenin's teachings anent the economic causes of war? Troyanovsky should be reminded that in Imperialism: The Last Stage of Capitalism Lenin actually proves that the "secondary" and "small" questions he mentions are at the very root of imperialist war in particular and all war in general. Or is this counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur?

In line with this trend the Stalinists have published abroad a brand new interpretation of capitalism and imperialism. They have divided the capitalist nations into two categories: one the peaceful, democratic and pacifist; and two, the warlike, fascist and aggressive. (This is precisely the theory of the Second International.) Under the former category are listed America, France, the Little Entente, and Possibly England; under the latter are listed especially Germany and Japan.

The Understanding With French Imperialism

Following through this anti-Marxist political philosophy, Litvinov is now engaged in discussions for an "understanding" with imperialist France. Frederick T. Birchall, N. Y. Times correspondent in Berlin, says that ". . . accompanying and alongside the military agreement, it is understood a thorough understanding has now been arrived at regarding Russia's entry into the League of Nations. It is to take place as soon as possible with the enthusiastic support of France, which, with the disarmament negotiations as an excuse (mark well!), will send to Geneva in the near future an impressive delegation. . . . The stage is all set in France to hail the Russian understanding . . . as a further guarantee of European peace and French security. Then France will be ready to talk about disarmament."

This maneuver is made in the name of Marx and Lenin, explain the Stalinists, in order to secure allies (?) against a probable attack on the U.S.S.R. from the side of fascist and warlike capitalism, namely, Germany and Japan. Also the entry of the Soviet Union into the capitalist League of Nations, characterized by the Third World Congress of the Communist International as "the international trust of the victorious states for the exploitation of their vanquished competitors and the colonial peoples", has been facilitated.

How Pravda Explains Manoeuver

Today the Pravda, the official organ of the Stalinist bureaucracy, explains the politics of the League of Nations as follows: "As a matter of fact the withdrawal from the League of Japan and Germany—these countries which do not even try to conceal their determination to fulfill their imperialistic ambitions by the means of further armaments, encroachments and wars—has brought up the question whether the League could not to a certain degree (how cautious!) become the centre of united forces that are ready to delay the bloody settle-

ment of disputes and bring about at least some strengthening of peace." And Karl Radek adds: "The danger of war against the U.S.S.R. does not come from the League but from open opponents of the League and English diehards."

The Theses and Resolutions of the Third World Congress of the Communist International support this conclusion. "The new international labor organization is established for the purpose of organizing united action of the world proletariat, aspiring toward the same goal: the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of an International Soviet Republic, for the complete elimination of classes and the realization of Socialism, the first step toward the Communist Commonwealth."

Stalinism has eliminated all this. It has substituted in its place military alliances with capitalist countries and the insane theory of Socialism in one country. The Marxist-Leninism of the Third World Congress is now called counter-revolutionary Trotskyism. And in support of this thesis the French imperialist government is now persecuting Comrade Trotsky as a counter-revolutionist!

Soviet Union in Greater Danger

This new Stalinist policy will endanger not only the Soviet Union but also the prospects of a world revolution should an imperialist war break out. If the U.S.S.R. is maneuvered into the League of Nations, and thereby tied to the imperialist chariot of France and the Little Entente, or if it becomes a member of the permanent peace conference, it will have been demonstrated in either case that the Soviet Union is on the side of the strongest capitalist bandits. Thus, the emancipation of the oppressed by proletarian revolution is renounced, and the Soviet Union becomes a pawn (and ultimately a victim) in the imperialist game.

This policy, now aimed chiefly against Germany, is an inevitable consequence of the dastardly betrayal of the German workers and semi-proletarian masses by the C.P.G. under the direct command of Stalin. At first the German revolution was sabotaged in the interest of peace and credits. Now, with the threat of Hitler before their eyes, Stalin & Co. veer towards Imperialist France in order to stay Hitler's hand, that is, to checkmate his Drang-nach-Osten policy.

As usual, the Stalinist bureaucracy does not calculate the effect of this course on the German masses. Having lost faith in the world revolution, and more particularly disdaining the revolutionary aid of the German masses in case of a fascist attack, Stalin once more plays into Hitler's hands. Goebbels has already broadcasted throughout bleeding Germany that the Soviet Union has formed a technical military alliance with the thoroughly hated France against the German people. And thus the last drop of revolutionary blood is drained from the veins of the German workers. This is the final stab in the back.

The Destruction of the Third International

The impending failure of the Disarmament Conference opens up a dangerous prospect for the Soviet Union. England cannot afford to have France increase its power on the Continent. It will not allow Germany to be further humiliated and crushed. It also supports the German rearmament proposals. It continues on friendly terms with Japan. For England needs both Germany and Japan, at least as potential allies, to maintain its far-flung empire.

The current policy of the Soviet Union, if carried through to the bitter end, leads to imperialist entanglements and aims a death-blow at the world proletarian movement.

It is obvious that such a situation calls for a new party and a new (Fourth) International.
—SYMPATHIZER.

CHICAGO DEBATE

Spartacus Youth League vs. Young Peoples Socialist League.

Subject

Resolved that the organization of a Fourth International is indispensable to the victory of the World Working Class over Fascism.

Affirmative

Nathan Gould and Albert Glotzer (Members National Committee S.Y.L.)

Negative

Arthur MacDowell (National Chairman Y.P.S.L.) and John Riener.

Chairman

Ralph Chaplin—Editor Industrial Worker.

Friday, June 29th, 1934 at 7:45 P.M.

National Socialist Institute
3322 W. Douglas Blvd.
Admission 15c.

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Minneapolis Strike Defamers

(Continued from Page 1)

ing the militancy of the February fight, tried to head off the strike and avoid recognition of the union by "voluntary" wage increases.

In the meetings of the Citizens Alliance (the bosses' organization) held on the eve of the strike—as reported to the union officials by a sympathizer—the leaders of the bosses urged and insisted that substantial increases of the miserable wages be made forthwith for the purpose of disorganizing the union campaign and defeating the demand for recognition of the union. On this point the bosses and the workers saw eye to eye—each side understood the question of the union to be paramount. The manoeuvre was defeated. The union officials, with the membership behind them to a man, put the recognition of the union as the first and fundamental demand.

Were the union leaders and members, perhaps, mistaken in centering the fight around the question of union recognition and directly related issues—no discrimination and seniority rights—as certain scholastic wisecracks and unsuccessful labor organizers maintain? Not at all. They were a thousands times correct. It is self-understood that the struggle for economic demands is indissolubly joined with the fight for a union, but the union is the instrument of the fight and the guardian of the economic concessions. Every worker who joins the union understands this instinctively. The worker wants an improvement in his conditions, but he wants also security in his job while fighting for these improvements. That is what the formula "recognition of the union" means concretely.

The Minneapolis strikers expressed it in their own language as "protection". They wanted the union to protect them against discrimination, against arbitrary firing, against the damnable "merit" system. In this attitude they were at one with every group of workers entering the organized struggle for the first time. They aspired to build a union to compel the boss to recognize and deal with it.

How the Strike Was Organized
For that they fought. And what a magnificent fight! In Minneapolis was to be seen what reservoirs of working class solidarity and courage can be tapped when the rank and file is fused with an honest, competent and trusted leadership. The whole working class of Minneapolis acclaimed the strike as a model of organization as well as of militancy. Transfer the Minneapolis method to Detroit and Pittsburgh! Then you will see the real resurgence of the labor movement!

Even the class enemy gave grudging testimony to the efficiency of the organizers and the soldierly discipline with which they imbued the strikers.

"Even before the strike started, the official start of the strike at 11:30 p.m. Tuesday," reported the Minneapolis Tribune on May 16, "the General Headquarters organization set up at 1900 Chicago Avenue was operating with all the precision of a military organization."

"Before him on a desk, Farrell Dobbs, in charge at headquarters, had a list designating all the places in the city to be picketed and the time set for start of picketing. As the picket groups left for their posts, the list was checked."

"Days before the strike started, Mr. Dobbs said, picket captains had been selected, sizes of picket crews had been determined and all spots to be picketed had been designated. All that remained when the time came for moving the picket crews was to assign the squads, varying in number according to needs at the various picket places, load them in trucks or cars, and send them on their ways."

The pickets went "on their ways" so effectively, and they attracted to their support such a wide section of other workers, some of whom came out in sympathy, that the employers found it advisable to recede from their stiff-necked position and deal with the union. On Friday, May 25, ten days after the beginning of the strike, a settlement was made and the men returned to work.

When is the Time for Strike Settlement?

The resolute course of the union leaders in recommending the acceptance of the settlement has raised an extremely interesting and important question before the advanced and militant workers who followed all the developments at Minneapolis with the utmost attention. In the history of the American labor movement the radical and revolutionary workers have been distinguished by a singular oneness in regard to strike and trade union strategy. They led and organized many a militant strike, but seldom succeeded in maintaining a stable union. There is little to go by, in the way of previous experience, to aid the modern militants in determining how and when to settle strikes. Their predecessors did not settle any.

And yet, if we really aim to get into the labor movement and influence it permanently from within,

all the year round and not merely during strikes—and this is the fundamental task of the present-day militants—this problem must be solved. The leaders of the Minneapolis strike faced it without hesitation. Those who really want to learn something about the art of building unions, leading them through strikes and keeping them intact afterward ought to study this phase of the Minneapolis struggle particularly.

Those who merely want to throw mud, to scream and show their own impotence and ignorance, will not learn anything from the experience under review, or from any other experience for that matter. Nevertheless, they also serve the cause of progress indirectly. By holding their arguments and criticisms up to the light the education of others can be aided, as temperance used to be taught by the exhibition of the "horrible example".

What the Strike Settlement Means
Every strike settlement is a compromise in the sense that it leaves the bosses in control of industry and free to exploit the workers. The best settlement only limits and checks this exploitation to a certain extent. Realistic leaders do not expect justice from the capitalists, they only strive to extract as much as possible for the union in the given situation and strengthen their forces for another fight.

Tight at the present time, when the great problem and task of all the unions of newly organized workers is to establish a permanent status and to compel recognition—a task that remains yet to be accomplished for the great majority of the new unions, for nearly all of them in fact—the Minneapolis settlement, itself manifestly a compromise, stands out high above any other of which we have direct knowledge. Those who have secured better settlements for new unions since the inception of the NRA—old established unions obviously stand in a different category—have a certain special right to criticize the Minneapolis leaders. But, first, it is necessary to find the leaders who did better. Who are they, and where are they? Are they, by any chance, the leaders of the St. Paul packinghouse strike" or the New York Taxi strike?"

Here is what the Minneapolis settlement says on the questions of union recognition, discrimination and seniority rights, quoted from the official text printed in the Minneapolis papers, May 26:

"All members of the General Drivers and Helpers Union No. 574 in dealing with employers may be represented by the officers of such Union, and no discrimination against representatives shall be made because they are officers or agents of said Local Union No. 574; and such firms shall deal with such representatives when duly selected as accredited representatives of these employees."

"In the hiring or discharging of employees hereafter, no employer affected hereby shall discriminate against any employee because of membership in said Local Union No. 574."

"In the hiring and discharging of or laying off of employees, seniority rights shall prevail, except for just cause."

Recognition Enforced to the Letter
In these sections of the agreement the main demands of the union were complied with in written form. And what is more important, they were carried out in practice in the days immediately following the end of the strike. Every case of discrimination in the rehiring of the workers—there were about 50 out of 5,000, according to the report made to the union meeting three days later—brought a committee of union officials to the office of the firm complained against. In not a single case did the employers refuse to meet the union officials and to adjust the complaints.

That is "recognition" enforced to the letter by a union that stands intact and ready to fight again if necessary. Where is there a new union anywhere in the United States which secured a clearer and more definite recognition since the inauguration of the NRA and began to enforce it the very next day? Against these gains must be put down on the other side the fact that the union agreed to submit the wage demands to arbitration and to accept the results. This, the union had offered early in the strike on the condition that the union be recognized. The arbitrating body is not the Regional Labor Board, but is to consist of two members of this board, two employers and two representatives of the union, plus a seventh member to be selected. This body is also to arbitrate and decide individual disputes regarding the seniority clause.

This is a serious concession which the union officials felt it necessary to make under the circumstances in order to secure the recognition of the union and consolidate it in the next period. It is a big concession, but by no means a fatal one. It is a concession that has been made by many unions. It is somewhat ironical that the Furriers Union, the one Stalinist organization having direct relations with the bosses up till recently pro-

vided, in the agreement, for arbitration by an "impartial chairman". An adverse ruling of the board of arbitration would undoubtedly galvanize the union membership for action again. The board will meet under the direct impress of the 10-day strike and with the consciousness that the union is strong and militant.

That, in our opinion, is the fundamentally decisive feature of the results of the Minneapolis strike—the indubitable establishment of a new union where none existed before. All the plans of the leaders and organizers were directed to this end as the first objective in a long campaign. The struggle was centered around this issue and was crowned with success. On that basis further steps forward can be made. To speak of such an outcome as a "defeat" is simply absurd.

The labor movement of Minneapolis has been restored to new life by the emergence of Local 574. The working class of the entire country has been inspired by a new example and enriched by a fresh experience which constitutes a real contribution to the burning question of trade unionism. Honest and loyal workers everywhere will acknowledge an indebtedness to the group of Minneapolis militants at the head of Local 574 who organized this magnificent movement, steered it through the strike and the settlement and still remain at its head. The work they have done already is bound to influence future developments of the left wing labor movement on a national scale. And they are not finished yet.

As was to be expected, the Stalinist specialists in the art of losing strikes and breaking up unions are bitterly disappointed with the Minneapolis situation. It was also to be expected that they would work overtime to discredit the strike and the union and blacken the names of the organizers and leaders. But even those who understood, especially those with sensitive stomachs, could not avoid a slight feeling of nausea at the instrument chosen for the present job and the dirty self-befouling methods assigned to him in executing it.

For the "Minneapolis job" the collective Browders, with a perverse cruelty, summoned the wreck of what was once a revolutionist and a man named William F. Dunne and offered him the opportunity to restore himself to grace and favor. He took the job of slandering the Minneapolis movement and all connected with it, and it must be said he did a dirty job as he was required to do.

That side of his articles are of no particular interest in themselves and can well be passed over. What is important and worthy of discussion is the fact that, in the course of his attacks, he exposes a conception of the trade union question, as he has learned it in recent years in the school of Browder-Stachel, which throws a searchlight on the present-day tactics of the Stalinists in contrast to ours. We can only welcome the opportunity to discuss the contrasting viewpoints on the basis of a concrete demonstration of one of them. That the discussion takes place on our ground—in this itself is a fact which helps to explain the meaning of the differences. In next week's issue I hope to take up the main thesis of the Dunne articles on the Minneapolis strike and demonstrate its falsity and, consequently, the falsity of all the tactics prescribed on the basis of this thesis.

Browder "Exposes" Strike "Sell-Out"

(Continued from Page 1)

leaders in this strike, were they not?" Affirmative replies from all parts of the hall. "These Trotskyists, these revolutionist revolutionists, they call us Centrists and Reactionaries, you know. Is their settlement any better than that made by the Social-Fascists everywhere else, in Toledo, in Detroit, etc. . . . There is no reply, there is no applause, silence! He continues, "I understand that there are a thousand men who lost their jobs from this settlement". There is mumbling and commotion in the crowd. Browder retreats, "Or am I wrong, well, you say there is only a hundred." He points to some imaginary questioner in the crowd. "Even if it were less than a hundred, that would have been a shame." No applause. The lie, the trickery of his speech, was even too raw for the hard-boiled Stalinists (who were the vast majority of the crowd) to swallow. "This settlement contains the clause of Section 7a, does it not? That is an endorsement of the Company Union is it not?" No response. No applause. Browder went too deep. The Stalinists were ashamed to applaud this characterization of a splendid union and a magnificent strike. Besides there was a rumor that had gone around them that fifty truck-drivers, union members, were in the hall.

Browder had waited for applause, it didn't come. He hesitated a moment, he left the subject of the Minneapolis strike and started to talk in general about the wave of strikes. He had nothing further to

The Militant Pledge Fund

We want to take this opportunity to thank all the comrades who have been contributing regularly to the Pledge Fund, and to tell them that if it had not been for their contributions, we would have been obliged to skip at least one of the issues in the past few months.

Due to unemployment, several of our regular subscribers to this fund, have been obliged to discontinue their contributions. We call upon other readers and sympathizers to take their places.

The Militant is in a critical financial situation. Like all revolutionary papers, we operate on a weekly deficit which has to be made up by special donations. The debts which have been accumulating for a period of time, are pressing hard on us and threatening our existence. The Organization-Press Campaign which is now in progress, will help to liquidate these debts and thus prepare the base for stabilizing the paper. But it cannot permanently solve the problem. Our hope is in the Pledge Fund.

If we can get a total of \$40 weekly in pledges, to supplement our other income, we can guarantee the continue appearance and prompt mailing of The Militant.

MAKE YOUR PLEDGE TO-DAY. SEND FOR A PLEDGE CARD.

THE PLEDGERS

New York City

I. Porter	\$1.00	monthly
E. Alby	1.00	"
E. E. C.	1.00	"
E. J. Conwit	.50	"
Cornelis	1.00	"
Samuel, E.	1.00	"
Ann Ehrlich	1.00	"
The Geltmans	1.00	"
L. Haidous	1.00	"
P. Miller	1.00	"
Sydney Moroff	1.00	"
A. McAbe	1.00	"
City Subway Worker	1.00	"
Beecher	.50	"
Colay	.50	"
Coehrin	.50	"
Jerry Marsh	1.00	"
Ann Toven	1.00	"
Gonzales	.50	"
T. Smith	2.00	"

Bronx

Edith Sher	1.00	"
S. Eckstadt	1.00	"
M. Lifshitz	1.00	"

Newark, N. J.

Lambert	1.00	"
G. Holly	.50	"
L. Nagy	.50	"
Becker	1.00	"
G. Kutz	1.00	"
A. Sympathizer	.50	"
A. Social Worker	1.00	"
A. Clerk	.50	"

Boston

E. Wiener	.50	"
C. Sheket	.50	"
W. Henderson	.50	"
J. Chiplovitz	.50	"

Others

A. Wolfe, New Haven	1.00	"
A. Worker, W. Va.	1.00	"
(paid in advance for 10 months)		
A. Teacher in N. Y. C., paid for 16 months in advance.		
A. Friend of The Militant paid \$25 in advance at \$1 a week.		
A. Friend in Youngstown is paying \$2 monthly. We just received a letter from him enclosing \$8 for 4 months, saying: "I pledge for as long as The Militant will be in need and as long as I will be able to remit."		

Brownsville Forum
WHAT NEXT IN FRANCE?
Speaker
JACK WEBER
SATURDAY, JUNE 16, 8:30 P.M.
Dir. International Workers' School
1776 Pitkin Ave., near Stone Ave.

Militant Builders

Again we remind our branches and our readers that the Second Club Plan sub drive (4 six-month subs for \$3.00) ends on AUGUST 1. NO CARDS SOLD AFTER THAT DATE.

GET YOUR CARDS AT ONCE!
The following extracts from letters show that interest in the Militant is high and that subs can be gotten if they are gone after.

From a comrade in Columbus we hear:

"The new subscriber says that the Militant certainly makes a man think. He thinks he can get new subscribers. He is one of the men who goes around all day in a horse cart for a baking concern. The workers had a successful strike a week ago."

George Truhar, of the Cleveland branch writes:
"Find enclosed four cards and another \$1 for 4 more cards. We are trying to get 100 subs by the end of the drive."

If you do George, you will deserve a prize.
S. Jojanov of Chicago, says:
"The first time I read your paper was at the May Day demonstration and I like it because it sincerely believes in united front. I hope you will continue. I do not believe in the tricks the Stalinists do. Enclosed find \$1 for a subscription."

This morning's mail brought the following:

"Dear Comrades: Reading the Militant after the Daily Worker is just like jumping from a mud bath into a cold, clear spring. The true spirit of international working class solidarity permeates your paper. The Stalinists give lip service to it. I read Dunne's articles on the Minneapolis strike. What lies! It was only because the League was in the forefront of this fine strike. Anything the Stalinists are in is wonderful. But when anybody outside the party is concerned, no words are too vile, no hysterical

frothing too disgusting or too low for them to apply. Look what these "revolutionists" did to the taxi strike. . . . Keep up this splendid paper and you can't fail to win. Good luck! I am unemployed, but I am enclosing 25c for the Militant."

Signed, A Militant fan.
Thank you for your letter comrade "Militant fan". If you had given your address, we would put you on the mailing list so you would be sure of receiving it regularly while you are still unemployed.

The following subs were received during the past week: Chicago br. 8; Cleveland br. 12; Davenport br. 4; Constance N. 4; Youngstown br. 4; Total, 32. Previously reported, 234.

THE COMPLETE RECORD OF SECOND DRIVE

Minneapolis Branch	40
Cleveland Branch	34
New York Local	32
City Office	28
Harlem Br.	4
Chicago Branch	28
Los Angeles Branch	24
Boston Branch	8
Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	8
San Francisco Br.	8
Philadelphia Branch	8
Constance N.	8
Davenport Branch	8
Toronto	4
Kerkeley (Kogan)	4
Ben. L. and I. Porter	4
Leeser	4
New Haven Branch	4
New Castle Branch	4
Newark Branch	4
Oakland Branch	4
Springfield Branch	4
St. Louis Branch	4
Osborn, Frisco	4
Toronto Branch	4
Toronto Youth Club	4
Waukegan Branch	4
Youngstown Branch	4
TOTAL	266

N. Y. Independent Printers Union

Six months ago seven militants began organizing the unorganized New York printers. Today this new union, the "Independent Printing Employees" has reached a membership of about 1,000. An excellent beginning has been made of a big job in a big field. There are still not less than about 40,000 unorganized pressmen, compositors, linotype operators, and other workers distributed in some 2,100 small printing shops in the city. These unorganized printers have been denied admission into the official A. F. of L. printers' unions. The new union, however, has adopted as its policy a demand for inclusion into the official unions.

One tribute to its success and growth was given at the mass meeting held by this union on June 4th. Despite the sizzling heat there was an enthusiastic crowd of more than 500 printers present who unanimously approved the union program as set forth in three excellent speeches delivered by the union leaders. Each speech was different and yet each was brimful of the one and only inevitable conclusion—organization.

S. R. Solomonick, as chairman of the meeting, said in his introductory remarks, that the meeting was called primarily for the purpose of explaining the recently adopted Printers Code to the printers, and to work out a plan for its enforcement upon the bosses and "chisselers", who are repeatedly violating its most important clauses.

The preliminary speaker of the evening was a guest politician from the Regional Labor Board, a "labor" member of that body. The gentleman tried his best to play the part of an ardent union sympathizer, well wisher and peacemaker, as if he had smelled in the air the restlessness, and spirit of revolt of the underpaid and stepped-upon printers. He spoke long and said little and the lively crowd felt relieved when he had spoken and M. Tomasch, an active militant and member of the executive board was introduced.

M. Tomasch stressed the crying need of organization in the printing industry. He pointed out the unwillingness of the leaders of Local

51 and the "Big Six" of the A. F. of L. to open its books to unorganized printers. "It is up to us to organize the entire trade, to crack down the doors of the union, and fight for the 30-hour week and union scale throughout the whole industry."

The next speaker was Sam Gordon, one of the founders of the I.P.E. and its president. During his speech about the Printers Code he handed to the representative of the Labor Board 90 code violations for examination which had been returned by the Board to the organization after a long delay without any action having been taken. Tumultuous cheers drowned his voice, when he finished his speech by calling the attention of the printers to the militant fights of the workers in Toledo, Minneapolis and the West Coast.

Then George Clark, the young educational director and member of the executive board, spoke. He reviewed the short history and the growth of the organization; how in six months time the membership had grown from the original seven to more than a thousand, with individuals and whole shops lining up every day in the headquarters at 24 W. 20th Street. Already the organization has conducted one successful strike in one shop and is negotiating with several others. Clark summed up his forceful speech by calling all unorganized printers up to action: "There is no other way to get the thirty-hour week but by fighting and no successful fight was ever secured without militant organization."

The I.P.E. has undertaken a tremendous job. Their job of fighting the 2,000 small shop-owners in New York and the well-oiled machine of Local 51 and the Big Six of the A. F. of L. is no sinecure, no joy-ride. It demands ability, and most of all, hard courageous effort against obstacles and difficulties little realized by ordinary workers. That the leadership commands all these requirements was even openly admitted by the representative of the "Labor Board". It depends upon the "Labor Board". It depends upon to what extent they are willing to support this movement. —P.S.

N.Y. Picnic Sunday, June 24th

You can't afford to miss the greatest get-together of the Communist League and its supporters and friends ever held in New York. Arrangements are being completed to assure a good time to all. Are you an indoor baseball player? Then register for one of the teams. You'll have a chance to play soccer, quilts, or take part in the fat man's race—if we can find enough fat men to make a race worthwhile. There will be many other features to the sports program. The place is ideal. Large trees shade the tables. Food will be good. The menu includes "Sashlik", and also "Hot Dawgs" for the American approach. Thirsty? Your needs will be attended to. Dancing will go on till midnight in the roofed-in pavillion. If you wish to lose yourself for an hour—the large woodland estate which surrounds the picnic ground is yours.

If you wish to discuss Cuba, Imperialist War, Fascism, Stalinism, or the Fourth International, you will find the best informed Communists in New York present. At 4:00 P.M. Max Shachtman will speak on the "New International".

Come early for the program. Stay late for the dancing and camp-fire songs.—From 10:00 A.M. to Midnight.
Get your tickets at once—only 25c. The place is "Zedler's Grove", Lincoln Heights, Yonkers. The White Plains Lexington Ave. Subway or Third Avenue El. to 241st and White Plains Road will take you there. Get off at the last stop. A 15 minute walk, or Zedler's Grove Bus will take you to the open grounds. Don't miss a minute of this grand outing.

I.L.A. Leaders Weaken Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

developments, and particularly in reply to the threats of bringing out soldiers, the demand for a general strike went up in a powerful chorus all along the coast. It gained a tremendous impetus among the workers. But it remained a slogan.

The same can be said for the demand for a Waterfront Federation to be set up of the various unions involved. An entirely legitimate and correct demand. But alas, it also remained a slogan. The united strike committee which was set up, instead of being tightened-up and enlarged to take in all the unions affected by the strike, and to have some real influence upon the conduct of the strike, was allowed to deteriorate after a couple of meetings.

Needless to say that in such a situation the strike, despite its magnificent militancy and broad sweep, is endangered. Oakland furnishes an example of this neglect of the danger and at the same time also of the sentiment of solidarity. The I.L.A. local asked for action in the Central Labor Council on a general strike vote. According to its laws a two thirds majority vote is required. The proposition narrowly missed that majority. It was only two votes short. Nevertheless several unions walked out in sympathy strike. But no serious effort was made to link these unions up with the united strike committee.

The Stalinists in the Strike

The official Communist party was in a position of having actually a mass basis on the Pacific Coast. Long before the strike it had gained serious influence among the rank and file and had promoted the slogan for a strike. It accounts for both the early strength and the subsequent weakness of the militant section. It was the first to raise the united front slogan, and to raise the issue of a general strike. Its prestige increased. But when it came to following up on its slogans matters changed and the resolutions it had adopted, those which were correct, remained on paper in usual Stalinist style.

Accounting for its failure stands first of all the fact that its policy of the T.U.U.L. unions existing also on the Pacific Coast contradicts the process of advancing the mass unions to a higher level. It becomes the first very serious point of division. Flowing from that the very tactics pursued will perhaps yet have even more disastrous consequences. While the Stalinists apparently sponsored the united front policy they insisted on having their own particular "united front" consisting of the official party, the Marine Workers Industrial Union, the International Workers Relief, the International Labor Defense, etc. When the I.L.A. called for a united protest against the police brutality in the outrageous attack and firing upon unarmed workers on the Embarcadero, the Stalinists injected their particular "united front" confusion. In the name of the I.L.A., but through their own particular set-up, they collected funds. Incidentally, however, when the two comrades of the League, Wyle and Booth, were arrested on the water front they absolutely refused to have anything to do with the cause.

Mistakes of the League
Had the official party been able to translate even its correct resolutions into action a solid federation of transport workers could have been formed and the whole strike strengthened instead of the first backwash of retreat being apparent.

The Communist League was not without faults in the strike situation. Some members were active in the strike leadership but permitted themselves meanwhile to become isolated from the League activities. As a result the organic connection between the League and the strikers suffered. The fact that our branches are small when compared to the huge task and the fact that our members were swamped with work is not a sufficient excuse. Our decision to issue a monthly paper was held in abeyance. Such errors should not be repeated. We are no longer in the Stalinist party where decisions are handed down from above bureaucratically without any right of the membership to question. The correctness of our trade union policy is already verified by experience; but we must carry it out.

—F. C.

MOONLIGHT PICNIC IN MINNEAPOLIS

WORKERS OF MINNEAPOLIS
Attend
MOONLIGHT PICNIC
Given By
Minneapolis Branch Communist League and
Workmen's Circle Branch 989.

At
Glenwood Park Ground No. 3
SATURDAY NIGHT, JUNE 23
9:00 P.M.

MUSIC — ENTERTAINMENT
REFRESHMENTS.
Speaker from General Drivers Union will speak on the **TRUCK DRIVERS' VICTORY**.

Bring Your Friends for an Enjoyable Evening.

—C. FORSEN.