EDITORIAL

Shoe Workers Amalgamation

AMALGAMATION of the independent unions of shoe workers into a single organization, decided by the Boston convention, is a real step forward. It promises much for the development of unionism in the shoe and leather trades and should encourage the militant and progressive forces everywhere. The fact that it was pushed forward at every step over a period lasting a year in the face of every kind of obstruction and opposition from the conservative officialdom of the various unions, the virtually unanimous support which the proposal received in the referendum and, finally, the resolute decision of the convention to drive through to the goal—these facts give ground for confidence that the last-minute attempts of disgruntled officials to sabotage the unification will be frustrated.

There is a mighty sweep of rank and file determination behind the amalgamation movement of the shoe workers. The success with which it asserted itself in all the unions and came to fruition in a united convention is a striking illustration of the power of a mass movement to break through antiquated forms. Many difficulties yet remain, but it is clear that the movement is going ahead under full steam and gaining strength along the way. Progressive elements in other unions, working for amalgamation, can well take heart from the splendid achievement of the shoe workers.

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One of the most important aspects of the fusion of the independent shoe unions, overshadowing even the tangible gains of the moment, is the rich prospect it opens up for a rapid expansion of the new united organization. It is not merely that approximately 70,000 workers have found their way toward a single union in place of a number of separate unions weakened by mutual competition and isolation. That in itself, to be sure, is a great accomplishment. But the unification also creates the conditions for a broad campaign to organize the unorganized and bring the power of a national movement to bear for a general improvement of conditions.

There is an attractive power in the idea, and especially in the fact, of unity. The coming together of the independents at Boston may well be the starting point for the development of unionism in the shoe and leather trades on a scale unknown before. A decisive move in this direction by the new organization, without losing any time, will be the most effective means of consolidating the accomplishments of the convention and flattening out attempts at obstruction from any quarter.

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Trade unions, that is, real trade unions, are elementary organizations of the masses, not artificial creations cut to pattern. In their programs and, what is more important, in their practices, they reflect, by and large, the stage of development attained by the membership in the struggle against capital. Those who aspire to shape this development in a revolutionary direction, to bring the element of consciousness into the movement, can begin to be effective only when they learn to take the unions as they find them and work among them. Their development can be seriously influenced only from within and in the process of struggle. It cannot be imposed from the outside through any special form of organization. The new union of shoe and leather workers has masses in its ranks. That is the first requirement of a union without which the best program in the world amounts to nothing. Despite all its defects the mass basis of the new union entitles it to the support of the workers in the industry, and the "recognition" of every other legitimate union.

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As an independent organization, forged by the workers in struggle against the employers and the black traitors of the A. F. of L. "Boot and Shoe" union, the new amalgamated union may be regarded as a symptomatic expression of the line of development which will become more general. As a living example of the vitality of such a trend it must be attentively heeded by those who want to synchronize their conceptions with the actual development of the movement. The cut and dried idea that affiliation to the A. F. of L. is the only badge of legitimacy for a labor organization has no more foundation than the grotesque theory of the Stalinists that new unions must be organized everywhere according to one uniform blueprint, with their "control" assured in advance. The first is implicit with treachery as the second is a prescription for sectarianism isolation and sterility. Both of these arbitrary "theories" have been dealt a heavy blow by the actual course of development in the shoe unions.

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In firmly rejecting any idea of affiliation, either with the A. F. of L. or the Trade Union Unity League, the amalgamation convention took the only course possible under the circumstances. Independence is the necessary condition for the effective functioning and growth of the amalgamated union in the next period. The new organization came into existence and acquired a mass basis in the course of a long series of revolts against the monstrous betrayals of the A. F. of L. "Boot and Shoe" organization. The fight for a genuine union in the industry is a continued fight against the "Boot and Shoe". An approach to the A. F. of L. on the part of the amalgamated union would be the greatest folly imaginable as long as it involves the idea of a reconciliation with its corrupt affiliate in the shoe industry. There could be no better way to demoralize the movement.

The furtive maneuvers of the Lovestoneites to steer the new union into this treacherous channel made no headway at the convention. In rejecting these suggestions the shoe workers have shown a greater sense of reality than the A. F. of L. fetishists. "Independence", of course, is no principle. As a general formula the argument for the federation of separate unions into a general labor movement is unassailable. But the complex nature of the American trade union movement, now at the beginning of a new and probably variegated development, excludes any patent, universal formula. A. F. of L. fetishism,—the theory that every union not affiliated to it has to be condemned as "dual unionism"—is the most false and dangerous of all the arbitrary "theories". In the last analysis this "theory" converts its protagonists into field agents for the labor fakers and closes the door to a real participation in the coming labor struggles "outlawed" by them.

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If the test of trade union policy is the way it works out in practice—and we know of no other—then the Stalinist dogma of a uniform new movement of "Red Unions", with program and leadership provided for beforehand, was completely discredited once again by the debacle in the shoe industry. Not only did the convention refuse to hear any suggestion of affiliating to the T. U. U. L. but the Stalinist union in New York was required to sever relations with this body as a condition for its inclusion in the amalgamation. The independent unions came together into a single organization, but it does not fit into the Stalinist pattern. It didn't go to the T.U.U.L. On the contrary the T.U.U.L. union had to go to it. The leaders of the Stalinist union tried in every way to sabotage the amalgamation movement and to set itself up as the real union against all the others. It ended by capitulating to the amalgamation movement and giving up its own affiliation and separate identity.

This was surely the correct thing to do. But the Stalinists are not entitled to the credit. The wisdom was not theirs. The pressure of their own membership on the one side and the adamant hostility of the workers in the other unions to the T. U. U. L. left them no other choice. The Boston convention demonstrates that the independent union movement has real vitality in certain fields. And it demonstrates no less convincingly that this movement does not flow in the artificial channel cut for it by the T. U. U. L. but, on the contrary, takes its own course outside the T. U. U. L. and against it. Clear-headed militants will shed no tears over this fact. For them the real movement is important, not the arbitrary schemes. This real movement of independent unionism can only gain by the elimination of the false theories and disruptive practices represented by the T. U. U. L.

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Independent unions, which come into existence as a result of special conditions in certain industries, do not, by that fact alone, become revolutionary or radical. They offer, as a rule, a freer field for the work of the militants and their development on the path of class struggle is less hampered by the interference of the skilled professional labor agents of the capitalists who dominate the A. F. of L. But if they are mass organizations they reflect the composite mental attitude of the mass. That is not revolutionary today. It can become so only in the course of struggles and with the aid of the Communists who root themselves deeply in the unions and take part in the struggles. The greatest mistake is to consider an independent union synonymous with a revolutionary policy or to think such a policy can be imposed in advance.

The amalgamated union of the shoe and leather workers is by no means a "Red" union. It is a fluid movement, filled with contradictions and not a little confusion, as any real mass organization of American workers today is apt to be. The convention condemned the NRA in one resolution and praised Father Coughlin in another.

In this contradiction there is nothing fatal for the new union. The union will have its existence in the class struggle and will be influenced and shaped by it. The workers represented at the Boston convention and their prototypes in other trades will make up the bulk of the new labor movement. They have many illusions and are due for some hard bumps. The most important thing for the Communists is to recognize the real movement when they see it, take part in it no matter what its form may be and help the workers to assimilate the lessons of the struggles.

The shoe workers movement is a real one and its form, under the circumstances, is the one best adapted to facilitate a radical development. The fact of the amalgamation, which strengthens the confidence of the workers, will undoubtedly lead to conflicts on a bigger scale and work to the same end. The amalgamation convention at Boston, despite the confusion and contradictions which marked some of its actions, will most likely represent the starting point of movement which lifts the struggles of the shoe workers to greater heights and clearer aims. The whole movement of insurgent labor will be the gainer by it.

NORWEGIAN LABOR PARTY AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

After the Norwegian Labor Party had rejected the proposal to elaborate a joint platform, the problem of this party among others was discussed more or less haphazardly by our German comrades and the S. A. P. In this way the question of the Norwegian Labor Party (N. A. P.) has come to the fore. This international question is extremely interesting to a large circle of people.

What does this N. A. P. represent? With 200,000 members (undoubtedly, as in the British Labor Party the largest part of this is collective membership it represents like the Austrian Socialist party the political party of the Norwegian proletariat. It is strikingly similar to the Austrian Socialist party in another way. The strong Leftist currents among the members (who have up to now not dared to join the Second International) who form a Left wing, use a vaguely radical phraseology are basically reformist and are deplorably reformistic and vulgar in practise, that is pursue a policy of toleration which precipitates layers of the middle classes into the arms of Fascism.

It is true that the party has gained of recent date (like other reformist parties) great election successes, but as the **Nieuw Rotterdamsche Kourant** correctly puts it, its conduct is at bottom especially moderate.

The Marxist Attitude

The attitude towards this party is particularly clear for Marxists: to work as a fraction inside the sprty as long as they (the Marxists) are too weak to create a new Communist party; the construction of this fraction on the basis of the sharpest criticism of the reformist leadership and no collusion of any kind with this leadership.

On the principle questions which face the ranks of the united front the position of the S. A. P. is quite different from the one we defend. Not only did it sign a resolution on the regeneration of the workers movement, together with this famous party, besides the Declaration of the four not only did it sit with it in the London Bureau, but what is worse it abstained from our criticism of this party on the national and international scale.

What are the results of such procedure? There are a number of important groups and parties internationally, like the I. L. P. and the Independent Communist party of Sweden (the latter has broken with the Brandler international) which are evolving to the left. The principal task of all the participants in the Declaration of the Four should be the strengthening of relations with these parties. Therefore it can continue openly with the N. A. P. only in the face of the growing development of opposition.

The N. A. P. and Sweden

It conducts itself in a similar manner with the Independent Communist party of Sweden As long as the N. A. P. deems it advisable to have relations with the latter, it will exert a bad influence on it and will arrest its development. These facts are so striking that every member of the S. A. P. should take them into consideration.

But in Norway itself such passivity can only lead to disgust in the N. A. P. No Left wing can develop without criticism. On the other hand an appeal to international allies permits Tranmael to play the revolutionist in his own party.

After the Declaration of the Four the London Bureau has lost its significance. It is even unable to explain how it happens that each of its participants follows a different aim. One holds for the IInd, the second for the II 1-2, the third for the IIIrd, the fourth for the IVth, etc., etc. Better yet the simultaneous alliance of two of the signees of the Declaration of the Four with a completely reformist party must compromise the conception of the IVth International, not only in the eyes of some bureaucrats but before many thinking revolutionary workers.

The S. A. P. argues about the results of its alliance with the N. A. P. in a very confused and unique way. It does not help Tranmel because he treats the alliance very disdainfully. Tactical exigencies demand this alliance. Yes, this element which is worthy of eulogies, still demands the entrance of the League of Communist Internationalists in the London Bureau, that is to abandon our declaration of Four for an optional and cordial union with Tranmel. One should not fear compromises, etc.....

The Charge of "Sectarianism"

Conversely the demand of the League of Communist Internationalists is called "secetarian" in the largest degree (?). At every step tehy discover the original sin. In that they make use of Lenin's method (Dear friends, study once again in what circumstances, with what methods, and with what results Lenin marched in 1915 towards the construction of the III International! How he condemned every equivocal union containing traces of opportunism, which was precisely the reason that led to the collapse of the IInd International) in order to accuse others as sectarian so that they can appear "correct".

But we ask our opponents: **Is there another method of building a revolutionary organization, no matter how, on the national and international scale?** What are the results of other methods, of the silent concessions, of the "flexible" manoeuvers, of hesitations (of course we speak of the building of the new party and the new international, not of the struggle for concrete economic and political ends in which a united front is possible "even with the devil and his grandmother").

Our opponents can look into the long history of the revolutionary movement as much as they want, but they will not find any other workable method. Every concession to opportunism and centrism, however small or great, has ended in a 4th of August. Only Leninist intransigeance has brought results.

The Road of the IVth International

Only on this road is the building of a IVth International possible, the political level already acquired. On this road they do not abandon They would do much better, not in the N .A. P., not in the Independent Communist party of Sweden, if they brought others to their point of view by means of decisive struggle.

An example. The leaders of the S. A. P. believe that they possess a sufficiently important historical experience to create a new strategy and a new tactic on the basis of this experience; their own results in winning over the S. A. P. As is known the present leadership was formerly Brandlerite. It entered the S. A. P. with 800 members in the spring of 1932. At that time the S. A. P. numbered 24,000 members according to some and 50,000 according to others A year later Seydewitz capitulated to the social democracy, Rosenfeld to the Communist party and the present leadership found itself at the head of a party which had about 14,000 members.

In the meanwhile illegality has naturally reduced this number in extraordinary proportions as it has in all organizations.

The Result of the "New" Methods

We proposed to the comrades now in the leadership, on their entry into the S. A. P., that they carry on an open struggle in the party against Seydewitz-Rosenfeld on the basis of a platform. They did not want to do this. They applied their own tactic and perhaps, despite themselves, conquered around a third of the party. Most of those remaining went to the social democracy; a small section to the Stalinist party where they are continuing their evolution towards the Brandlerites and to us; the majority have sunk into indifference. Do you call that the triumph of the "new" Leninist method over the "old"?

"Gentlemen, consider the outcome!", it is said in old German history. We believe that the historic study of the S. A. P. should be deepened and amplified. It is not written that they would not have obtained this result with the "old" method. They would possibly have obtained a better result. Today the transient homogeneity of the S. A. P. is the product of the external oppression of Hitler. But the political homogeneity of the S. A. P. ...At a public meeting where three members of the S. A. P. spoke, one of them said that there was no proletarian state in the U. S. S. R., the other said that there was one, and the third said something quite unique: bureaucratic socialism.

The Picture

This is broadly the picture of a truly revolutionary party. And that leads us to believe that the final results of the "new method" will be quite different than the leaders of the S. A. P. today think they will, if they generalize and immortalize these methods instead of recognizing their accomplishments in order to correct them. That is why we prefer the "old" methods by means of which the Bolsheviks built their party.

We see that the question of the N. A. P. has not only a particular and actual significance, but that on its correct solution depends in large part the further development of the IVth International. It leads us also to the principles of building a party and a revolutionary international. Their immediate clarification is decisive for future development. —B.

Discussion Article

ON THE NATIONAL RECOVERY ACT

I.

The true political nature of the NRA must be established before a further correct analysis of it can be given.

Marxism deals with economic and political developments. Its dialectical approach and the indictive and deductive method of investigation converts it into a science. It is important therefore that each condition be analyzed and categorized correctly on the basis of the prerequisites necessary to bring it about, and its action and reaction when present. If not, there exists the danger, as in all scientific deductions,—of wrong conclusions which cause confusion and contradictions in their further application—the theory that the NRA is a measure of Fascism is wrong basically. It is a conclusion reached through emotional thinking and not by scientific or theoretical reasoning. Fascism presupposes an immediate revolutionary situation of an acute form.This does not exist in the United States at present.

The machine of bourgeois democracy can not be used as a Fascist machine. The ruling class shapes the ideology of the people to suit its particular form of rule. Many who have been psychologized into the methods of democracy will not approve of the methods of open warfare.

The Fascist organization builds itself on proportunate lines; i. e., together with the radicalization of the masses grows the reaction of tht bourgeois conscious element. When the point of struggle is reached where capitalism can no longer, with its old methods, cover up its shortcomings and finds itself faced with immediate danger of overthrow, it changes its form of rule. Discarding formalities and democracy it enlists the reactionary element in order to stage an open and bloody war against all opposing forces to continue in power—Fascist measures therefore do not come by degrees or in mild form but are quite evident when present.

To interpret the NRA as a Fascist measure would mean on one hand to confuse the workers as to the stage of the struggle we are in and on the other to minimize the terror and danger of Fascism to the working class. Workers who have received some gains through the NRA who do not understand how capitalism works and cannot realize that capitalism cannot overcome its contradictions will conclude that if Fascism means shorter work hours, collective bargaining and more jobs, then let it come.

II.

Comrade Giganti in his article of August 5th in the **Militant**, where he tries to prove that tht NRA is the beginning of state capitalism and not Fascism, states the following "But the economic organization of Fascism is state capitalism. State capitalism is the final form of capitalist economy". In view of his contention that the NRA is the beginning of state capitalism, it means that the political reflection of the NRA to the same extent, is Fascism. Contrary to what he partly set out to prove.

The question as to the correctness of the theory brought forth by comrade Giganti, that state capitalism is the economic organization of Fascism, is important in itself. An analysis of this question and its implication that, state capitalism and Fascism function together as the economic and political organizations of the same form of government may help us also to decide on the validity of connecting state capitalism with the NRA.

We find that some industries are managed by the state under different forms of government, for different reasons. We cannot mark that as the beginning of state capitalism—Engels in Socialism Utopian and Scientific states to that effect in a footnote*.—We also find that Fascism does not nationalize all the industries but takes over the management of some chiefly in order to strengthen its state power and not as a programmatic act—Thus, state capitalism begins when the appropriate conditions are present, i. e., at the advanced stage of capitalism and the class struggle.

Comrade Giganti says that Engels foresaw the development of state capitalism with remarkable accuracy in "Socialism Utopian and Scientific" this is true, but it does not mean that in the United States we have already reached the stage for state capitalism.

Engels in "Socialism Utopian and Scientific", talks of state capitalism mostly in an indirect way. In order to show that the capitalists are a superfluous class not at all necessary in the scheme of production He outlines the development of capitalism to prove his point. "The taking over of industries first by joint-stock companies later on by trusts then by the state". To understand this as the inevitable way of development would be wrong, because it would omit the struggle of the workers as a factor in the development.

While state capitalism or Fascism may arrive at an identical period—the period of capitalist decay and revolt of the working class—each of these forms will manifest a different condition in the struggle. The transition into state capitalism begins when the workers are leading in the struggle against their oppressors but are not strong enough to take command; they force the masters to retreat and take refuge into the field of state capialism—Fascism, signifies a defeat of the working class. It means that in the struggle, capitalism has triumphed over the proletariat and by tyrannical suppression holds them in check and staves off revolution.

If the German workers were able to keep Fascism out of power, though not strong enough to take power themselves, their capitalist class would be forced to take the road of nationalization of more and more industries in order to overcome the ever growing wretched economic conditions and the reaction of the working class.

However because Fascism does not overcome the contradictions in capitalism but only suppresses the reaction of the masses, conditions will eventually precipitate the struggle of the workers to the surface. If the workers are not sufficiently strong to acomplish the revolution but are able to keep themselves in tact, they may force the Fascist state into state capitalism; as may be done to the bourgeois democratic state.

Because of the extraordinary conditions by which state capitalism proceeds, it can not be conceived that it will develop into a workable economic system. Coming at the advanced stage of capitalist economy and the class struggle with the workers demonstrating a forceful power, it can only develop in part. State ownership not being a solution to the crisis but only bringing to a head, the struggle between the two contending classes can not remain undecided for long. The working class must socialize the industries themselves, i. e., take over power, or the capitalists will once more gain their ascendancy over the situation and resort to methods of suppression to overcome the shortcomings of their system.

The question arises. How are we to analyze the situation in the United States? Man makes history as actuated by outside conditions; one reacting on the other, i. e., the objective and subjective conditions together determine the stage of development. Great misery due to unemployment, by itself does not create a revolutionary situation. While it is the underlying factor at the proper time, it depends on the reaction of the workers to their conditions. If the logical reaction to such conditions is counteracted and retarded by a previous conditioning such as rugged individualism, illusions of prosperity, disorganization, etc., the economic conditions that arise at the stage of declining capitalism can only first serve to destroy the illusions of the past and create a revolutionary ideology within the working class—In the United States bourgeois democracy did not exhaust all its subterfuges to rule. Moreover at present without a strongly organized proletariat, neither Fascism nor state capitalism is possible.

III.

The NRA is a measure of bourgeois democracy introduced during the period when it has to exert effort to cover up the shortcomings in capitalism. It was initiated by the ruling class to check unemployment—brought about by the inherent contradictions in the capitalist economy—at such a period capitalism goes through a process of centralization of wealth, which means the elimination of the middle class. Of course this adds to the contradictions because it throws the bankrupt middle class into the ranks of the industrial reserve army of proletarians. The elimination of the middle class is the natural process of capitalist development and it occurs at a period essential for the further existence of that system.—The NRA as a remedy for the economic crisis consciously or unconsciously accelerates this elimination. —HARRY BRAND.

(Continued in next issue)

* Page 121.

DISCUSSION ARTICLE

Spartacus Youth Tasks

The draft resolution of the National Youth Committee is surprisingly lacking in concreteness. At no point does it make any suggestion as to the specific tasks of the Youth Clubs. There is no answer to the simple questions: "Where to begin?" "By what methods to proceed?" Our ultimate purpose must be, as the quoted theses indicate, to organize a Youth Section of the future Communist Party, a section politically dependent, organizationally independent, with its special tasks and tactics bases upon the political line and strategy of the Party. But we cannot by a conference or declaration, alone, make the Spartacus Youth Clubs into such a Youth section.

The clubs are few and isolated. Now they must begin the task of winning the youth for Communism. The slogan "Into the Working-Class Youth" must be raised, and plans of action made accordingly. The only plan the National Youth Committee presents is the uniform constitution, which, no matter how useful in itself, is but a poor guide for mass work. The problem of the nature and methods of youth work demands concrete analysis.

Charcteristics of American Youth

The American working-class youth is psychologically immature and impetuous, economically insecure due to unemployment and also to employment in non-industrial, irregular jobs, and in addition is the portion of the proletariat most permeated by bourgeois ideology, due to the schools and to the numerous bourgeois youth organizations. The economic and psychological characteristics of the youth demand that the future Youth Section be rooted in the most stable section of them, —the young workers in industry. The primary task of our present Clubs must be to build a cadre of such young workers. The Clubs must, wherever the Communist League has a foothold in an industry employing some youth, work with the League. Where no such opportunity is offered, the Clubs must themselves try to organize the youth on an economic basis with the cooperation and advice of the League.

Contact with Industrial Workers

Such industrial work must inevitably bring the clubs into contact with backward young workers, too raw for any Communist organization, without causing it to lose its Communist character. However, if such workers cannot be held organizationally, they will be lost. Only broad young workers' clubs can serve the purpose of holding these workers close to us. Discussion groups or study classes in themselves have a very limited appeal. The broad club, which is based on some economic struggle, primarily in unions and unemployed organizations, which conducts educational and social activities, offers an elementary form for organizing youth. The proposed clubs are not peripheral organizations, but are elementary and necessary organizational forms for dealing with the backward working-class youth. Of course, if sufficient numbers can be organized directly into the Spartacus, the broad club is unnecessary, and should not be mechanically organized.

Sports and Social Activities

The sports or social aspects of such broad clubs, while they cannot be discarded, must be secondary. Sports and Socials cannot, in competition with bourgeois youth organizations, draw youth to us; they can only help us to hold workers won on ideological or economic grounds.

To pose baldly the formation of Spartacus Youth Clubs is to pose the question in a vacuum. We can organize a Communist youth organization only when we are able to meet the young worker in his economic struggle and win him to Communism. While present conditions are extremely favorable for rapid strides in gathering and maturing Communist cadres, the necessary intermediate work cannot be bridged by command or resolution, Failure to consider the backwardness of the American youth, and the consequent skipping of organizational stages can lead only to a continued isolation of the Youth Clubs. The Draft Resolution, vague as it is as to specific atsks, by its attitude in Point 5 toward broad clubs, and its negative position toward industrial work cannot help but encourage the maintenance of our present isolation.

Concrete On Primary Task

I do not wish to imply that the Clubs should carry on no other activities. But with our limited forces we must concentrate upon the primary task of winning a cadre of youth in industry. For the rest, I am thoroughly in favor of the formation of a National League of Spartacus Youth Clubs. However, it must be remembered that such a League will be as far from being the future Youth Section as the Communist League is from being the future Party.

—PERRY MEYERS.

Notes of the Week

WITH HIS MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, the president proved that he stands second to none in that brand of vituperation against the bankers which is at the same time very popular with the broad middle strata of the American people as well as conveniently inexpensive to the vituperative politicians themselves. Such language, coming as it does from the lips of the chief executive standing at the rostrum of the national legislature, makes the amateur demagogues like the Reverend Father Coughlin look like woeful pikers.

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Mr. Roosevelt classed the bankers in category (a) among the criminal element of the country. While the menace of the bootleggers and high-jackers, (category b.), he felt, was already being offset by the 21st amendment, "stringent preventive measures" were yet required to take care of the former. Yet!—half a year after the much publicized clean-up of the Senate investigation.

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An interesting comment on Franklin D.'s latest anti-Wall Street tirade was that of Kingfish Huey Long. The Senator from Louisiana is a fellow knight templar in the same crusade and he ought to be in the know. In reply to a question, Huey remarked: "It was alright . . . not very specific".

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But Mr. Roosevelt could not very well afford to be specific with "stringent preventive measures." Such measures to be genuinely effective, would have to strike at the roots of that self-same social and economic system which the president himself represents and defends. Of this system of private property and production for profit—"modern society" as he calls it—the head of the government also had some very sharp critical words to say. Also, nothing specific insofar as a solution is concerned. He would eliminate waste, the "ruthless exploitation of labor", speculation with other people's money. He would save "mechanical invention, industrial efficiency, etc." Public works would take care of the millions of unemployed in a generation or so...

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A MORE SPECIFIC indication of how all this is to be done is offered in the example of the wood pulp industry, regarding which a bill is to be introduced in the current session of congress. We quote from the press:

"The plan involves putting all our domestic wood-pulp companies out of business for ten years. Their employees would be taken over by the Government to do reforesting instead of deforesting during that period. The companies themselves would be compensated by payments from the Government equal to their average annual earnings for the past ten years. . . .

"Then the government would import wood pulp from Russia . . . These imports would not be paid for in cash but would be credited instead against the Kerensky or such other pre-Soviet debts as the Soviets choose to recognize. . . .

"Final step: The government sells its Russian wood pulp at a price sufficient to cover the costs of the plan. . . .

"Expected results:

"(1) Conservation of natural resources in the grand manner.

"(2) Recognition and part payment of debts everyone thought were dead.

"(3) The wheels of Russian trade speeded up.

'(4) American pulp companies would get more money for doing nothing (thereby joining in a body their various presidents, vice-presidents, etc.—Ed.) than they have earned in the past few years.

"(5) The labor involved to be employed in constructive projects.

"(6) The plan doesn't cost the Government a penny. . . .

"(7) American newspapers will get their newsprint cheaper. . . "

(Evening Post, New York, December 28, 1933.)

* * * *

If the above plan works out, it can then be applied to the debts of the other European countries and provide a solution for all the other industries. "Expected result": Our economic needs being thus taken care of and permitting our retirement from the respective professions, those of us who cannot like the wood pulp workers go in for horticulture and botany, can—to while away our time—take up ping pong, solitaire or Walter Lippman's lectures on the New Deal.

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As for the Russians, they can have their fun running those Five Year Plans of industrial construction. (Though, from the example of the wood pulp industry, it cannot be precisely told what they would get out of it). And Stalin and Molotov may go on, for our part, leading the Soviet congresses in cheers for the propagators of such . . . "courageous" plans.

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And the American newspapers—who will "get their newsprint much cheaper"—they can make a go of such a handicap and continue printing such solutions which will always remain, we fear, even much cheaper than the price of newsprint.

—G.. n.

Chaco War

(Continued from page 1)

Numerous attempts have been made at negotiations but without results. Armistices arranged are broken with regularity. One commission made up of representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Peru has just given way to a League of Nations commission which may or may not be able to arrange some sort of temporary compromise.

The Communist Parties of both Paraguay and Bolivia are very young, having been organized since the Sixth World Congress, and while very active "defending" the Soviet Union have been unable to organize any real mass movement in protest against the frightful slaughter taking place in the Chaco. A few protest movements have taken place locally and small army detachments in Bolivia have rebelled at different times. The South American Secretariat of the C. I. has shown impotence in the whole situation succeeding only in organizing a "Barbusse" Anti-War Congress last year which did about as much to really end the war, as did the recently terminated Pan-American Congress.

—ROSALIO NEGRETE.

Phila. Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

union, a shyster lawyer by the name of John Auspitz, made a deal with Sam Cooke from the Penn Fruit Co. to call the strike off without consulting the other unions for bought off. Auspitz called the their opinion. Probably he was fruit men the trouble makers and claimed that he was a good fellow.

The fruit union was asked to go back to work by the Regional Labor Board pending arbitration. They refused to call the strike off until their union is given recognition by the Penn Fruit Company, which they refused to do. Although many of their men have gone back to work they still refuse to call off their pickets as the meat cutters union did.

—HARRY ALLEN.

CORRECTION

In the report of the Brownsville meeting in the last issue of the **Militant** a typographical error crept in. The audience was 300 rather than 500.