

The "United Front"

"Mass Basis for Common Struggle Often Neglected in Dealing with Individuals". Thus runs the subtitle of an article dealing with the United Front tactic by Harry Yarls (in the Daily Worker). Very good! One would conclude from this that the C. P. had drawn some lessons from their recent experiences with the Congress against War and in the League against War and Fascism.

Therefore when Matthews, Henson, Fox, Muste and other leaders of the League resigned one would ordinarily conclude that this new orientation would be the guiding principle in re-organizing the League.

"United Front with Individuals" Yarls' article goes on to say: "In our efforts to set up some form of united struggles, a tendency has cropped up to form United Fronts with certain individuals—some very doubtful 'left' elements in the trade unions and in the Socialist Party—thus substituting for the United Front with masses of workers, the United Front with individuals, who in many cases represented 'generals' looking for armies. . . ."

Further: "The United Front consisted solely of certain conferences and meetings with these individuals. It was never really brought down to the broad masses of workers in the form of united struggles. This is one reason why the organizations created by the conferences and the conferences themselves died so soon after birth, i.e., Tom Mooney Councils of Action, American League Against War and Fascism as a national organization, the Cleveland Conference, etc. . . . We have very little to gain through United Fronts with individuals. If no practical struggles result, if the movement is not raised at least one notch higher, then we have not moved forward." (our emphasis)

"New 'Generals' for Old" Well, we thought, if the Party has not learnt anything from our criticism of the Anglo-Russian Committee and the Amsterdam Congress they are at last beginning to learn from their own bitter exper-

iences here in America. But our hopes were short-lived. No sooner did one group of "generals without armies" step out than another group was named to replace them. The new "generals" are Harry F. Ward, commander of the Union Theological Seminary—a real mass organization of workers—Robert Morss Lovett, professor at the University of Chicago; Lincoln Steffens, journalist; Rev. R. Lester Mondale of Evanston, Ill.; Prof. Colton E. Warne; Rabbi Goldstein and Winifred Chappell, secretary of the Methodist Federation of Social Service. A truly notable leadership in the struggle against War and Fascism. Now we can really "hope" that the struggle against Fascism will take on a mass character.

This is the new line of the Party. They have learnt nothing by the experiences . . . Germany . . . Austria . . . Amsterdam Congress . . . Cleveland Conference, etc. Those "lessons" referred to in the Daily Worker article, were promptly "forgotten".

Playing the Fascist Game By pursuing this kind of united front policy the party is playing right into the hands of the Fascists. Every day there are reports of new Fascist outbreaks throughout the world. While solemnly professing to believe in a genuine "united front" agreements from above with every type of careerist, representing no mass organization, and to whom any kind of militant mass action is anathema. This type of united front only paves the way for Fascism.

In New York recently, within the period of a year, the Fascists have managed to build a considerable mass following without any effective resistance. They are able to hold large mass meetings and parade through the streets to spread their vicious propaganda. A united front of all labor groups is imperative if the hydra-headed menace of Fascism is to be crushed. The time to do it is NOW—before it becomes too powerful and crushes us.

—W.

Organize the unemployed! The capitalists and the Board of Education want to use them to lower the standards of the employed.

Restore democracy in the union! The membership must have the right to vote on and decide questions of policy! Put a stop to the red-baiting of the administration of the union! Every teacher should have the right to his own social, political and economic views!

Organize mass demonstrations! Organize the teachers!

These are the lessons of the wage cuts. This is the road on which to march to defeat the coming attacks.

—H. L.

GREETINGS

Pearl Friedman, Chicago
Joseph Fischer, Chicago
Helen Judd, Chicago
Earl Hoffman, Chicago
Pierino Arquilla, Palos Park, Ill.
V. Di Giacomo, Chicago
G. Maris, Chicago
Cesario Parisi, Chicago
E. Spinelli, Chicago
Ed. Lipensky, Chicago
M. Mancini, Chicago

2 Friends, Chicago
John Castarra, Chicago
A Friend, Chicago
J. D. Rio, Chicago
Mary Camera, Chicago
Guido Galassi, Chicago
Thomas Sabatini, Chicago
Sam Manglapelo, Chicago
Alfonso Ciavartone, Chicago
Giuseppe Porro, Chicago
2 Friends, Chicago
Joe Gorodetzer, Philadelphia
S. Hardy, Philadelphia
L. L., Philadelphia
M. G., Philadelphia

Harry Allen, Philadelphia
Max Kaufman, Chicago
Mrs. Weiss, Chicago
Cant, Chicago
Lepes, Chicago
N. Rubin, Chicago
Clara Kaufman, Chicago
Welk, Chicago
Mrs. S. Krupka, Pittsburg, Pa.
Sam Verman, Pittsburg
Mrs. J. Melson, Pittsburg
A Friend, Pittsburg
M. Basin, Pittsburg
Dave, Pittsburg
Nick Leperes, Pittsburg
A Friend, Pittsburg
Albert Wolfe, New Haven, Conn.
Bernard Wolfe, New Haven
A Teacher, New Haven
Yale student, New Haven
Samuel Gandelman, New Haven
Morris, New Haven
A Sympathizer, New Haven
Another Sympathizer, New Haven
An Architect, New Haven
Gertrude Duell, New Haven
Joe Harris, New York City
Cora Duff, Kansas City, Mo.
Jean Rall, Kansas City
Fred Simmons, Kansas City
Nell Tygart, Kansas City
Chas. Warner, Kansas City
Jefferson Rall, Kansas City
Jenny M. Rall, Kansas City
Otto Zulauf, Kansas City
Theo. Croner, Kansas City
Alfred Caplan, Kansas City
S. H. Kassen, Kansas City
A Comrade, Kansas City
Fred Nesson, New York City

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NEW YORK CITY

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SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB
Third Ave. & 15th St.
New York City

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YOUNGSTOWN BRANCH
Youngstown, Ohio

May Day Greetings from INDEPENDENT WORKMEN'S CIRCLE, Branch 989
Minneapolis, Minn.

Compliments of "REUBEN"
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GREETINGS to
COMRADE L. D. TROTSKY,
and to the League of International Communists
Forward to
THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
and NEW COMMUNIST PARTIES
Pittsburgh Branch, Communist League

GREETINGS to the MILITANT
BAY RIDGE BRANCH,
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

GREETINGS to the MILITANT
PHILADELPHIA BRANCH

A FRIEND
Youngstown, Ohio

GREETINGS to the MILITANT
NEW CASTLE BRANCH
New Castle, Pa.

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Kansas City, Mo. Branch

May Day Greetings from
BUEHLER BOOK STORE
Kansas City, Mo.

May Day Greetings
BOSTON BRANCH
Boston, Mass.

NORTH PHILADELPHIA
SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB
Philadelphia, Pa.

GREETINGS TO THE MILITANT
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Youngstown, Ohio

May Day Greetings from INDEPENDENT WORKMEN'S CIRCLE, Branch 989
Minneapolis, Minn.

Compliments of "REUBEN"
SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB
Kansas City, Mo.

The Friends of the Militant Club Chicago

Sends its hearty, comradely May Day Greetings to the entire International Proletarian Class.

May this traditional holiday awaken and intensify the class consciousness of all workers, sharpen the revolutionary spirit and unify all working elements into one whole under the banner of the new Fourth International for the attainment of the final goal: a victorious Social Revolution all over the world.

May Day Greetings to THE MILITANT,

the International Communists and our comrade Harold Robins and his fellow class-war prisoner comrade Gras, now in prison for their activities in behalf of the striking hotel and restaurant workers.

BRONX BRANCH, New York

May Day Greetings to THE MILITANT,

and all the International Communists on this historic day.

Forward to The Fourth International!

from the
MINNEAPOLIS BRANCH OF THE
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA

GREETINGS from the
MANHATTAN BRANCH,
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA
LOCAL NEW YORK

MAY DAY GREETINGS to
THE MILITANT
from the
TORONTO COMRADES
Toronto, Canada

MARCH OF EVENTS

Japan's Monroe Doctrine for Asia
The ruthless policy of Japanese militarism requires no documentary proof. During more than a generation the Japanese ruling class has made abundantly clear its inflexible aim of fixing the colonial yoke on the necks of the Chinese masses—and to do this before the other imperialist robber powers gain too strong a foothold in China. The notorious Twenty-one Demands made on China during the War and the Tanaka Document merely set forth the obvious, the unrestrained, cold-blooded bandit ambitions of Japanese militarism.

Why then the startled reaction of the capitalist press when Amano, chief of the intelligence division of the foreign office, mouthpiece of Hirota, formulates Japan's Monroe Doctrine for Asia, with its warning that Japan will resist by force any encroachments by others on its preserves in China? The answer lies in the fact that capitalist "peace" is merely a truce between wars for plunder' that Aman's brutally frank statement disturbs the present truce and sets up the tremors that betoken the nearness of the next war.

Japanese Uncertainty
It has been clear for some time that the Japanese ruling class is divided in counsel. Recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the U. S. gave pause to the shrewder spirits among the militarists who realized the suicidal nature of a war against an alliance of two such formidable powers as the U. S. and the U.S.S.R. The perspective of immediate intervention in the Soviet Union slowly faded and a change in foreign policy resulted, the effort being made to woo America away from the Soviet alliance. Simultaneously Japan has been seeking assurance from British capitalism that England would "balance" the U. S. in case of war with the Soviet Union. Does the present turn signify that these assurances have been gained? Or is this merely the result of the pent-up emotions of those Japanese reactionaries who cannot await a more propitious moment for attack?

The Danger of Waiting
Waiting too is a dangerous policy. It permits the Soviet Union to strengthen its defenses. It gives the U. S. a chance, not merely to build a powerful navy, but to seek what has become essential to U. S. imperialism, a military base in China. The Japanese properly interpret the aid given Chiang Kai-shek by America in the training of aviators, the selling of planes, the building of airports and communications, and the setting up of an airplane factory, as one step in the direction of establishing a military foothold on the Asiatic mainland.

Waiting means also the sharpening of the class struggle internally in Japan. The intense struggle to maintain her aims in foreign trade, so severely under attack by the jealous powers, involves the ever fiercer oppression of the Japanese masses of workers and peasants. The militarists are acutely aware of the volcano upon whose top they sit. The explosive internal forces, they delude themselves into believing, can be directed outwardly and dissipated. History will show how deluded they were.

Roosevelt and Nationalization
Roosevelt continues to attack the living standards of the workers to assure dividend and interest payments to the capitalists. Again, after a policy of temporizing and delay so as to dull the edge of the railroad workers' fighting spirit, Roosevelt insists on maintaining the wage cut. He insists that he does not want nationalization of the railroads but will be forced to take steps towards rigid control unless the railroad magnates reform the capital structure of these public utilities.

By such deception Roosevelt hopes to gain the sympathy of the middle and upper classes in his fight against the railway workers. For there is not another field of capitalist "enterprise" that offers a clearer picture of capitalist plundering and looting of public finances than the field of railroad transportation.

Roosevelt's attitude towards nationalization is that of his class. He fears nothing so much as a real political struggle supported by the masses and the middle classes, for nationalization of the railroads. The capitalists fear that this would be an entering wedge which might precipitate a real struggle for state socialism.

It was in this sense that "Railway Age" recently answered Jordan of the National Industrial Conference Board when he predicted nationalization. The editors stated that the resistance to state socialism would prevent nationalization of the railways.

—JACK WEBER.

Payless Furlough for N. Y. Teachers

With the passage of the LaGuardia Economy Bill giving the mayor the right to furlough city employees without pay for from seven days to one month and accompanying bill—whose passage by the New York State Legislature is indicated—empowering the Board of Education to furlough teachers in about the same proportion the teachers have lost a hard fight. In effect the furlough is a wage cut and will further lower the teachers' standards of living. It appears to be the strategy of the "economizers" to institute the furloughs during the summer vacation when the teachers are dispersed and their organized resistance, consequently, will be at its lowest ebb.

Second Wage Cut
The payless furlough is the second wage cut the New York City teachers have received. In December, 1932 they got a cut of from 6 to 10 percent through the efforts of Walker who was then mayor. A democratic administration asked the teachers to make a "small sacrifice" in the interests of economy. When LaGuardia was campaigning for mayor in 1933 he made much of this point in his attacks on Tammany. Yet only a few days ago he crowned his first 100 days in office, among other things, with a pay cut for teachers—in the interests of economy. It should be clear that there is no essential difference between Walker and LaGuardia, Democratic, Republican or Fusion administrations and politicians. Behind Walker stood the bankers and the really interests who cracked the economy whip. Behind the LaGuardia mask the teachers will find, if they look, the same capitalist face carrying out the same capitalist program: protect profits at the expense of the standard of living of the masses, including the teachers.

The Teachers' Enemy
The enemy the teachers face is the overlord of society, the Wall Street banker, a powerful antagonist. This does not mean, as many teachers seem to think, that the fight is hopeless. PAY CUTS CAN BE DEFEATED! And the attacks which are impending now can be

beaten back. For that the teachers must fight. There are thirty-six thousand of them working in the schools; fifteen thousand more are unemployed. United by a common purpose and animated by a spirit of resistance against their attackers, they can strike heavy blows in defense of their standard of living and the institution of public education.

What is required first of all is a program of struggle and an organization corresponding to that program—a trade union. In view of the recent experience of the teachers the first plank of this program should be: no faith in the bourgeois politicians; the teachers can rely only on their own efforts and the support of the organized working class movement. The aim of such a program should be to put PRESSURE on the capitalist state through mass meetings, demonstrations, protests and united action with the labor movement.

The Teachers' Union
There is a union in the field, the Teachers Union, Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the A. F. of L. It is, as yet, a weak organization having only some 1900 members and is more of a lobbying organization than it is a trade union. Its program is confined, in the main, to deals with bourgeois politicians in Albany to introduce support or oppose legislation favorable or unfavorable to the teachers' interests, as the case may be; maintaining a lobby in Albany and issuing propaganda to raise money for this purpose.

Nevertheless it is a trade union in form; most of the teachers at work are eligible for membership in it although the ten thousand unemployed and unlicensed are barred, supervisors (foremen) are eligible, and the present membership consists, in its greater part, of the higher salaried teachers. By and large it employs the practices of the conservative trade union movement and has taken to its bosom the methods of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats in stifling democracy in the union. At a recent meeting of the Executive Board recommended the admission of fifty-five new members but refused to divulge their names!

Reform the Union
Withal the union has the possibility more than any other of the seventy-five organizations in the field of becoming a mass organization with a militant program. But for that several things are necessary. The methods and policies of the present leadership must be scrapped. That means, in the first instance, that masses of teachers should be drawn into the union. A beginning can be made by lowering the dues. Hundreds who remain outside today because of what they consider excessively high dues will join the union tomorrow if the dues are lowered!

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