

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Unemployed Struggle in Youngstown

Youngstown, O.—Responding to the appeal of Youngstown Unemployed League No. 1, delegates from four unemployed organizations met for the purpose of issuing a united front call. Besides the Unemployed Leagues from Youngstown and Austintown, two Youngstown Unemployed Councils sent delegates to this preliminary conference. Thus two national unemployed movements were represented.

This preliminary conference decided to issue an appeal for a broad united front conference of all labor organizations in the Mahoning Valley on or about June 25 for the purpose of agreeing on a minimum program for united action in this district.

It was generally agreed that the basis for this minimum program would be the general points of immediate relief, unemployment insurance and the shorter work week without reduction in weekly pay.

A committee of four, consisting of a delegate from each organization, was selected to draft the appeal, issue it and place it before the various organizations to which it is made. This committee includes a Left Oppositionist.

The attitude and actions of the local Left Oppositionists will be generally determined by the spirit of Engel's letter to Mrs. Wischniewsky on January 27, 1877. He wrote: "I think all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the general movement of the working class AT EVERY ONE OF ITS STAGES WITHOUT GIVING UP OR HIDING OUR OWN DISTINCT POSITION AND EVEN ORGANIZATION, and I am afraid that if the . . . Americans choose a different line they will commit a great mistake." Stalinists, take heed! — H. N.

Nat'l Youth Day

(Continued from Page 1)

On this day, above all, we must not forget the criminal treachery of the socialist misleaders who drove their followers to the last world slaughter for the defense of capitalist fatherlands. For years the social democrats and their youth adjuncts have been mouthing fine phrases against the danger of war. On the foremost occasion to demonstrate the sincerity of their agitation against war, on National Youth Day, the YPSL leaders have sabotaged the united front and are preventing their members from joining the New York parade. This is the real face of Yipsel misleaders. Their struggle against war is nothing but lip-service.

Through its senseless, criminal tactics, the remains of the "united front from below" and "social Fascism" on the one hand and now their willingness to renounce all criticism of the Yipsel leaders on the other, the YCL is unable to profit from the discontent of the young socialist rank and file on this and other issues. Away with the false, un-Leninist policies. They prevent a real struggle against war by sowing confusion and prevent the break of the socialist rank and file with their false leaders!

Clear the road for the mass united front of the youth in the fight against imperialist war.

Young workers and students: All out on National Youth Day!

SECOND SHOWING OF RUSSIAN MOVIE

By popular request we are showing the picture of the Russian Revolution again at the Labor Temple, 242 East 14th Street, this Saturday evening, May 27, at 8 p. m. sharp.

No tickets will be obtainable at the door. Subscription tickets at 35 cents must be obtained in advance.

Auspices: Film Club, New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opp.)

Stalinists and L.O. in Canada

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gether with its extent and violence, showed that the plans to disrupt the meeting had been carefully laid. The racket culminated in the singing of the Internationale by the disturbers, and a large section of the audience began streaming for the exits. A fight commenced, and for a moment it looked as if a riot were inevitable, but the combatants were quickly separated.

Then one of the Stalinist functionaries appeared on a balcony at the back of the hall and began to address his henchmen.

But our comrades, taking a leaf from his own book, howled him down and forced him to stop. Soon comrade MacDonald's stentorian voice was booming from the platform, and the audience began to quiet down. Shortly after the meeting had resumed, a squad of police appeared, but as there was fortunately nothing for them to do, they soon took their departure. In time, his audience swelled to its former size, and there was no further attempt at organized disruption.

In his speech, comrade MacDonald drove home the significance of the disturbance as a confession of official panic and ideological desecration. Comrade Spector then spoke again and stirred his hearers as he reminded them that hoodlums and gangster methods had always been an integral part of the tactics against the L. O.

The last speaker was comrade Morrow, a member of the Y.C.L., who dealt briefly and forcefully with the issue at hand. (At the close of the meeting Morrow was informed that he had just been expelled from the Y.C.L., but was left in ignorance of the official excuse for this action.)

Finally questions were asked for and the usual array of puerile monthings were hurled at Jack MacDonald—why aren't you in jail, why don't you talk about Canada instead of Germany, etc., etc. Not a single question bore upon the question under discussion—the situation in Germany.

When comrade MacDonald had disposed of questions in good-humored fashion, comrade Spector offered 10 minutes to any spokesman the Stalinists might choose. The result was a diatribe from one of the party stalwarts—but without a word about Germany.

Such a display, coming after the clear and forceful exposition given by our comrades, had the audience divided between pity and amusement. The meeting closed with a thunderous acclaim for Lenin and the German Revolution.

The consequences of the evening's events, which set the strength and clarity of the L. O. in such sharp contrast with the stupidity of official Stalinism, have already struck deep. The bureaucrats have done their utmost in the factional struggle incalculable harm. Several of their supporters have signified their intention of resigning, while others are determined to at least secure from their leaders an accounting for this piece of disloyalty.

Our comrades of course will demand an explanation at the next meeting of the anti-Fascist conference of the united front. Honest elements among the "Left Wing Organizations" who disclaim association with the Stalinists are up in arms never the forging of their approval of this cowardly slander of the L.O. Altogether, the Stalin functionaries are in a very uncomfortable mess. Their behavior on this occasion constitutes another heavy blow, struck with their own hands, against the waning prestige of their organization.

— C. N. K.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT!

A Half Year sub to the Militant is \$1. On a Club Plan with three others it is only 50 cents.

Needle Trades Struggles

Why the Stalinists Have Been Caught Unawares

(Continued from page 1)

situation is entirely contradictory to the first. I quote verbatim from the Freiheit report on the Plenum, May 16, 1933: "The coming strike must be organized on the basis of a united front between the members of the Industrial Union and the International and the unorganized."

First—"between the members of the Industrial Union and the International" again sounds like the united front from below. How does this tally with the first decision—not to criticize the International leadership.

Secondly—"united front with the unorganized." What kind of a body is that to conclude a united front with?

If we were assured, in any way, of a following from the unorganized to the extent of relying upon them as an active support of the Left wing in the dress trade, there would be no need of appealing for unity to the International. The greatest majority of the dressmakers are still the unorganized mass of workers, having no class instinct. It is our task to organize them first and teach them the A.B.C. of trade unionism as well as the intricacies of the class struggle.

The boasted "clarity" falls to pieces when we confront the real facts. The two strikes, in Boston and Philadelphia, were called before the delegates to the New York Plenum had a chance to get out of the daze of the long ambiguous speeches. The strikes found the Left wing entirely unprepared.

The weakness and instability of the decisions is further evidenced by the later declaration of the New York trade board of the NTWU, printed in the Freiheit of May 22, just one week after the publication of the "clear" decisions, likewise in the Freiheit. In point of fact the trade board voids the decisions of a week ago by declaring its readiness to confer about unity on the basis of one union! Reading between the lines this means, consent to the demands of the International—as a condition for negotiations to give up the NTWU.

The propaganda of the "third period" about the united fronts from below, about "social Fascism," about company unions, no pacts with "scab" agencies (reformist unions) had to be countered with a proposal that would assure the workers of the Industrial Union in its plea for unity. Were the Left Opposition proposals of "inclusion as a body into the International without any discrimination" heeded by the Stalinists in their time the Right wing would have had a much harder task in rejecting the unity proposals.

Our correctness was borne out by reality, not only because of the exact formulation. We were correct because we foresaw the trend of events, the great need for unity not as a maneuver, but as a necessity to strike together at the onslaught

of the bosses, to be prepared for the inevitable wave of struggle. We proposed an extensive and far-reaching campaign for unity rather than sending a committee on the q. t. to the International—a step about which the members of the industrial Union were not even consulted. (The committee, consisting of Hyman, Boruchovitch and Gold appeared there on April 6.)

The hand-to-mouth which the Party leadership is handing out to the trade unions worked havoc. The attempt of the leadership to save its face and establish its infallibility pushed hundreds of disappointed needle workers into the clutches of the Right wing clique.

Now the union will suffer more and more under the blows of reality. Capitulation to the right wing is not improbable. And here it is not the leadership that must be saved but the banner of the Left wing.

The party fraction in the Industrial Union must demand from the leadership a bold and clear statement as to its readiness for unity; as to our proposal of recentering "en bloc" into the International, without discrimination, for the sake of fighting in the interests of all the needle workers.

The militant workers in the ranks of the International, anxious to accomplish unity and devoted to the cause of the needle workers, will welcome and understand such a statement. On the basis of such a statement, they will rally to the banner of the Left wing once more and carry it ahead in the struggle against reformism and the system that oppresses them.

— S. BLEEKER

OIL THE MACHINERY!!

The response to our appeal for help for the Militant has made it possible to look forward to the financial future of the paper with more confidence. In this big push forward the entire movement acted promptly and well.

But the records of two branches is outstanding. The Kansas City Branch has sent in \$70 to date. But all honors in this drive go to the New York Branch which has turned over \$300. And it is not through yet.

But let no one have the idea that from now on it is all smooth sailing. This is a revolutionary movement, a young one struggling upward against tremendous odds.

Let us take an example from our own press. When it is oiled it works fairly well. That is how it is with the movement. It needs lubricants constantly. Money lubricates. Oil the machinery! Help the Militant! Take all the financial squeaks and groans out of its machinery!

Send all funds without delay to the Militant at 126 East 16th St., New York, N. Y.

Statement of Jobless Leaders

Statement of the National Comm. of the National Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues

The effects of unemployment upon the American working class are the most immediate tasks confronting us today. Within the last four years of the crisis unemployed organizations of different types and different political shades, have sprung up in all parts of the United States. These organizations all have the same aim of organizing the unemployed of our class to successfully resist the lowering of our standards of living, to prevent hunger and starvation, to obtain adequate cash relief, unemployment insurance, the shorter work week, etc.

By the end of 1932, a number of these unemployed organizations realized the inadequacy of local and sectional unemployed organizations in dealing with the major

issue of the crisis and unemployment and met at the Midwest Conference of Unemployed Organizations on November 19th and 20th, and formed the Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues of America, with temporary offices of 9 and temporary offices in Chicago.

The temporary committee under the direction of Karl Borders, the Chairman, carried on the work and laid the foundation for the first conference of the Federation which was held at Lincoln Center, in Chicago, May 13, 14, 15. This conference, built upon the work of the Midwest conference was a national conference, much broader in scope and therefore, went deeper into the problems of our class.

No unemployed organizations of the workers who sent delegates, regardless of their race, color, creed or political beliefs were excluded from participation in the conference

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Revolt in Cuba!

(Continued from Page 1)

in the garrisons of several small towns.

The armed outbreaks appear to be inspired by the sector of anti-Machado forces which is favorable to American intervention. The principal leaders of the Opposition Junta wherein are represented most of the different bourgeois and petty bourgeois cliques are opposed to intervention at this time as this would interfere with their own hopeful plans for the distribution of political posts and economic advantages among themselves.

Machado's main support rests today on the governmental bureaucracy and the armed forces of the state power. The several national bourgeois groups and the foreign companies (with exceptions) as well as the proletariat and peasantry, are all desirous of his elimination. The very survival of the dictatorship for such a long period has been due largely to the conflicts existing in the camp of its enemies. It would be naive to expect any decisive action of the proletariat at the present juncture, but it is certain that Machado's overthrow would be immediately followed by sharp struggles among the various sections of the national bourgeoisie and the conflicting imperialist interests.

The Roosevelt administration has not yet determined on a definite course. The conflicting interests of the rival sugar companies are engaged in back-stage arrangements, and in dickering with the State Department and with Cuban politicians both in and out of office. Senator Borah and Hamilton Fish have declared themselves in favor of American intervention under the terms of the Platt Amendment. The recent appointment of Sumner Welles, assistant secretary of state, as the new American ambassador to Cuba, indicates a change in policy on the part of Washington although it gives no clear indication of the course that policy may take in the next few months.

The experiences of Nicaragua and Haiti are too recent to be easily forgotten. They demonstrate the indivisibility—for the imperialists—of intervention, excepting as a very last resort. In Nicaragua, after combatting Sandino unsuccessfully for six years, the U.S. Marines gave way to the more effective policy of diplomacy and dollars. The scandal growing out of the Haiti intervention is no less an argument against the same tactics in Cuba. Although full legal justification for such action can be found under the Platt Amendment, the responsibility accruing to the U.S. Government therefrom, would in all likelihood be so onerous as to offset any advantages obtained.

General Menocal and the other bourgeois opposition leaders are all anxious to serve Wall Street and themselves by replacing by Machado's crude dictatorial methods (products of a decadent pseudo-bourgeois rule, in which the different and foreign and native capitalist interests can collaborate "democratically." Life however is destined to demonstrate the impracticability of any such arrangement, and in anticipation of its failure, preparations are already being made, strategic positions already being bargained for, whereby the various participants expect to derive advantages for the conflict that will follow Machado's overthrow.

The new reciprocal tariff agreement between the U.S. and Cuba is an attempt to reconcile these contradictions. Any such stabilization however can only be of a passing nature. Cuba being essentially a one crop country, presents an extreme example of economic contradictions which can find no permanent solution under capitalism.

— ROSALIO NEGRETTE

Muste and Brookwood

A Review of A Type of 'American' Centristism

The first conference of the Muste movement took place on May 25-26, 1929, in New York. It was a call to all progressives and radicals of all shades in the labor movement. This was stated in the Labor Age of Feb. 1929, in an editorial called "Challenge to Progressives." The aim of the conference was to bring together all militants into an organization to fight the reactionary policies of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

In point five of this editorial the Mustetes stated: "Fight for the recognition of the principle that a minority position in disagreement with what happens to be the official position of the movement, has the right to exist in the movement." It further stated that unless "those who are temporarily in the minority have a chance to function, the unions must inevitably stagnate and die. (Labor Age, Feb. 1929).

Nice phrases. But who were the leading "progressives" at the conference? James Oneal (editor of the New Leader), Algernon Lee, J. B. S. Hardman (Salutzky), and others of the same stripe, people who have always fought and helped to destroy every Left wing organization. How could they fight the reactionary policies of the A. F. of L. when they themselves were discredited in their own organizations for their reactionary policies? Only a progressive like Muste knew! However there were a few progressives, who could be counted on the fingers of one hand, who were not organized and had no influence. Some of them left in disgust before the conference had ended.

It is worth mentioning to the readers of the Militant that a worker introduced a certain resolution at this conference. I think he was the only progressive worker at the conference. The resolution was that progressives should fight against expulsions in their organizations and for the reinstatement of those militants who were expelled by the reactionary trade union officials.

When this resolution came up for discussion J. B. S. Hardman, Algernon Lee, James Oneal, the leading spirits of the conference, attacked it. Oneal quoted from the "Third International" and finished his speech by saying that this resolution would bring scabs back into the unions. With this Muste agreed.

In reality, this resolution centered around the statement made in the editorials in the Labor Age cited above. To suit the reactionaries, the resolution was amended and crippled. The fake progressives refused to carry out what they themselves had written.

The conference adjourned. The Mustetes named their organization "The Conference for Progressive Labor Action." They began to prove their name immediately. The first act of the chairman of the CPLA, was the ousting of Arthur Calhoun, one of the Left wing teachers, from Brookwood, because he refused to sign what amounted to a yellow dog contract, which committed teachers, in the classroom and outside, to CPLA policies, and thus in effect made Brookwood a part of the fake CPLA organization. It was not enough that Muste had thrown Calhoun out of Brookwood. He conducted a violent campaign against him in the capitalist N. Y. Times and blacklisted him as a Communist. (See N. Y. Times, June 4-10, 1929). Who can say this was not militant progressive action in a Muste? . . .

In the first year or two the CPLA made no headway. It had no appreciable workers in its ranks and hasn't had any to this day. The organization consists of intellectuals, pacifists, S.P. members and leaders who themselves need leadership. Realizing that the CPLA was a skeleton organization, Muste began to criticize mildly the A.F. of L. and the S.P. bureaucracy. In order to attract the more militant workers, Muste began to cover him-

self with revolutionary phrases. The result was that his friends of yesterday opened fire upon him and his colleagues. James Oneal, a member of Muste's National Executive Committee, bitterly attacked the CPLA because of an article written by Sanyos, who posed as a "Left" at that time, in the Labor Age on racketeering in the A. F. of L. Unions where the S. P. fakers constitute part of the racket machine. Have the Mustetes disciplined Oneal? Oh no! They are not Communists. They believe in democracy.

Miller and Muste

Here is an example which shows how democratic is the CPLA. In 1931, Bert Miller, once the watch dog of the Stalinist bureaucracy who led the blackjacking of the Trotskyites in 1928, left the Lovestone group with a few others and joined Muste's outfit. Lovestone was too revolutionary for them. The Mustetes refused to admit them until they had signed a statement that they had no connection with the Lovestone or any other political group. These cowards signed the statement despite the fact that one of the Mustetes took up the fight for them and advised them against it. The statement was demanded by the revolutionist Muste and the theoretician of the CPLA, J. B. S. Hardman. The ex-Lovestoneites were so eager to join the Mustete "mass" organization that they did not even demand the publication of this statement in the Labor Age. Just another illustration of democracy in the Muste organization. . . .

After a few months sojourn in the CPLA Bert Miller, together with Hardman and Lore, persuaded Muste to form a reformist "revolutionary" third political party. In July 1931, the National Committee of the Mustetes decided to transform the CPLA into a political party "suitable to the American scene." To secure a majority at the political discussion on the formation of the new party, Muste brought down a squad from Brookwood to vote for him. Lore said at this meeting that "the German workers would flock by the thousands" into the Muste party. The S. P. members resigned from the CPLA and most of the Lovestone group under the leadership of Benjamin went back to the Lovestone camp. The Muste third revolutionary party died a-borning.

Since then Miller and his pal Levich have also left the Mustetes. The reason given is that the CPLA was too revolutionary for them. Who has remained with Muste? Only those . . . Americanizing "revolutionists" like Hardman, Lore, Rudenz and a few scattered assistants.

— S. M. DAVIS

NOTE

The above article was sent in to us by a Left wing militant formerly connected with the CPLA. A second article is to follow next week.

— ED.

Anti-Nazi Riot

(Continued from Page 1)

workers of all political tendencies—who are against Fascism!" The member of the YPSL who spoke, said, "that sentiment for the United Front was gathering, if not on all issues, at least against Fascism."

The next demonstration—when Goebbels arrives—must include the masses! Communist party members, YCL members and a handful of socialists, mean nothing if they do not draw in the Trade Unions, etc., in the fight against Fascism. Only such a broad demonstration can bring home to the German workers the solidarity of America's toilers with them.

— ED.

MAIN RESOLUTION OUTLINES BROAD PROGRAM OF ACTION IN FIGHT TO FREE TOM MOONEY

Adopted at the "Free Tom Mooney Congress" Held in Chicago, April 30-May 2

(Continued from last issue)

The Free Tom Mooney Congress calls upon all organizations of workers to join in setting up the National Tom Mooney Council of Action, composed of representatives of all workers' organizations which now or after the Congress may be drawn into a united struggle for the freedom of Tom Mooney and, as inseparable activities, for a united front for workers' rights and the rights of the Negro people.

Conditions of Affiliations

The conditions for affiliation to this Council of Action shall be:

1. The acceptance of the proposals here outlined;
2. The readiness of each organization to enter actively into mass struggle as a necessary supplement to legal defense and parliamentary activity for workers' rights;
3. The mobilization of local organizations for active participation in local councils of action to be set up throughout the country.

This Congress calls for a nationwide campaign to mobilize the working class in the fight for workers' rights and against all forms of discrimination against Negroes. Particularly this Congress determines to concentrate efforts on

winning the support of the American Federation of Labor and of the International Unions affiliated with it, and of the Socialist Party. It instructs the Council of Action to address itself to and to confer with the leading committees of these organizations in a continuous effort to break down their opposition.

All negotiations with the A.F. of L., the International Unions and Socialist Party should be openly and frankly carried on with the knowledge of the masses. These organizations should be held strictly accountable to the masses for a continued failure to enter into energetic mass struggle for the release of Tom Mooney and for workers' and Negroes' rights.

In view of the urgency of the situation, the Congress calls upon all local unions, all organizations of the unemployed and local branches of the Socialist Party and of other workers' organizations, to affiliate themselves at once with the local Tom Mooney Councils of Action. The need for united action cannot be postponed. The independent action of local unions, Socialist Party branches, etc., can become a powerful force driving

toward our goal of united action.

Mooney Petition

The National Council of Action is also authorized to proceed in co-operation with all organizations which can be brought to co-operate, whether endorsing this Congress or not, with a nation-wide petition for the purpose of obtaining millions of signatures to the demand for the immediate and unconditional pardon of Tom Mooney. Such a petition campaign, accompanying an active mass protest movement, can become a powerful instrument for arousing larger masses of workers in the struggle for Mooney's release and the struggle for workers' and Negro rights.

Local Councils of Action

This Congress calls upon all organizations here represented and upon the individual delegates to

take the lead at once and upon their return home in preparing and carrying on local united front conferences with the broadest possible representation, particularly striving to draw in those organizations like the A.F. of L. and Socialist Party heretofore insufficiently represented. Mass meetings should be held where reports are made on accomplishments of the Free Tom Mooney Congress as a preparation for forming the local conferences. These conferences should have as their task the setting up of local Tom Mooney Councils of Action and the inauguration of the local united front activity.

The National Tom Mooney Council of Action in co-operation with the various organizations should take the lead in the development of the nation-wide campaign for

the workers' and Negroes' rights—concentrating now on the drive for the release of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings.

Mooney Day and Another Congress

The National Council of Action upon the basis of the development of a broad mass movement, through reports of returning delegates, local conferences, mass meetings, demonstrations and the petition campaign, will be able at an appropriate time to set a national and international Mooney Day of struggle for the release of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings. This will also become a rallying point in the whole struggle for Mooney's release. It should resist energetically any tendency to diminish the growing mass movement by merely formally setting a "Mooney Day."

The Congress authorizes the

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