

LABOR ACTION

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President Names Tories To Administer Recovery Act; Liberals to "Advise"

Reorganization of NRA Seen as Move to the Right; Forced to Act, Roosevelt Attempts to Reassure Both Labor and Bosses; Johnson Out.

By JOHN L. BROWN

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The NRA shake-up is practically over. Johnson is out. The President has again emerged as the master politician. Perhaps no man in the White House in recent times could have duplicated his finesse in wavering the political wand to the left and the right, to the workers and the bosses, bringing to the top of NRA a board of liberals to make policies and a board of notorious reactionaries directly linked to big business to enforce them.

The reorganization practically completed, the President turned to the nation in his radio address on the progress of recovery and proposed a "truce" in industrial warfare.

Had To Act

That the administration could not defer action much longer without a complete demoralization of its personnel was generally known. There was a feeling that the liberal New Deal members were losing their grip.

The accelerated and concerted drive of the big employers against section 7a had tangled NRA into a mess that had to be gotten out of some how. With General Johnson cracking down to no effect, the industrialists openly getting pretty much what they wanted through still-born labor board decisions, revised codes and company unions, the recovery program had reached an impasse.

All the liberals and even the President himself, it is said, were beginning to slip a little.

Snail-Like Progress

In the face of the snail-like progress of the recovery program, the conservative stand of the national labor heads, the onslaught of big business and the standing army of 13,000,000 unemployed, the original belief that industry and finance would cooperate by adopting fair practices which would result in large scale re-employment and an equitable distribution of buying power has undoubtedly suffered a set-back. A fresh start had become imperative.

Viewed in this light, the reorganization of NRA and the President's truce proposal are moves to the right which will give the administration a breathing spell.

End Of Johnson

General Johnson had to go. The one-man crusade to codify and stamp industry with the Blue Eagle did what he predicted it would do—it finally got him.

The General was a colorful, meteoric figure. Long before the NRA was born the General and his friend, Bernard M. Baruch of Wall Street were working out the plan for it. He sold many of the ideas to the President and early in the Spring of 1933 he moved into offices in Washington. He put on a terrific whirlwind show, but in the end he gave the employers the concessions they asked for, and his lack of policy came to be regarded as a joke.

Blustering across the country, vowing economic death to all chisellers and slackers, the General "cussed" out the big steel and coal

barons and "cracked down" on Henry Ford. It was said he kept the telephone wires hot. But the cool-headed industrialists let him talk. And when the showdown came they asked for the code provisions they wanted and got them.

The upshot of these recurring burlesques was that the original usefulness of Johnson in whipping up public interest was lost, and the joke of the General became a thorn that had to be pulled out if confidence in NRA was not to suffer a further collapse.

NRA's New Face

At present, the changed face of the NRA consists in:

(1) The National Industrial Recovery Board of five members, including Clay Williams, chairman, A.D. Whiteside, Sidney Hillman, Leon C. Marshall and Walton Hamilton. A more reactionary board, with the exception of Hillman, who as president of the

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Branch Maps Plans For New York Work, Views CLA Merger

NEW YORK.—As part of the party-wide campaign initiated by the recent Active Workers Conference, the New York Branch held an all-day membership meeting on September 23 to map its activities for the coming year. The agenda embraced every phase of party work.

Chairman Muste, reporting on the Active Workers Conference, emphasized party building. At the Pittsburgh conference this problem had been the chief concern. Muste declared that since the A. W. P. convention last year the political level of the party had advanced with giant strides.

Discuss Merger

On the question of unity with the Communist League of America, Comrade Hook gave a full report of the negotiations. Making a detailed analysis of the practical and theoretical problems involved, he concluded that merger would give impetus to the formation of the new revolutionary party in America. The practical steps to be taken towards organic unity were discussed by the Branch.

In the afternoon session the more immediate job of branch building was discussed. The set-up of the branch adopted includes the following committees: Membership, Educational, Propaganda and Political Agitation, Student and Youth, Entertainment, Industrial Work.

Comrade Carlson outlined the educational program, explaining the 8-weeks training course for party members. Also, he gave the tentative plan for the week-end institutes which will begin at the Broadway Central Hotel on Saturday, October 27, on the "Coming American Revolution."

Let's make
LABOR ACTION
a Weekly!

Coming Revolution Topic of Institute Opening Oct. 27th

NEW YORK.—"The Crisis of the American Dream" and "The Power Battlefront" will be discussed by many noted speakers at the Broadway Central Hotel in New York beginning Saturday, October 27, in a series of two pre-election week-end institutes on "The Coming American Revolution."

The speakers, among others, will be A. J. Muste, Max Eastman, J. B. S. Hardman, Sidney Hook, Oliver Carlson, V. F. Calverton, James Burnham, Ernest Sutherland Bates, Ludwig Lore, Louis Budenz.

Following the sessions on Saturday and Sunday afternoons and evenings, October 27-28, the second institute will be held on Saturday and Sunday, November 3-4.

Speakers on the first day, at 2:30 P. M. will deal with "The Crisis of the American Dream—evaluation in the light of the past, and evaluations in the light of reality."

Tickets for the institutes have been placed on sale at the New York office of the American Workers Party, 112 East 19th Street.

Sell-Out Ends Miners' Fight Against UMW

Left Wingers Defeated Once More in Battle Against Lewisism

(Special to Labor Action)

WILKES-BARRE, Pa.—The anthracite miners of the Scranton district have lost again in the intrigue of Cappellini and Maloney—Cappellini to get out of jail and Maloney to wriggle out of the fact that he has been paid secretly \$50.00 per week from the Anthracite Conciliation Board which has been "deciding" jurisdictional disputes between Maloney's and Cappellini's United Anthracite Miners Union and Lewis's and Boylan's United Mine Workers.

Cappellini from his jail cell issued a statement urging the members of the United union to go back to the A. F. of L. and "stop kidding themselves." Maloney's indignant counter-statement urging the miners to stand by the United Anthracite Miners lost weight when it was disclosed that he has been receiving \$50.00 per week from the board which has been consistently deciding against his own membership.

Cappellini further proposed that conciliation be effected by the same Anthracite Conciliation Board which has been paying Maloney, and that the truce be named after and blessed by Father Curran.

Against Lewis Not Enough

The debacle in this field reflects again the essential weakness of the fight against Lewisism, evident in every fight of the miners against the bureaucracy of the UMW where there has been no realistic left wing.

Rallying around the hatred of Lewis and his methods the miners have time after time found themselves delivered back to Lewis by leaders no better than John L. Because the fight has centered exclusively around opposition to the Lewis machine and not on principle, the way has always been wide open for those who would displace Lewis only to enrich themselves. This leads to the usual

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A.F. of L. Torn by Fight Over Industrial Unions; Issue Forced into Open

1934 Convention Puts Federation Chair-Warmers on Spot as Building Trades Union Quarrel Drives Red Baiting from Limelight

SAN FRANCISCO.—Several hundred delegates descended on San Francisco last week for the regular annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. Here in the city in which a General Strike paralyzed all industrial activity; where the citadels of American capitalism received a heavy blow, the representatives of several million organized workers gathered to deal with the future, some of them to point out new paths, the great majority to resist change and to kill the development of a fighting movement.

It has been many years since conventions of the American Federation of Labor commanded the serious attention of the organized workers. Before the war when the Socialists carried on opposition work, the annual conclaves were genuine forums for discussion of the issues facing the labor movement. In the post-war period however the Socialist Party tried to

curry favor with the union officialdom. The Communist Party formed out of a split in the S.P. soon turned to a stupid and disruptive dual-union policy.

Aided by the bankruptcy of the progressive and radical forces and by the period of the two car garage the established officialdom rode high. The conventions became meaningless gatherings at which the reactionary labor skates formed happy alliances with militaristic jingoes and corrupt politicians. Differences between the pie card sharks were ironed out behind the scenes and the serious business of almost every convention became a lynching bee of progressive or radical groups or persons who had incurred the displeasure of the lords of labor. Such persons as Sherwood Eddy, William F. Dunne, A. J. Muste and John Dewey were victims. Real issues never arose to trouble the placid convention air.

Tide Shifts

In 1931 the tide began to shift. The convention that opened last week in San Francisco definitely marks a new state of things. The issues cannot be downed or evaded entirely. The inner family itself is torn by dissension and bickering. Even the labor lords sitting on the lid of the caldron of the labor movement could not entirely ignore the furious boiling underneath which was making their seats uncomfortably warm.

It has been impossible for the executive council to patch up the fight of the Building Trades Department against the unions of carpenters, bricklayers and electrical workers. Based on the perennial scrap over jurisdictional claims, the Building Trades Department accuses the three powerful unions which it has refused to admit to its ranks of padding membership figures, of refusing to abide by the decisions of the Department in jurisdiction cases and of conspiring to take over the administration. This quarrel thrown on their own doorstep may put a serious crimp into the plans of the Federation chiefs to stage a gaudy red hering hunt at this convention. If they cannot patch up their own quarrels it is unlikely that much energy will be left over for the bolshevik menace.

The Federal Unions

No one knows as yet how the strength of the Federal Unions will affect this gathering. Most of them are known to be sore at the fence-sitting policy of the Federation on the question of industrial unionism. The debate and the vote on this matter will be one of the high spots.

Last year the industrial union forces were defeated by a substantial majority. Since then they have won strength and additional adherents. The needle trades unions, the organizations in coal, steel, textiles have won thousands of members and consequently votes. Daniel Tobin of the teamsters union, last year a determined opponent of industrial unionism is

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Muste and Cannon Urge Militant Bloc For Silk Workers

PATERSON, N. J.—Over 300 silk workers turned out to hear A. J. Muste of the American Workers Party and James P. Cannon of the Communist League of America speak on the next steps for the textile workers in a meeting called under auspices of both organizations. The meeting was the result of successful, continuing cooperation between members of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P. in the American Federation of Silk Workers in building the United Silk Workers Club together with other militants.

Comrade Muste analyzed the strike movement and the result of the settlement, pointing to the need for a national silk workers opposition movement and for the formation of an effective revolutionary party to give guidance to such a development. The need for a rallying of the militants was also stressed by Comrade Cannon who showed the futility of the tactics of the Communists in the textiles and the ruinous effect of their general trade union policy.

Comedy relief for the evening was furnished by about 25 Communist Party members and sympathizers who attempted, through shouting and yelling, to disrupt the meeting. They met with no success, and only alienated the large crowd which filled Oakley's Hall.

MORGAN LIVES HERE

GLEN COVE, NEW YORK—The city of millionaires and paupers, this is Glen Cove, for its size the wealthiest city in the world.

J. P. Morgan lives here.

Maybe that accounts for the fact that Glen Cove has another distinction—one-third of the population is on relief, more than in any other city in the State.

Leagues Will Smash Proclamation Limiting Picketing, Mayor Is Told

Mass Meetings Protest Terror On Labor in Strike Aftermath

Lehigh County Workers' Organizations Join Broad United Front; Leaguemen Save Family in Eviction, Force Sheriff To Act

(By Special Correspondent)

Allentown, Pa. — The Lehigh County Unemployed League has called a mass meeting to protest the reign of terror instituted against the workers of Allentown as an aftermath of the textile strike. During that struggle, Mayor Lewis of Allentown, carrying out the request of the local Chamber of Commerce, issued a proclamation limiting pickets to 10 at a mill with the further restriction that these pickets must be workers from that mill. This arbitrary ruling has been rigidly enforced not only against the textile workers but against all other workers on strike. As a result five men were arrested three of whom were sentenced to 15 days in jail for distributing leaflets at a meeting of silk workers urging them to reject the settlement ordered by Gorman and to continue the strike until their demands are met.

When a committee of 12 carrying out the vote of a mass meeting of 2000 workers, called upon Mayor Lewis to demand the release of the five workers and to protest against the Mayor's strike breaking activities, he refused to see the committee and ordered armed police to eject the committee members from city hall.

Another mass meeting has been called for this week (Oct. 1) by a joint committee called the "Committee for the Defense of Workers Right" and representing the Lehigh County Unemployed League, the American Workers Party, Unemployed Citizens League of Bethlehem, the Communist Party of Lehigh County, the Socialist Party of Bethlehem, International Labor Defense, International Workers Order, International Pocketbook Workers Union, Woodworkers Union, Nature Friends, American Federation of Silk Workers, Amal. Assn. of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers and the Rev. Paul Cotton, who was recently ousted from his pulpit by the South Side Presbyterian Church of Bethlehem, for openly expressing sympathy with the textile workers.

The following is part of an open letter sent to the Mayor of Allentown by the Lehigh County Unemployed League:

"We sincerely believe this proclamation is an abrogation of our democratic rights . . . and contravenes the spirit and letter of Section 7a of the N.R.A.

"Furthermore, we believe that the spirit and intent of this arbitrary proclamation is another example of an organized movement to curtail the rights of all workers to organize, to strike and to picket effectively. . . . Therefore, with full knowledge of the principles involved and the possible consequences, we plan to violate openly and publicly a proclamation which in our opinion is a suppressive and oppressive act against all workers."

LEHIGH COUNTY UNEMPLOYED LEAGUE

In Bethlehem the striking silk workers experienced the same ruthless suppression in this feudal domain of the Steel Trust as have the steel workers in their struggles, the Bethlehem Steel Company gladly lending its private thugs to enforce the proclamation by Mayor Pfeifle, who is a stockholder of the Sauquoit Silk Mills, limiting pickets to four at a plant, and placing 16 police at each mill to "guard" the four pickets. The local press consistently refused to publish statements giving labor's side of the story and all halls were closed to strike meetings, no street or open air gatherings being permitted.

Miss Jule Lesniak of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, when

she approached the Mayor for the purpose of organizing a benefit for the strikers was told by the Mayor, "There is no strike in Bethlehem and there will be no tag day for strikers. I am protecting silk workers against strikers because they are happy and it is my duty to keep them happy."

Due to the mass support by the Unemployed League, Charles Joseph and his family of nine children are now housed in suitable living quarters instead of the vermin infested hovel offered them by the Poor Board. When called upon in his capacity as deputy to aid in the eviction of this family from their original quarters, Luther Kline a striking silk truck driver refused to move the furniture.

A huge gang of official thugs were on hand however to throw out the unfortunate family, including six cops, five deputies and two city detectives. Windows were smashed and the front door broken in, but when the Sheriff saw the huge crowd of unemployed inside he quickly withdrew, threatening to use tear gas and to call the State Troopers. The unemployed would not be intimidated and stood their ground for six hours while the Sheriff searched for a decent house for the family.

Another case before the League members is that of Joe Gardin whose home in Pennsburg burned down about a year ago. Although the house was insured, the money managed to find its way into the hands of slick lawyers and the family of ten was compelled to live in a chicken coop. The dirt floor is covered with sawdust, the front of the shack is open and an oil burner heats the home in which hay hangs from the loft and pigs and chickens roam about.

The committee which investigated this family had to wade ankle deep in mud to find eight children ranging in ages from 9 months to 15 years, exposed to this mud and filth.

Next door is the vacant brand new house which Gardin obtained a loan to build and which he is not permitted to move into because the mortgage holder threatens to foreclose. The committee hopes by mass pressure to obtain the right for Gardin and his family to move into the new home.

24 Groups Fight Illinois Terror

(By Special Correspondent)

Springfield, Ill. — One hundred and sixty eight delegates from 68 local, state and national organizations representing 24 distinct organizations, assembled at Elks Hall here September 15, in response to a call to action issued by the committee for the Restoration of Constitutional Rights in Illinois.

The defense of the workers arrested and held under bond at Hillsboro, Belleville, Virden, and other towns, under charges of criminal syndicalism and inciting to riot, was wholeheartedly pledged by the conference. C. H. Mayer, AWP member and codefendant with A. J. Muste and James Cross in the Belleville, Illinois, case, reported on the manner in which the trio was arrested.

The conference which was featured by lively discussion, mostly provoked by the representatives of the Communist party, adopted militant resolutions against fascism, for the repeal of the criminal syndicalist laws, against forced work relief, support the textile strike and several other important resolutions on kindred subjects.

By a vote of 58 to 47 the delegates voted to support the Ameri-

can Congress Against War and Fascism. Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, evidently saved the motion from being defeated when he asserted that the congress was to be a sincere united front of all foes of war and fascism.

The conference decided, after a hectic discussion, to send one delegate to the congress. In the election for a delegate Gerry Allard, state chairman of the American Workers Party, defeated Ralph Shaw, district organizer of the Communist Party, by a vote of 58 to 27.

Representatives were present from the American Civil Liberties Union, Communist Party, American Workers Party, Socialist Party, League for Industrial Democracy, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, Progressive Miners of America, Women's Auxiliary, Illinois Workers Alliance, International Workers Order, International Labor Defense, Unemployment Councils, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Hod Carriers Union, Bricklayers Union, Communist League of America, and several other organizations.

Irene Allard, AWP member, was chosen as the representative from

And They Called the Strike Off! Letter Says "Workers Stunned" North Carolina

ROCKVILLE, CONN.—There is a great feeling among the textile workers in eastern Connecticut that they have been "sold out"; that they got nothing out of the strike except a three weeks vacation without pay.

I have been going around nights trying to hold the Locals in line and keep them from breaking away from the United Textile Workers union. There is a feeling of betrayal, and a great mass of the workers are discouraged, they say we got the same dose of medicine as the steel workers.

There is a great deal of discrimination. We have had several cases in Rockville. We didn't wait for Gorman or any board to act; we acted ourselves, we called a one day strike, closing once again every mill in Rockville. That's what Gorman should have done everywhere there was discrimination.

It's the same old game—rotten leaders and staunch workers. If we had stayed out 2 weeks longer we would have knocked hell out of them. The last three days of the strike I covered eastern Connecticut at my own expense. Everywhere the lines were solid; no one wanted to go back without some

kind of agreement. They said to do so would be suicide. We could have stood two more weeks regardless of what the union officials may say.

I worked day and night for four weeks at my own expense, now I am broke. It was a great fight, a wonderful spirit, and a doubtful finish. Everywhere, everybody was keyed up to go on fighting and then came the bombshell—the strike is called off! by Gorman and the executive board of the UTW.

You should have been here, everybody was stunned. This is the God's honest truth; no one could believe it, no one wanted to believe it. When Mr. Dunlap, one of the executive board members, reported here Sunday afternoon all you could hear after the meeting was "What did we get?" "Why should we go back without a signed agreement?" "What the hell, is it a sell out?"

Yet on Monday afternoon, in the one-day strike in Rockville to force the mills to take our people back, the entire working force responded to a man. This was the spirit in this entire eastern part of Connecticut—and they called the strike off!

Rockville Textile Worker

Odom Sentenced to 10 Years; Ritchie Trial Is Postponed

KOSCIUSKO, Miss. — Pearl Odom, secretary of the local Textile Workers Union, has been sentenced to 10 years in prison. All the time during the trial 45 National Guardsmen were in the court house and around the court house, on all sides. The atmosphere in the room was tense, believe me.

As you know, Odom and five other textile strikers were arrested and put in jail right at the height of the strike. M. L. Ritchie, President of the Mississippi Federation of Labor, was also picked up and jailed. They charged the six strikers with whipping and robbing a mill guard, and they said Ritchie had encouraged the workers to blow up the mills!

Of course you are not expected to believe all this stuff, for that's what it is, anything to get the strike leaders in jail and break the strike, that's what we had to face down here.

But they were afraid when it came to trying Ritchie. Sentiment of union labor ran so high as the trial day approached, it was rumored that thousands of workers were preparing to march on Kosciusko, and the trial was postponed until March.

I guess you have heard how the mill owners and the governor used the National Guard against the workers in the strike. But there is more to the story than that. Some of the soldiers could not be depended upon to shoot and the authorities knew it!

For instance, in this town the sheriff told reporters that Mayor Kramer said that "the detachment of National Guard on duty in Kosciusko at the Aponaug Manufacturing plant would not shoot, but would walk out on their officers as they were in sympathy with the strikers and the union men."

And at Magnolia, where they had the guardsmen sitting behind machine guns on top of the mills, one of the guards got angry. He told the gunners that if they began shooting at the strikers he would knock their brains out.

Now as to the CCC camps in Mississippi, the men are becoming very bitter at the captains and the colonels and so on who boss them. Over in LaRue, where CCC Camp F-12 is located among the pine forests, some fool put a dynamite bomb and a "last warning" in the quarters of Chief Gaddy, who is the Forestry Superintendent.

A week before, Gaddy had found quinine in his food. Evidently somebody doesn't like the old codger. He was a captain in the World War and he gives the CCC workers ten minutes a day to do their smoking and he won't let them talk, not on the job.

Worker Correspondent

the Women's Auxiliary to the continuation committee. C. H. Mayer is to act as the representative of the American Workers Party. James Campbell, recording secretary of local union 1, Gillespie, was chosen as the representative of the Progressive Miners.

Edward L. Adams, Jr., is to act as secretary of the committee. The address of the new organization is 526½ East Adams St., Springfield, Ill.

Leagues Demonstrate on Relief Cuts Despite Parade Ban

Winston-Salem, N. C.

The Unemployed Leagues are doing fine work down here in North Carolina, fighting against cuts in relief and bringing before the public a better program to take care of the unemployed.

There has been a cut in relief work in this state this month. Several Leagues staged demonstrations, and in High Point, where formerly nothing at all was done for the unemployed, the city has had to pledge \$2,000 per month for relief. Here in Winston we had the largest demonstration of anywhere. There was an equal turnout of white and colored people, although the newspapers reported the demonstration as being colored. They did this to bring public opinion against the League as people here are easily inflamed by any show of spirit on the part of the Negroes.

We thought there would be arrests because parades are forbidden in the town, but the police were busy guarding the textile mills. The small number of police on duty tried to get the marchers to disband but the leaders refused, and told the police that if one were arrested they would have to put all the marchers in jail.

It was the biggest thing the unemployed could have done here. The city officials were very much upset. They locked themselves in their offices until the crowd left, but the marchers went right into city hall. The line extended down from the Relief Director's door through the building and down the streets, and remained there while a committee went in for a conference.

Also the unemployed leagues here have done more to close the textile mills than the union members have. Some of the High Point group were arrested.

In North Carolina there has been too much fighting of case workers and putting the blame for insufficient relief and miserable living conditions on the relief set-up instead of where it belongs, on the politicians, the mayors, the city officials and the legislature.

B. C.

Sell-Out Ends Fight Of Miners on UMW

(Continued from Page 3)

policy of anti-Lewis leadership of consolidating their own forces, fighting the militant left-wing and confining the fight against Lewis to the field in which they have been successful and refusing to extend the organization.

The FMA

The Progressive Miners of America reflects the tendency of the usual anti-Lewis struggle. Begun by the militants as a revolt against Lewisism in all its manifestations, with the full and hearty co-operation and leadership of left-wing elements, the Percy leadership is now trying to confine the whole fight of the miners to attacks against John L. and the United Mine Workers.

Because the "Left Wing Miners" are carrying on the fight to keep the Illinois movement from sinking into the same ditch as the other anti-Lewis movements in the past, Percy, in opening the recent Constitutional Convention, slashed out at the left-wing, calling them "reds and disruptive elements" and attempting to convey the idea that they were "trying to bring back the United Mine Workers."

The PMA under Percy apparently has learned nothing from the past, that the fight against Lewisism cannot be carried out without more than simple hatred of John L.

LABOR ACTION

With which is merged LABOR AGE

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Organ of the AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

FIGHT THE ROOSEVELT TRUCE

EVERYBODY who heard Roosevelt speak over the radio on Sunday evening, September 30, immediately recognized that the most important feature of his address was his proposal for "a specific trial period of industrial peace." He is to ask "those truly representative of large employers of labor and of large groups of organized labor" to meet with him soon to talk things over. These representatives are to be asked to make agreements and the President will "seek assurances" that these agreements will be maintained. He is not asking "employers or employees permanently to lay aside the weapons common to industrial war" but he does ask "both groups to give a fair trial to peaceful methods of adjusting their conflicts."

The New Republic in an otherwise excellent editorial which points out that nothing but grief for workers has ever come out of such proposals, says that "it is difficult to understand why President Roosevelt now pleads for another truce." As a matter of fact it is not at all difficult to understand.

The next day the A. F. of L. convention was to open in San Francisco. The real ruler of the A. F. of L., Roosevelt could not make the trip from Washington to deliver the keynote speech. Green and his henchmen were accordingly given their cue over the radio.

In the next place, Roosevelt is a shrewd politician. We are in the midst of an election campaign. Roosevelt does not want any big strikes during the campaign. Strikes are dynamite. Nobody knows what changes in public sentiment they may bring forth. No strikes, therefore, so that New Deal orators may point to the beautiful industrial peace brought about by the Chief.

But this is only one comparatively unimportant phase of this latest presidential maneuver. This has been a year of big strikes. The biggest, the textile general strike, is just over. More are threatened and in even more significant industries such as automobiles and steel.

The basic cause for these strikes is that the workers have discovered that they had to fight for the union recognition which was supposed to have been given them under the N.R.A. A showdown on whether the administration is really going to insist on labor's right to organize or is going to admit

that it has no such intention and never did have, is getting nearer every minute. Roosevelt wants at all costs to avoid the showdown.

If big strikes, open battles, over the issue occur, a showdown cannot be avoided. The workers will know whether they are licked or not. There must be no strikes therefore. Let those "truly representative" of organized labor, that is, Bill Green and the other A. F. of L. chiefs, sit down and talk with F.D.R. and the big industrialists, light up their big cigars, and work out a plan for industrial peace. Thus the issue can be dodged. Some formula can be worked out which will satisfy the labor leaders and on the basis of which they can assure the workers that their unions have been recognized.

The whole scheme smells like limburger cheese. It is so like the notorious agreement between Hoover, Bill Green and the industrialists at the beginning of the depression that simple people may be surprised that Roosevelt dared to spring it at all. Yet it may work. Bill Green has already stated that he will confer with the President immediately after the A. F. of L. convention. Frank Gorman, strike leader of the United Textile Workers, in pursuance of his policy of falling into Roosevelt's arms every day or two, rushes into print with the announcement that the textile workers will for six months accept the truce and under it abide by any decisions that the committees set up by Roosevelt under the recent Winant Board report may make—a case of writing a blank check for the bosses if there ever was one.

Why these pronouncements from A. F. of L. leaders? Because the old guard in the A. F. of L. does not want strikes, and union recognition won through strikes by the militancy of the workers, any more than Roosevelt or the bosses. One result of such an achievement by the workers would be that these old guard leaders, whose policy is that of peace with the bosses and the government, would be swept out, or at least deprived of their domination in the trade union movement. The effective will to organize the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers in the basic industries into fighting industrial unions which would result in completely changing the face of the trade union movement, is as dead in these old guard leaders as it ever was.

The employers, especially since the textile strike debacle, are keenly aware of their advantage. The National Association of Manufacturers, as good at rushing into print as Gorman himself, has already proposed that under the truce all efforts at unionization and the improving of wages and working conditions shall temporarily cease!

The course for the workers is clear. They must organize. They must demand clear-cut union recognition. They must strike if necessary to get it. They must force a showdown all along the line.

The responsibility of progressive and left-wing elements in the unions is also clear. The textile "settlement" was possible, the Roosevelt truce proposal is made possible, because by the "neutrality" policy of the Socialist Party, on the one hand, and the disruptive, dual unionist adventurism of the Communist Party, on the other, there is now no effectively organized left-wing and progressive force in the A. F. of L. and the affiliated unions. Such a force must be organized at once. There must not be another A. F. of L. convention without it. And the building of that force depends in turn on the organization of the new revolutionary party to give it direction and inspiration.

Significance of French Trotskyists' Action

The following article is written by an informed and responsible European correspondent. We publish it as a contribution to a very important discussion, without assuming official responsibility for opinions expressed. We point out also that the C.L.A. of the U.S. is not following here the policy of the French Section of the I.C.L. but, as our readers know, is engaged in discussion with the A.W.P. looking toward unity in a new revolutionary party.—Editor.

By PIERRE LOUP

Paris

"Combat des Jeunes," the organ of the French Trotskyist youth movement has announced its decision to join the Socialist youth, with 65 to 19 votes. A brief statement attempts to justify the step which, it declares, became mandatory as the first move in the direction of revolutionary reorientation toward a single revolutionary organization of young workers. "Leninist youth," says this statement, "sacrifices none of its principles which have been, indeed, more than confirmed by realities. While recognizing the discipline of the party, it demands full rights of membership when it assumes the duties of membership in that organization."

Approximately one half of the members of the Trotskyist organization proper had joined the Socialist Party, as individuals. Now the remaining group has

decided to join as a unit and will shortly issue a statement giving its reasons for this step. Naville, the leader of the French Trotskyists, although originally opposed to such affiliation, has also joined the Socialist Party. A minority of almost half of the remaining membership of the group has refused to go along. It stands outside at the present time and its future course is as yet undecided.

There was no international sanction of this important action. No international conference was held; the plenum of the International Executive was given no opportunity to take a position. The Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland (Trotskyist) has declared itself opposed to the step but insists on its disinterestedness. The Belgian Trotskyists adopted a similar declaration. (The New York Branch of the American Trotskyist group has expressed approval of the action taken by its French comrades; the Editor) The International Trotskyist movement is disintegrating. A number of its most prominent members have deserted its ranks. A split looms in the organizations of Germany and Poland. In other countries of Europe it may follow.

The decision of the French organization is the outcome of sweeping changes in the labor movement of that country. The consummation of a united front and the serious efforts in the direction of a colorless united party have produced a unique condi-

tion. Though the united front leaves much to be desired—having expressed itself chiefly in demonstrations, there is a grave danger of its failure to continue functioning, before long, from sheer inanition—it still seems to us that every step toward unity, however unsatisfactory, is a step in the right direction. Vidal, the chief exponent of the "join the Socialist Party" movement in the Trotskyist organization, is right when he says:

"The Communist (Trotskyist) League is organizationally weak. St. Denis and other similar groups are politically ineffective. For that reason all of them, including the League, are in serious danger of remaining outside the united front movement. . . . If the League remains outside and concentrates its activity on criticism from without, labor will interpret its attitude as one of small-minded resentment. The masses demand unity in their ranks as their only salvation. Everyone who remains outside, who criticizes instead of cooperating, will be regarded as a serious hindrance to the progress of the labor movement. Refusal to recognize this fundamentally sound philosophy, refusal to go along, will mean defeat. It is the task of the Marxist, in a period of rising revolutionary consciousness on the part of the masses, to use this rising wave to clarify the thought and methods of the labor movement. The League must find an or-

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NOTES ON CURRENT TRENDS

Dangerous Tendencies In The P.M. of A.

In his closing address to the recent Convention of the Progressive Miners union held in Illinois, President Claude Pearcy launched into a vicious attack on the left-wing elements in the union, whom he described as "destructive elements". Thus the Progressive Miners of America, which only two years ago was born of the desire and determination of the Illinois miners to free themselves of the reactionary U.M.W.A. leadership, is today following in the most characteristic traditions of that leadership by waging war on class-conscious, militant workers. The leaders of the P. M. A. have already forgotten that it was these same elements whose courage and intelligence made possible the organization of the new union.

However, to those who have been following the trends in the Illinois miners union, President Pearcy's speech comes as no surprise. It has been evident for quite some time now that the leadership of the P.M.A. if not actually reactionary, is certainly lacking in courage and greatly confused. Although using brave and harsh words about John L. Lewis, the N. R. A., the A. F. of L., Wall Street, and the "big interests", the Progressive Miner—since Gerry Alard was ousted as editor—has been consistently hostile to all genuine radicals and militants who have stood for progressive policies in the union.

On the other hand it has expressed sympathy with such openly fascist groups as the Silver Shirts and opens its editorial columns to the anti-semitic outpourings of a certain Arthur M. Hughes, editor of the Progressive Journal, organ of the Progressive Trades and Labor Unions of America with which the P. M. A. is affiliated.

It was this same Hughes who last April wrote an article in his paper in which he asserted that the Jewish race is a threat to civilization and that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, "built by the Jews for their own race, is nothing more or less than a gigantic company union". When Karl Lore, in his column "In the Unions", pointed out the absurdities of these charges and referred to the editor of the Progressive Journal as a "progressive nit-wit", Hughes was indignant and wrote a letter to the editor of LABOR ACTION, in which he defended his position. Following, in part is what he said: "I believe that if you are as well informed as I give you credit for being, that you realize that the Jewish race for the past several hundred years have builded an enterprise, world wide in scope, for the purpose as was stated in my article of 'the eventual control and rule of the world.' . . .

"We have only to look at Russia today to see what is their eventual aims for the world, for Russia today is the utopia of Jewish control. Look at the leaders in power in Russia. . . . I believe that it has been repeatedly stated that there are some 500 Jews in responsible position to only 40-odd Russians in the Soviet state."

Advising comrade Lore "in order that he may not go wrong to read up on the Protocols and various other material." Hughes then expressed the hope "that LABOR ACTION will endeavor together with our organization, and other independent bodies to build a New system and propagate a New philosophy; one which will receive the support of the workers of America."

Replying to this letter, the editor of LABOR ACTION, pointing out that the problems confronting the working-class today are not racial but economic, said:

"The capitalists in Germany were much interested in having Hitler turn the attention of the masses from the real cause of their sufferings, which is capitalism, to the foolish and tragic business of fighting the Jews. The

capitalists paid Hitler large sums of money to do this. . . . Undoubtedly there are certain unscrupulous persons in this country also who would not be above taking money from rich people, even from rich Jews just as Hitler did, to stir up race hatreds so as to confuse the workers and lead them to defeat. . . .

"Yes, LABOR ACTION and the American Workers Party fight for a new system—we fight for a system of society in which those who do the productive work will be those who rule and not those who successfully rob the workers, a system in which class conflicts and race conflicts will be abolished—we fight for a true workers democracy. If you are sincerely interested in this kind of system then you will cease giving aid to the enemy by stirring up race hatreds and give your efforts to building up a powerful working-class movement which will abolish once and forever the present system of exploitation in which millions starve in the midst of plenty."

Since no reply was ever received to this letter we assume that Mr. Hughes continues to believe that the depression was brought about by a Jewish plot. This would not be important and we would not use space to say anything about it were it not for the fact that Hughes also continues to write editorials for the Progressive Miner which goes to ten or 15 thousand mine workers, and that the Progressive Miner is now openly supporting the dangerous demagogue, Huey Long, and his Share the Wealth scheme.

Unless the militant and class-conscious workers in the P. M. A. wage a relentless war against these fascist tendencies in their organization they will wake up one of these days to find their paper whooping it up for Hitlerism.

More Muddleheadedness

If the Progressive Miner is to be censured for its muddleheadedness in supporting Huey Long, what is to be said of such a paper as the American Guardian when it feels impelled to say a good word for the self-styled King Fish?

The Guardian, published by Oscar Ameringer, is supposed to be a socialist paper, and is regarded as such by hundreds of Socialist party members who are its principal subscription agents. Yet in its issue of September 28, the American Guardian, in an editorial headed, "To Huey's Credit", asks its readers to "give the devil his due". Huey has been for free school books and free rides to school and against the poll tax, the Guardian discovers. Therefore, according to the editor, Huey cannot be altogether the demagogic scoundrel he appears. Anyhow we should not be too severe with him!

It is such "fairness", especially when it is practised by editors of labor papers, socialists and labor leaders, that contributes to the confusion of the American masses. What is to prevent those who today are impelled to be "fair" to a Huey Long from being impelled tomorrow to be "fair" to a Hitler? Oscar Ameringer should know better: he should know that the growing influence of Huey Long and his kind is a danger that must be fought and not aided by attempting to find something good about them. Let's be fair to the masses of the American people—to hell with being fair to the Huey Longs! One does not sentimentalize about the good qualities of a rattlesnake when it is coiled, ready to strike!

SAN FRANCISCO. — Harry Bridges, Australian longshoreman and militant left-wing leader of the recent San Francisco waterfront strike, has been elected president of the Bay Region district of the International Longshoremen's Association by an overwhelming vote.

What's Happening ABROAD

by Ludwig Lore

AUSTRALIA

The United Australia Party led by the former Labor Party Prime Minister J. A. Lyons, won a victory over the Labor Parties in the September Federal elections, but with a diminished majority. Both Labor Parties gained votes and mandates. The United Australia Party will have 35 (heretofore 38) seats; the United Country Party, the small farmers party with an ideology resembling that of the United Australia Party, 13 (16) seats; the Federal Labor Party (Right Wing) 18 (14); the State Labor Party (Left Wing, also known as Lang Party after its leader) 8 (5) seats. Relatively the largest increase was registered by the party of the former Premier of New South Wales Lang who is closely connected with the independent Socialist parties of Europe. J. A. Lyons remains at the head of the government and will not, as seemed possible just after the election, enter a coalition with the United Country Party.

GERMANY

During the month of August three Communists were beheaded. According to the "Red Workers Defense" 362 years of penitentiary and 209 years in jail were meted out in the same month for political offenses. In August 1933, the first year of the Hitler regime, sentences aggregating 140 years penitentiary and 109 years in jail were passed on political prisoners. Stabilization! Every day in every way. Germany is getting better and better! During September there were a number of important trials against Socialists and Communists who had acted against the Third Reich. Doebelin (Saxony) 17 Communists, in Spandau 21 Social Democrats, in Hamburg 6 Communists and 4 members of the Reichsbanner were brought up on charges before the people's courts. The monster trial of members of the Socialist Workers Party which was scheduled to begin early in October has not been called. Recently revolutionary workers are being charged not with political offenses but with non-political crimes such as poisoning, arson and dynamiting. This is done to distract the attention of the public from the fact that there is still dissatisfaction in the ranks of labor and from the blood-bath of June 30 concerning which authentic revelations continue to reach the public ear. Thus the Social Democratic "Deutsche Freiheit" (Saarbruecken) publishes a letter from a "widely known personage still active in German public affairs, for whose character, absolute reliability and far-reaching connections the editors vouch" which contains the following interesting information: "... In the Reichspropaganda Ministry there circulates a list of 1184 dead (June 30). But my well-informed friends and I are absolutely certain that this incredible figure falls short of the actual total. ... In the military academy of Lichtenfelde alone 400 persons were shot in a procedure which lasted several days. ... Armaments are increasing with a rapidity which exceeds the wildest flights of imagination. Even the soberest of military officers are beginning to believe in the superiority of Germany's forces and are speaking seriously of the possibility of offensive warfare. ... "From the Hitler government," the writer adds, "there is nothing so mad, so fantastic and so harmful that it might not happen. ..."

GREAT BRITAIN

The British Labor movement is in a state of ferment. In the Labor Party which is holding its annual conference in Southport as these lines are written, the Sir Stafford

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The Road to the New Party

By A. J. MUSTE

THE conviction that there must be a new revolutionary party and a new international, that the Communist party and the Socialist party, the Third International and the Second, have not met the need of the workers in this terrific crisis of Fascism and reaction, grows stronger throughout the world every day. There is still much confusion as to the road by which the goal of a new party may be reached. This is, on the one hand, natural enough, only to be expected in a period of liquidation and upheaval such as the labor movement is everywhere experiencing. Nevertheless this confusion must be overcome by those who are to build the new party. They must know what they want and how it is to be brought about and must unflinchingly and courageously push ahead on the correct road. We cannot afford to lose time going up blind alleys.

A sentiment often expressed is that all the "working-class" parties and groups ought to get together in one united party. Discussion of organic unity of the C.P. and S.P. is actually taking place in France today. Many are impressed and inclined, without further analysis, to hail this as a great step forward. To raise questions when the two great workers' parties are talking of fusion seems to these people deliberately to encourage division and factionalism.

Here it is necessary once more to emphasize the distinction between united front and organic unity. The united front means action on concrete issues—against wage cuts, against evictions, against war and Fascism, by organizations which differ on fundamental political principles. That they should maintain those differences, that the revolutionary party in particular should not lose or hide its principles, is just as important as that, in spite of the differences they should act together on concrete issues.

In a country like France where the next few months may decide as to whether Fascism comes openly to power or not, it is a life-and-death matter for all the unions, workers' political groups, etc., to work together in a united front against the forces of reaction. The A.W.P. has always stood for the united front. Repeatedly we have gone out of our way, taken great chances, to insist upon united front of various economic and political organizations. We hail every genuine united front. We shall continue everywhere to work for it.

This is not to imply, however, that united front proposals are to be uncritically accepted. C.P. "united fronts" have in the past been a mockery. They had to be exposed and rejected as disruptive. A united front which excludes forces genuinely willing to enter, which is dominated by reactionaries, etc., is not genuine. A "united front" of all U. S. labor behind the N.R.A. would be something to fight, not to welcome as a glorious advance. If there are sentimental souls who think that this is mere carping, they are certainly not Marxists, i. e. revolutionary realists, and they do not belong in a revolutionary party.

MERGER, organic unity, is a very different matter. The first impulse when there are indications as in France and elsewhere that the numerically largest groups, C.P. and S.P. may get together, is, as we have suggested, to hail this as the obvious, quickest way to get unity and the "new party." Surely it will be something new when the two get together. They will take in practically all the left wing elements. So what more could be desired?

One argument often advanced against those who suggest that such a merger (if it were accomplished which is still far from being the case) would still leave very much to be desired, would not give the new revolutionary party which the workers need, is that the

unions of the A. F. of L. also leave much to be desired, but nevertheless we work inside them for better policies and do not engage in dual union, splitting tactics. A union and a political party are, however, two different things and perform very different functions in the workers' movement. A union deals with immediate demands and in the nature of the case must take in all workers in an industry: Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, Communists, Catholics, Jews, Protestants, etc. It does not follow that you can lump Republicans, Democrats, etc. together in a political party and have a revolutionary, or even a labor party. A revolutionary political party must have a correct structure and a clear and sound theoretical base. You can have practically all the best working-class elements united in one political party and on what purports to be a Socialist platform and still get the debacle that occurred in the united trade union and Social-Democratic movement of Austria. We do not want the kind of "unity," any more than we want the divisions, that lead to Fascist concentration camps!

We may observe next that if today the C.P. and the S.P. which in the past have so bitterly fought each other, have differed so profoundly, or at any rate appeared to, on such basic issues as parliamentarianism, the Soviet Union, Fascism, etc. have regarded each other as agents provocateurs and Social-Fascists respectively, now fuse into one organization, that is in itself the nearest admission that hitherto they have failed and that a new party is indeed the crying need of the working class! Furthermore it now becomes clear either that the differences were not fundamental, the battle only a sham battle, so that it was by the most criminal sort of adventurism, irresponsibility and bureaucratic selfishness that the C.P. and S.P. led the workers into the grasp of Hitler—or else the question whether either or both these parties are now changing some or all of their fundamental principles, the question what is the basis of fusion, what are to be the principles of the "new" party becomes fundamental. Otherwise the obvious assumption is not that the merger of these forces assures the workers of leadership and victory at last, but rather that those who led the workers to tragic defeat in 1914, 1918 and 1933 will do so again this year or next! Some one facetiously remarked once referring to proposals to bring the various small left groups, "the Splinters," together that adding several zeroes together would still give you only zero. It may not be amiss now to observe that two big zeroes also add up to zero and no more.

THE Communist party appears to be "changing its line" about such matters as the united front from below and Social Fascism. United front proposals are addressed to the S.P. officially now and Norman Thomas has for the moment ceased to be Reverend and is instead Comrade. "So," one hears certain intellectuals argue, "the C.P. is correcting its faults, it is after all the biggest revolutionary party, the thing to do is to stick with it."

Is the C.P. correcting its faults or executing a new zig-zag? May the workers who have been so antagonized by its disruptionism now assume that the present "reform" will not be swiftly followed by a "reform" in the opposite direction as the new line of 1933 was followed by Madison Square Garden, especially in view of the fact that quite recently Stalinists broke up by physical force a meeting of the C. L. A. (Trotskyists) in Pittsburgh, and only the other day did their best to disrupt a joint A.W.P.-C.L.A. meeting on the textile strike in Paterson? One evidence of genuineness would be that there had been a careful discussion among the membership of the C.P. about the change. Everyone knows that this is not the case. C.P. leaders in the U. S. will not even take

the chance of debating with leaders of the A.W.P., for example, and letting their members listen to a reasoned discussion of issues. There is then no guarantee that C.P. bureaucrats here and in Russia who issue one order to lay may not again issue a contradictory one tomorrow.

Another evidence of genuineness in C.P. maneuvers would be the practice of some of that real "Bolshevik self-criticism" which they so often talk about. This would mean to analyze e. g. the policy of the C.P. and T.U.U.L. in the U. S. on the trade union field, which has left the workers with hardly the semblance of left-wing influence in such a situation as the recent textile general strike, and frank admission of past mistakes. All we actually get in C.P. discussions on this subject is hocus-pocus which undertakes to prove that the N.T.W.U. is right now in dissolving itself into the U.T.W. (A. F. of L. union) just as it was right in splitting in 1928 and that the two actually constitute the same line! The same is true of C. P. discussions of the united-front from below in Germany and elsewhere, the theory of Social Fascism, etc. This is not evidence that we have here a real revolutionary party. It is evidence of irresponsibility, lack of intelligence and degeneration.

One other point with regard to the C. P. When, as in France, talk of merger with the S.P. arises, does that mean that the S.P. is moving toward a revolutionary position or that the C.P. is moving toward a Social-Democratic position and policy, is giving up its conception as to the need of a thoroughly disciplined revolutionary party, surrendering such correct and distinctive revolutionary principles as it may have had? There are plenty of indications that the latter is the case. If not, how can a supposed revolutionary party give up the right of mutual criticism in a united front? And just what is the attitude of the C.P., now that the Soviet Union has entered, to the League of Nations which the Socialist and Labor parties of Europe have favored, with due reservations of course, but which Lenin denounced as the international of capitalists, a League of Robbers against which the revolutionary international of labor must fight?

IT is interesting, on the other hand, that in certain quarters the stock of the S.P. and by implication the Second International has gone up. Militants both in the S.P. and outside urge with a good deal of conviction that the best way to work for an effective revolutionary party, which they admit the S.P. is not now, is through the S. P., by reforming or reconstituting it. Even the French Section of the International Communist League (Trotskyists) recently voted to enter the S.F.I.O. (French S.P.) as a fraction.

What a change from 1933, not to mention 1919! And what startling evidence this rise in S.P. stock is of the extent to which the confidence of honest advanced workers everywhere in the C.P. and the C.I. has been smashed. This is what the destruction of party democracy in the C.P. and C.I., bureaucratic errors in the Soviet Union, the united-front-from-below, the theory of Social Fascism have brought about. Social-Democratic parties which so obviously and utterly betrayed the workers in 1914 and in the Fascist crisis can now argue with a show of plausibility that the founding of Lenin's International was a mistake and that the Social Democratic parties can be made the agents of the revolution!

The French Section of the I.C.L. to whose recent action we have alluded does not of course subscribe to this view.

We, no more than others in the U. S., know all the factors entering into this decision and consequently we refrain from attempting anything like a definitive a-

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THEIR Government

by James Burnham

On his long and perilous journey, that lasted altogether twenty years, Ulysses was submitted to many temptations. The most dangerous of them all was the song of the Sirens, the song that irresistibly beckoned sailors to turn their ships to the shore, give up the strenuous tasks of the sea, and spend the remainder of their lives with the Sirens, in ease and contentment. But, when the ships were turned in answer to the song of the Sirens, they always ended piled high on the hidden rocks that surrounded the island on which the Sirens lived, and the sailors themselves were dashed to pieces by the swift currents and the whirlpools.

Along the path to a free workers' society are many Sirens. The songs they sing have many variations, but there is one melody that runs through them all: Follow me, you who are poor and hungry, you who are dissatisfied and wish for a better life, and I will lead you to a land of peace and plenty and contentment over a road that is soft and running downhill all the way, not paved with the harsh realities of the class struggle, not stained with blood and perfumed by tear gas, not watered by sweat and mapped out by grim intellectual effort.

The newest Siren has appeared in the West, and his song sounds sweet in the ears of hundreds of thousands. Upton Sinclair's EPIC Plan promises so much, with so little effort, that it is hard—even sometimes for politically conscious workers—to resist it. When a man so sincere as Sinclair obviously is tells the people of California that they can end their poverty and distress simply by voting him into office and thereby allowing him to put into operation an easy, direct plan that he has written up in such clear and plausible English, it is a difficult matter not to want to give him at least a chance.

Even those who know that the plan cannot work are tempted. Sinclair, they feel, is at least a big step forward. He is a thousand times better than his Republican opponent, Merriam, Under Merriam, the anti-labor, anti-Red forces of California will be triumphantly in the saddle. Labor organization will be bitterly resisted, if not smashed; revolutionary agitation will be suppressed; relief standards and wages will be lowered; police, deputies, and troops will break up every militant strike and demonstration. Therefore, they reason, let's support Sinclair now as the lesser of the two evils, and educate the workers to a point where they will understand why his plan is not enough.

This argument is a strong one, and hard to answer in a short space. But it is worth remembering that in 1932 the Social Democratic Party of Germany supported Hindenburg for President against Hitler, as the lesser of two evils; and that in less than a year Hindenburg placed Hitler in power.

In spite of the temptation, no revolutionist and no class-conscious worker can correctly support Sinclair's candidacy. Some of the reasons for this can be briefly indicated:

1. Not only will the EPIC plan not work out in the long run; it will not even win important immediate benefits for the workers. In its original form it could not be financed, and would be tied up in a hostile legislature and a thousand lawsuits, injunction actions, constitutional appeals, etc. The present modified form is little more than a combination of early barter schemes and the Ohio Self-help scheme sponsored by the federal government—a program that actually involves a lowered general standard of living for the unemployed and a cessation of cash relief.

2. The Sinclair movement is not

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Road to the New Party

Collapse of the Second and Third Internationals

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analysis of it now. Furthermore, we have often insisted that while revolutionary parties must be bound together in a disciplined revolutionary international and not a mere loose federation, nevertheless in a great crisis swift decisions must necessarily be made by those immediately involved, who will be most seriously affected by the consequences of the decision, and that any attempt in such circumstances to force a decision in a mechanical fashion from without must prove abortive or else probably harmful. Unquestionably the threatened immediate onset of Fascism in France presents all the revolutionary forces in that country with a grave problem and quite obviously there is no international organization in existence with moral authority to give orders to the French workers in this crisis.

Certain comments on the action of the French Section of the I.C.L. may however, be made at once.

In the first place, our insistence that in the matter of labor internationalism above all we must be realistic, that a new international does not exist simply because a few small groups have gotten together and agreed upon a programmatic declaration now appears to have been fully justified by the event. Certain critics who on this account have ventured to question the soundness of our own internationalism are left looking somewhat foolish.

IN this period of the collapse of the Second and Third Internationals, it is necessary, we have often said that the new party must have from the outset a correct outlook as to the kind of international which must be built. The building of the new party and the building of the international cannot be separated. The new party must take actual organizational steps toward helping to build the international as soon as conditions permit. Of necessity, however, the workers in each country have to begin where they live and build the new revolutionary party there. Certainly in the present grave crisis with masses in motion in the U. S. but constantly cheated by reactionary leaders of the fruits of victory because no effective left wing and no revolutionary party adequate to the occasion exist, no single possible step in building the party and setting it to work in the mass movements may be for one instant postponed. Any revolutionary international which means more than a piece of paper will be created as part of such an organic process through the fusing of national sections which know that the building of the international is an integral part of the process by which they themselves are built and grow in power.

We are not convinced that the French Section of the I.C.L. has acted correctly. We are firmly convinced that this and similar tendencies must not be superficially accepted or dismissed, but very carefully evaluated.

If a group is convinced that the S.P. will not really be transformed after all these years into a genuine revolutionary force, then why temporarily enter it? Why this step particularly by a group which as recently as March of this year in reply to the argument that forming a new party and a new international meant "dividing the ranks of the working class" stated and correctly in my opinion:

"For the unity of the ranks in the direct struggle there is the Leninist united front policy. Bolshevism was victorious in October 1917, thanks only to the correct application of this policy. Marx and Lenin were not frightened by the splitting of opportunist bureaucratic parties while they welded the real revolutionaries into an independent vanguard; at the same time Marx and Engels were ready to

make practical agreements with any mass organization for the defense of the daily interests of the proletariat. The wisdom and strength of Leninism lies, on the one hand, in the theoretic and political intransigence of the party, and on the other, in the realistic attitude to the class, all its organizations and groups. Leninism did not try to order the proletariat from above to follow it, but neither did it dissolve itself in the mass—and precisely because of this it gained the leadership of the proletariat.—It is necessary to throw all waverers overboard and to free ourselves of the vacillating—they will follow later—it is necessary today that the vanguard close its ranks in the international arena."

The French I.C.L. group is excluded by C.P. and S. P. from the united front? Can any group which has any contact with the masses in economic organization and struggle really be "excluded" from a united front? More influence for a viewpoint can be exerted inside than outside? P-rhaps yes, perhaps no. It has often happened that a small disciplined group on the outside has exercised a powerful influence on a larger one, whereas inside it would have been swallowed up and the masses would not have heard its voice at all above the boom of the official party organs.

BOTH those who believe and those who do not believe that the S. P. here or elsewhere will one day be reformed or reconstituted into the revolutionary party lay great stress upon the "ferment," the many "divergent trends" in the S.P., implying that it is soft ground to cultivate today. Since when has the S.P. been anything but a party of "divergent trends?" And is this a source of strength or weakness from a revolutionary standpoint? Has not the S.P. in every single crisis from 1900 on exhibited this "ferment," had these militant or "revolutionary" groups increasing in membership and influence, assuring themselves and others that soon they would be in complete control and would make the party the revolutionary weapon of the proletariat? And has this prophecy ever come true? Have not the Social-Democratic parties precisely because of their heterogeneous character failed to lead the workers aright at the height of the crisis? Have not the left groups invariably subsided again into "regularity" or been compelled to "split off" and form a really revolutionary party?

Of course the official Communist movement has in turn degenerated, but from the degeneration of the C.I. and its sections we do not draw the conclusion that the S.P. and Second International were right after all or provide the highway to our goal. Nothing in logic or history or current developments justifies such a conclusion.

As I write, the announcement comes that the British Labor Party within which also there has been much ferment votes two million against about two hundred thousand, ten to one, for centrist and right wing measures. The crucial question in the U. S. today is the trade union question and on that we have in the S.P. the same old mixture of elements who work hand in glove with the old guard in the unions, or those who follow a policy of "neutrality" which in practice comes to about the same thing, or those who attempt an "opposition," but one so timid with so little backbone, so largely based on the lower officialdom rather than on the rank and file that it gets nowhere.

THE inescapable conclusion, the conclusion to which in due course the masses also will come, never fear, is that there must be created a new Marxist revolutionary party and a new international. That is the unsullied banner which must now be raised high and high-

er. To it all honest revolutionists must rally at once. The crisis is a fearful one. There is no time to be lost.

This does not mean living in isolation from other political groups. We are for the united front, real united action, always and everywhere. Certainly it does not mean isolation from the mass and its struggles. Toledo and Minneapolis point the true way there. The debacle of the textile strike "settlement" emphasizes the crying, immediate need of a left wing in the unions guided and inspired by the revolutionary party.

To raise the banner of the new party does not mean, either, that we regard the C.P. as a monolithic block of frozen degeneration which we walk around and perhaps some day hew in pieces; or the S.P. as a monolithic block of rightism or centrism to be treated in similar fashion. For one thing, their existence cannot be ignored save by those who live in a realm of fantasy. On the other hand, we do not hold any variant of the theory of Social Fascism. Our criticisms are based on principle. We insist that comrades in other groups discuss them in their own organizations. If they are correct, we ask that they be faced and accepted by these comrades. If anyone thinks these criticisms incorrect, we are ready and eager to hear his argument. There are trained, honest, revolutionary elements in other parties; we want them to join us in the new party and the new international. We welcome every evidence in every group of motion in the proper direction. We do not pretend to be able to predict in advance just how in every detail the revolutionary vanguard of the working class will be gathered into the new party and thus forged into an irresistible weapon. These questions we are at all times ready to discuss. Once again we say: There is no time to be lost. We must get on the right road, the road of the New Party, and press forward!

AFL Torn by Craft Conflict

(Continued from Page 1)

supposed to have changed his mind and to be in favor of the enlargement of the executive council, a step which is being sponsored by the industry union forces.

Even the die hard defenders of craft unionism in the metal trades, seeing the tide growing stronger and fearing complete destruction, have proposed a compromise structure. According to their proposal the craft unions would have jurisdiction over all eligible workers in any mill or factory. In each such plant however factory councils would be formed of all crafts to act together on the problems of the industry. Substantially this is the organization form that has been used in setting up the Rubber Workers Council. It is at best a miserably inadequate substitute for genuine industrial unionism.

This fight on industry unionism will also be at the bottom of numerous jurisdictional disputes which the convention will have to settle. The old fight of the brewery workers will be reopened and in addition there will be questions about gas station, cement mill and many other classifications of workers.

Dangerous Feature

The extremely dangerous feature of the present line up is the fact that those who will probably lead the fight for industrial forms of organization are people like John L. Lewis, Charles Howard, David Dubinsky and Sidney Hillman. Some of them, like Lewis, are among the most corrupt elements in the Federation. All of them believe in much closer relations between the trade union movement and the machinery of the government. If they succeed in taking the lead and in keeping it and manage to bamboozle progressive and militant industrial unionists into following them, the labor movement may find itself tied hand and foot by government regulation.

President Names Tory Board To Administer Recovery Act

(Continued from Page 1)

Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union is said to be somewhat progressive, could hardly be imagined. Marshall and Hamilton are well known Tories of a legalistic bent, formerly professors of law. White-side is president of Dun & Bradstreet. Williams, chairman of the board, was formerly chief legal counsel and later president of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, one of the bitterest anti-labor concerns in the country.

This board will administer the recovery program.

(2) The Industrial Policy Committee of five members, made up of New Deal liberals and headed by Donald P. Richberg, former Chicago labor attorney. The other members are Secretary Ickes, Secretary Perkins, Farm Administrator Chester Davis and Relief Administrator Harry L. Hopkins. The group's function, as outlined in the executive order, will be (a) to make recommendations to the President on various matters (b) to study and coordinate NRA activities and (c) to determine, with the approval of the President, the general policies of the NRA.

FD Has Last Word

The liberal coloring of the Committee, which it is claimed will tend to act as a sort of balance to other forces in the new NRA machinery, is interpreted as representing the President's effort to reassure labor, liberals and progressives. The Committee's powers, however, are largely advisory. Any policies it may formulate will be subject to the approval of the President, who in each case will have the final word.

(3) Finally there is to be a third agency in the new set-up, the Judicial Committee, which has not yet been named. Its function will be the handling of complaints of

code violations and other legal work not touching upon labor disputes.

This, briefly, is the result of the NRA face-lifting in Washington. As such, it still jibes with the original philosophy of the New Deal, and there has never been any change in that philosophy.

For A Partnership

From the beginning of the Rooseveltian charge against the depression it has been a cardinal tenet with the administration that the final solution lies in a partnership of industry and labor, with labor getting a better break. The better break was to be in the form of a wider distribution of employment and a larger distribution of wages.

Labor Holds The Bag

Up to the present, however, the formula has not worked with any success. Business remains business, and each business has to make the largest possible profits, regardless, else be weakened or pushed from the picture. And while NRA has resulted in national organizations of industrialists, the prediction made by its critics have in large degree been borne out—labor has held the bag.

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Governor Olson's Dilemma In the Minneapolis Strike

(Concluding Comrade Budenz's analysis of Local 574's great fight and the strategy used to win.)

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

In the Minneapolis strikes a new factor appeared: a Farmer-Labor Governor seeking to use the National Guard as a substitute for the picket lines. Floyd Olson is not a representative in office elected on a "reward your friends" program. He is considered to be "the chief" in the Minnesota labor movement. The Farmer-Labor Party is composed of economic organizations, practically every labor union in the State being affiliated with it. This is their party, in the opinion of trade unionists.

A new problem in strategy was thus presented to revolutionary strike leadership. Local 574 was not confronted with a tool of the bosses associations, as in San Francisco, nor with a political hack, whose Achilles' heel was that he was running for U.S. Senator, as in Toledo. Here was a Governor who attacked the employers, laid the blame of the strike at their door and called out the militia because of the employers' refusal to come to terms with the workers. At the same time, the fallacious idea that the National Guard could be an alter ego for militant workers' action had to be combated.

Value of "Common Sense"

An easy way to act would have

been to "expose" Olson, attacking him right and left in the very beginning. That would have been a splendid means of alienating the entire labor movement. The leadership of Local 574 relied on that rare quality, common sense. It proved effective. In the first place, before the second strike for the inside workers they had secured the endorsement of the central labor body. The great mass meeting which opened the battle was called in the name of that central organization. The question of Local 574's problems and grievances had been brought before the central body, and had been thoroughly discussed. The entire trade union movement was back of the strike.

The leaders of the strikers relied, then, on what may be modestly called "the C.P.L.A. tactic." They did not promiscuously denounce as "fakers" and "crooks" every labor official of the old type, even though they knew that many of these men might not like to go "too far." They sought their cooperation in the immediate labor fight, and by pressure and action brought them to time when they wavered.

Olson's Dilemma

Similar strategy was used in regard to Olson. He soon found himself entangled in the contradictions of the present state set-up. The officers of the National Guard were almost entirely Citizens Alliance men. Gradually the permit system was so extended that the trucks were moving freely. At the same time, the capitalist press, led by the red-baiting "Chicago Tribune", was lambasting the Governor. Had ordinary labor leadership been in charge of the strike, it would have ended then and there.

Local 574, however, decided upon a show-down in action. They called a great mass meeting and announced that the National Guard would be defied at 4 o'clock the next morning. That precipitated the arrest of the strike leaders,

What's Happening ABROAD

(Continued from Page 5)

Cripps group in the "Socialist League" is playing an important role—at any rate in the internal discussions. He predicted that he and his friends would succeed in forcing the great LP to the left and would force it to adopt a Socialist program. Cripps, it will be recalled, was Attorney General in the MacDonald Labor Party movement and, as member of the Independent Labor Party refused to leave the Labor Party with Maxton etc. The present Conference shows him to have been a poor prophet, for his "Socialist program" was rejected with a tremendous majority of 2,145,000 against 206,000.

The next issue of Labor Action will contain a unified critical analysis of the Labor Party and the Trade Union Conference which is to take place in connection with it. The membership of the "Socialist League" seems to have little faith in the good intentions of the Labor Party, as was proven by the founding of an "Independent Socialist Party" at a Conference held in Manchester attended by 190 delegates. The Leftist ex-EMP of the Labor Party Sandham was elected National Chairman of the new party, which takes the position of the left-Socialist (independent) parties of Poland, Italy, Holland, Germany (SWP), Sweden, Norway, etc.

Noteworthy is the fact that the Southport Conference of the LP adopted a vote of censure and condemnation against Ellen Wilkinson and Lord Marley and instructed the Executive Committee to decide their expulsion from the party for their cooperation with the Communist United Front international relief organization. This decision will have important repercussions for the entire British Labor movement.

and the raiding of strike headquarters. A great hullabaloo arose throughout the labor movement. Local 574 brought pressure on the local union officials. "Here is the Governor you claim to be yours! Look where his policy is leading!" The local labor leaders responded. They sent a committee to the Governor with certain demands for immediate action. He granted them all.

The strike leaders were released. Only employers who signed the Haas-Dunnigan pact were to be granted permits. As a gesture of fairness, the Governor raided the Citizens Alliance headquarters, publicly denouncing the labor spy system. The employers' front was crippled. Of course, the Citizens Alliance sought frantically to rally its forces, and did so in part. The "threat" of the general strike (following on the heels of this latest move of the Governor and the loss of the employers' injunction case against the use of the National Guard) led to the employers' surrender, so far as the Haas-Dunnigan agreement went.

The Settlement

Elections followed, as stipulated in the pact. Nineteen out of twenty-two of the big firms—those "in the Market"—were carried by the union. This means that inside men as well as drivers now belong to the union, with that organization the recognized agency of dealing with the employers. In the smaller concerns, hiring one or two drivers, the result was not so satisfactory, as was to be expected. In

the settlement of the strike, as in its conduct, Local 574 used refreshing realism. It requires more courage to settle a strike, very frequently, than to call one. A local strike, it must always be remembered, is conducted within the limitations of the capitalist system.

"Organizer" Decisive Factor

In pressure on the Governor, slipping labor leaders and the Federal mediators, the daily strike paper, "The Organizer" was the decisive factor. I have had equally good results with the "Kenosha Hosiery Worker" and its counterpart in Eastern Pennsylvania in arousing community consciousness back of the strike. These were only weeklies, however.

The daily paper corrected a defect that might otherwise have been fatal. Despite the careful preparations, the strike action sagged in the final three weeks. This was partly due to the fact that the drivers were carrying on the brunt of the battle for the organization of the inside men. It may have also been due to a soft-peddling on personal leadership. The exact reasons for a let-down after three weeks, however, should be checked on, for future reference.

In this impasse the paper kept the fighting going. It was the most outstanding contribution made by the Minneapolis strikes—if we are to except the general fact that some sanity was introduced into radical strike leadership.

Trotskyists in France

(Continued from Page 4)

ganic place in the ranks of the united front. It is too weak to stand alone. From which it follows that it must find its place in one or the other of the two uniting parties."

If the decision to join the Socialist Party was justified by the situation in the French labor movement at the present time, it is nevertheless a tragedy that it could not be accomplished without adding to the numerous splits which have in the past decimated the ranks of the Trotskyist movement,—splits so serious that they may eventually mean dissolution for the organization in the rest of Europe. The tragedy becomes the greater because the man who stands at its head embodies the proudest of revolutionary traditions, has always shown a singular acuteness and farsightedness in his judgment of political upheavals and has enriched the intellectual outlook of the world's revolutionary proletariat.

But a closer scrutiny reveals an even more regrettable phase of this unfortunate occurrence—the fact that this decision was made on a basis which denies the fundamental principle of Trotskyism. Vidal referred in his explanation to a position taken by Trotsky in the past but never proven, to the entry of members of the Communist Opposition into the SAP. "This," he says, "we will not do. When Walscher, Froehlich, Wolfstein and their comrades, became members of the Socialist Workers' Party in 1932, they went with banners flying, with a revolutionary program, announcing the aims they would strive to achieve in the SAP, with a call to arms against the non-revolutionary conceptions still existing within that organization. No Trotskyist ever seriously objected to their program. Walscher and Co. won the party for their objectives, an accomplishment which Trotsky recognized and appreciated."

Trotskyist youth declares "We will maintain discipline. We will remain what we have always been." But the Trotskyist party members make their way into the Socialist Party as individuals—without their flag. Trotskyist propaganda in the last four years was dominated by the thought of a Fourth International, to be founded regardless of its ability to survive, once it had been created. Now, with the same disregard for consequences, the French group takes a decisive step, without consulting the international organiza-

tion, and the affiliated parties can only declare their disinterestedness. What is left of hallowed Leninist principles?

There are a number of explanations for this catastrophe: first, the domination in the organization of an authoritarian principle which suppresses all intellectual independence. The word of the master has become scholastic dogma. This gives his following an intellectual brittleness, an inability to act in the face of a new situation without superior orders which, together with a ridiculous arrogance of opinions, condemns the movement to sterility.

Secondly there is that sectarianism which isolated the movement from the masses. With the vanity of the advance guard of the advance guard, the Trotskyists pound their position thus: "Here is the true gospel. He who will not worship as we dictate is unworthy." No effort to understand the sentiments and needs of the masses in order to lead them to adopt a more effective policy. Trotsky often and justly condemned the ultimatum of the Comintern. Yet he himself issues ultimative demands to the masses. And now, just as the clearest of its members were beginning to realize the need of breaking with this policy, they smash their organization.

Thirdly: it is characteristic of Trotsky that he has always been moved by an unbridled political impatience which brooks no hesitation. He often overlooks premises which must be established in the masses to make political policies effective. He treats the labor movement as a general treats an army drilled to respond to every tactical maneuver. This is the spirit he has inculcated in his followers. In his organization there can be only blind submission or complete alienation. Knowing that only half of the party is ripe for entry into the Socialist movement, no decisive step of this sort should have been taken without patient preparation of the membership to secure more or less unanimous cooperation. But fear of missing the psychological moment led to prematureness and consequent catastrophe. The result of a Trotsky policy, despite the correctness of its ultimate aims, must always be, for its own group and for the working class: fragments. Trotsky's impatience has always been creative in mass development for acute revolution. In every other situation it is fatal.

Paris, September 20, 1934.

NEWS REEL

By A. A.

"The great strike of the textile workers of the United States now comes to a fitting and victorious end," proclaims Francis J. Gorman, Chairman of the Strike Committee.

The Cotton Textile Institute arrogantly continues to withhold approval of the Winant Board report—

Textile mills, both in the South and the North, refuse to reemploy strikers—

Nothing effective has been done toward the abolition of the inhuman stretch-out—

The average wage in the textile industry still remains at the incredible level of \$10.86 a week—

And that's—Victory!

The Fusion Administration in New York apparently leaves nothing undone in its servile efforts to leave untouched the huge bankers' reserve and the profits of the large business interests.

Now, in the sanctimonious name of "economy," the City Budget Director proposes another slash in the school budget to the tune of \$2,000,000.

And, among other items, he wants to reduce the already small appropriations for the classes for handicapped children, home instruction for crippled children and classes for children suffering from cardiac trouble.

\$25,000,000 are set aside annually as a bankers' reserve, yet the great City of New York stoops to filch a few thousand dollars from its sick children!

As a perfect example of the greed and hypocrisy inherent in our profit system, we quote the following letter which turned up at the Senate munitions inquiry. The letter is from the Rev. Paul Young, missionary of the Christian Missionary Alliance in Ecuador and part-time munitions salesman, to his brother, John W. Young, president of the Federal Laboratories, Inc., manufacturers of tear gas:

Six or eight Indians showed a desire to follow the Lord and we prayed with them. Yesterday I saw the Minister of War again and made arrangements to demonstrate today.

The Minister, two generals, the head of the police of Quito and a number of officers and soldiers were present. I used the "billy" (a type of gas bomb) first, but I am sorry to say it did not prove a success. I shot it at two soldiers, but they were able to stand the gas and get me.

I then shot the grenade into a room and asked the men to go in. This was a real success and helped to gain what I had lost through the failure of the "billy." The War Minister asked me to quote prices on 100 "billies" and 200 grenades.

Some of the Indians had made previous beginnings, but had been pulled down by sin. Indian workers need a great deal of prayer.

God's in His Heaven, all's right with the world!

In October, 1933, out of the entire population of the United States, 10.3% were on relief.

What the percentage will be this fall, no one knows, but it is almost certain to be as great.

Meanwhile, food prices, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor, are at the highest levels since 1931.

People have no jobs and no money to buy food, but food prices continue to go up—just another illustration of the tragic insanity of the capitalist system!

Here is the darling of the Liberty League Boys, The New York Herald Tribune, proclaiming with tears between the lines that it's all wrong about a few owning everything and about the big profits of the corporations.

Why, it says, in 1929 the richest 10% of the "income receivers" obtained only 35% of the nation's income, while the corporations sometimes make no profits at all in poor years.

Merger Nears As AWP and CLA Take Up Last Steps and Problems Letter Lists Three Steps AWP for Joint Statement

Sept. 27, 1934.

Provisional Organization Committee, American Workers Party
A. J. Muste, Chairman

Dear Comrades:

We have given careful consideration to your letter of September 18 and agree with you, that the fusion of our organizations for the task of building a new revolutionary party would be a revolutionary step forward. Since such an action would signify the first move for the unification of the revolutionary forces, after more than a decade of disintegration and splits, it could hardly fail at the very beginning to inspire and attract a considerable number of revolutionary workers in addition to the present members of our respective organizations. In view of these prospects it is our opinion that the fusion would provide a sufficient basis to justify us in formally launching the new party.

Armed with the program of Marxism, such a party, despite its comparatively small size at its inception, would have a good opportunity to become the rallying center for those workers who are breaking away from reformism and centrism, as represented by the Socialist and Stalinist parties. More than that, by direct participation in the class struggle, the new party could draw into its ranks a large number of workers who are awakening for the first time to political consciousness.

The lightning speed of class developments, however, makes it imperative that we grasp this opportunity while there is yet time, before the developments pass us by and seek another point of crystallization. Our chance to introduce the new revolutionary party into the situation as an independent force, and to make that party the axis around which further developments proceed, depends in the highest degree on the speed with which we compose such differences as may remain between us and proceed directly to the organic fusion of the two organizations and the formal declaration of the new party.

The maximum of clarity in the fundamental questions of the program is, of course, a prerequisite for success. The new party must cut with a sharp blade. If during the past six years especially, in close collaboration with the Bolshevik-Leninists of the world, we have preoccupied ourselves with theoretical work, and stubbornly pursued that work as an isolated and hounded group, it is precisely because we have understood the fearful debacle in the practice of the dominant parties on an international scale as the direct outcome of the degeneration of theory.

HELPING THE POOR

(Adam Coaldigger in The American Guardian)

These are times that try men's souls. Also their pocketbooks. It is therefore encouraging to learn that the rich of one locality at least have opened their hearts and purses to the burdened and heavy-laden.

Anyhow, a beach club of Long Island staged a performance for the benefit of four charities. The admission charge was \$7.50. Total receipts, \$1,882.50. Of this \$1,866.62 was expended for dinner, music, entertainment and decorations, leaving \$15.88 for the four charities. It seems some philanthropic soul added something to this princely sum, for when divided, each of the four charities received \$5.22.

The head of the St. Joseph's Hospital at Far Rockaway beach declined its share on the ground that a young lady impersonating Joan of Arc at the performance appeared in bathing suit. He should have grabbed the \$5.22. For if the young lady had appeared in the silver armor attributed to Joan of Arc, the beach club might have handed him a bill for the deficit.

We aim to continue this work and to contribute all we can to the clarification of principle in such further discussion as may be necessary to prepare the fusion, and in the new party, after the fusion is accomplished, also.

But, in our opinion, this work must be carried on now in direct and immediate connection with the task which is imposed upon us by the general situation, namely, the founding of a revolutionary party. The fusion of our two organizations and the joint struggle to establish the new party as a power in the labor movement need not and cannot wait until every comma is put in its proper place and every hair is split in two. Our central task now, as we understand it, is to unite our forces and create a movement. The extent to which we comprehend this, and the speed with which we accomplish it, will be a good test of what theory means to us as a guide to action.

The programmatic documents submitted to you by the Communist League delegation during the discussions previously held, taken together with the revised draft program of the American Workers Party, contain the essential principles which, we believe, constitute the sufficient programmatic foundation upon which a party, formed out of a fusion between your organization and ours, is justified and possible. There remain of course, a number of differences of opinion as to formulation on certain points; but many of these have already been overcome to a large extent, and we are confident that the necessary further clarification can be achieved in negotiations to prepare the unity and in the active common life of the new party.

It is our opinion that the full program of the new party must be an elaborate and carefully worked out document, and that in all probability its final form will not be arrived at for some time to come. For the present, we believe that the new party needs a concise direct statement of principle and action, omitting the expository, explanatory, and semi-narrative material of your revised program. We believe that such a statement could be drawn up within a very short time by the use of your draft program and our programmatic material. We hold that such a statement should be a joint product of our organizations, and therefore propose that a joint committee be immediately appointed to proceed with this work. The points, concisely formulated in this declaration, could subsequently be expanded expositoryly in the form of popular agitational pamphlets.

The new party, formed by the merger of our organizations, will naturally be an autonomous organization which will determine for itself its own international affiliations or connections, as well as all other questions. Upon the completion of the merger it is our understanding that both organizations will dissolve into the new party. The Communist League will thereby sever its organization connections as a separate group with the International Communist League. We will propose, at the same time, that the new party establish fraternal relations with the International Communist League and all other groups and parties working for a new (Fourth) International and collaborate with them in the work of preparing the new world party.

We agree with you that the best defense of the Soviet Union, and the most effective way now to liberate the Workers State from the incubus of Stalinism is the building of powerful revolutionary parties of the new international in the capitalist countries. This conception lies at the root of our fundamental conceptions and has animated all our activity. We consider it incorrect, however, to counterpose this fundamental task of reviving the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries to the struggle of the Bolshevik-Len-

inists within the Soviet Union to preserve and strengthen the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, to reform it and cleanse it of bureaucratic degeneration. Since the regime of Stalinism has strangled the revolutionary party in the Soviet Union no less than in other countries, this struggle for the reform of the Workers State requires that the Bolshevik-Leninists in the U.S.S.R.—and the new parties of the Fourth International with them—aim at the creation of a new party, that is, the revival of the Bolshevik party under new conditions. But this can be accomplished only as a result of the successful development of the New International in the capitalist countries.

In your letter reference is made to the different origins of the two organizations, different habits of work, etc. This undoubtedly will present certain difficulties in the first stages of the fusion, and possibly even afterward. But there is also a positive side, insofar as the different experiences and differences in emphasis which have marked the main activities of the members of the two organizations, can be regarded now, in the light of the concrete tasks of the present, as rather complementary than antagonistic. The reciprocal influence of the active militants of each group on the others, within a single organization, can make for a rounded and firmly united party.

Our fundamental task, as we see it, is to bring our forces together and form the new party without delay. As a practical method of preparing and hastening the unification we submit the following concrete proposals:

1. That we set up a joint unity committee composed of an equal number from each organization.

2. That this joint committee be charged with the task of preparing a draft of a declaration of principles and a program of action for the new party.

3. That this joint committee draw up the organization plans to effect the unification at a joint convention in the near future, and also work out detailed plans to adjust organization questions, press, name of the party, etc.

If these proposals meet with your approval, we are ready to select our representatives to the unity committee without delay.

Yours fraternally,
National Committee
Communist League of America
ARNE SWABECK,
Secretary

October 2, 1934.

National Committee,
Communist League of America
Arne Swabek, Secretary.

Dear Comrades:—

We are in receipt of your letter of September 27 replying to ours of September 18. As we have previously indicated, we agree that this is the time for action and not delays in effecting the unification of the forces committed to building the new revolutionary party. We heartily echo the sentiment that unity need not and must not be permitted to wait until every comma in the program "is put in its proper place and every hair is split in two."

At the same time both of our organizations have frequently stated that unity in order to be real and lasting must be on a clear, principled basis. To quote the Declaration of the National Committee of the C.L.A., for a new party and a new international, the new party "cannot consist of an indiscriminate combination of reformist and centrist elements." It must stand "on a firm programmatic foundation."

Our resident P.O.C. is under instructions from our recent national meeting to ascertain clearly whether there is agreement on fundamentals of program before proceeding to take actual steps toward organization merger. So far from causing delay, we are confident that this will promote the movement toward unity.

In our letter of September 18 we raised questions on five points, viz., the revised Draft Program of the A.W.P. as a working basis for the program of the new party, the attitude toward a new party in the Soviet Union, the organizational implications of merger, the name of the party and the varying background of our two organizations.

As to the first, we understand from your letter of September 27 that you raise no principled criticism of the revised Draft Program of the A.W.P. On this basis this revised Draft Program of the A.W.P. together with programmatic documents submitted by you may provisionally serve as the sufficient programmatic foundation of the new party. Differences of formulation which do not involve disagreement in principle can be worked out by methods to be agreed upon.

On the second point, we note that you agree with us that the

defense of the Soviet Union and the counteraction of the disastrous policies of the C. I. can be most effectively accomplished now by the building of powerful revolutionary parties in the capitalist countries and that we must concentrate our energies upon this task. We note also your statement "that the Bolshevik-Leninists in the USSR—and the new parties of the Fourth International with them"—must "aim at the creation of a new party, that is, the revival of the Bolshevik Party" but that the actual accomplishment if this aim waits upon "the successful development of the new international in capitalist countries." Our formulation on this question is set forth in our letter of September 18 and in our revised Draft Program. We have frequently stated our criticism of the C. I. and its sections. We hold that such criticisms must be made and that the right to make them and so to save revolutionary movements from degeneration must be fought for everywhere, including the Soviet Union. All formulations as to just what course will be followed in the new situation which will result from the creation of effective revolutionary parties in capitalist countries must naturally be somewhat general and tentative, not final in character. Assuming agreement as to the present task, we do not wish to have differences of formulation or possibly divergent opinions, as to what concrete steps must be taken at some other time under new conditions, postpone the urgent and essential task of building the revolutionary party, upon which, among other things, the successful defense of the Soviet Union so largely depends.

On the third point, we are pleased to note that you are in full agreement with us, viz., that "organic unity" will mean that separate existence ends completely and both our organizations will dissolve into the new party.

On point four, you raise no objection or question. We assume, therefore, that you accept our statement as the basis for future discussion.

On point five, we heartily agree that while the different origins of our organizations, different habits of work, etc., may on the one hand present difficulties, the reciprocal influence of the active militants of each group on each other, if merger on a sound basis is achieved, will make for a rounded and firmly united party.

We believe that your letter of September 27 contains an excellent suggestion, viz., that we need a concise, direct statement of principles and program of action, omitting for the present the expository material of our revised Draft Program. We propose that a joint committee of the A.W.P. and C.L.A. proceed at once to draw up such a statement. We have a committee of five ready to go to work and we agree that it should be possible to draw up this document in a very short time.

With this essential preliminary task satisfactorily accomplished, we shall at once report to our full P.O.C. and as we have previously indicated, the way will then be clear to take immediate steps such as you suggest to bring about organic unity.

In the meantime there are concrete common tasks for our two organizations, in addition to those in which we are already engaged, and we have instructed our officers to take up these matters as soon as possible with your officers. Fraternally yours,
Provisional Organizing Committee
American Workers Party
By A. J. MUSTE, Chairman

BILOXI, MISS.—Complaint was registered at the meeting of the Employees' Protective Association that Nick Guidry, foreman of relief work, had worked his men Tuesday afternoon with a shotgun. Workers protested on the ground that they are not chain-gang prisoners.

The Manager Speaks

Over a thousand copies of the revised edition of the A.W.P. program TOWARD AN AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY LABOR MOVEMENT were ordered in September.

Have you your copy?

The decline of capitalism
The aim of the American Workers Party

Inadequacies of existing working class parties
How the AWP will fight for power

The revolutionary American tradition
are the chapters in this 48-page pamphlet.

Ten cents per copy; in lots of 10 or more, 5c.

September Subs Sluggish!
The New York Branch leads, even taking larger membership

into account, for subs secured in September. Sixty were turned in. Pittsburgh and Allentown accounted for five each; Columbus four, Gulfport 3 and Toledo, previous prize sub-getting branch, accounted for only 2. Toledo is securing new headquarters; maybe that's why.

Watch for the Book Note here next time, and some suggestions about literature on Fascism.

Do You Sing?

And have you any original labor songs which should be included in a mimeographed song book the AWP hopes to issue soon,—with music included? Which of the familiar labor songs would you like to have included? Send in all suggestions to the Circulation Manager.

Shall Labor Action Become a Weekly?

Yes, LABOR ACTION shall become a weekly. And to show that I mean it, I am herewith enclosing \$..... in payment for
..... 3 mo. subs at twenty five cents
..... 1 Year subs at one dollar.

Name
Address

(attached find names and addresses of subs)