

# The Revolutionary Policy Committee

(Continued from Page 1)  
and social basis of society".  
This position, to be sure, represents a sharp break with Social-Democratic dogmas and fetishes regarding bourgeois democracy and the possibility of utilizing the so-called "democratic" state to usher in the socialist society. On three essential points—the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Workers' Councils (Soviets) as its concrete form, and the arming of the workers to suppress counter-revolution—on each of these fundamental aspects of the question of the state the R. P. C. takes the revolutionary Marxist position and rejects the reformist position of Social Democracy. (Incidentally, the position of the R. P. C. on these questions is clearer and more to the point than the ambiguous formulations of the same questions contained in the platform draft of the American Workers Party. A very pertinent question arises in this connection: How can the American Workers Party possibly become the center of attraction of the revolutionary Socialists if it lags behind them in the matter of a program?)

**The Workers' Councils and the Struggle for Power**  
But, for all that, the Revolutionary Policy Committee does not give a direct answer to the most important side of the fundamental question of the revolution. That is: How will the dictatorship of the proletariat be established?  
It is not enough, in a program, to speak of "acquiring" state power. It is necessary to tell the workers how they are to acquire power. It is quite false and misleading to describe the Workers' Councils only as instruments of state power of the workers and say nothing about their role as the organs of struggle to overthrow the state power of the capitalists. Nor does it suffice, in a program, to refer to the "violent character" which the class conflict assumes "when the decisive hour approaches".  
The worst offense in a program is ambiguity. The R. P. C. itself has declared in so many words that the program "must be so clearly defined as to make it impossible in the future for Party members to hold diametrically opposite principles". The R. P. C. will greatly strengthen

its position in the fight for uniform party principles by removing all ambiguities, and by filling out the blank spaces, in its own program on "The Road to Power". Omissions and ambiguities in the program constitute hiding places for desperate reformists and centrists seeking a temporary radical shelter. Such elements are a source of weakness, not of strength, to a revolutionary grouping.

**Necessary Amendment to Program**  
The program section relating to the state and revolution should state clearly that the government of the capitalists—whether fascist or democratic, it makes no difference—must be **overthrown** by the workers and replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat. The program should state further that the workers' councils (Soviets) are the organs which mobilize the workers for the revolutionary assault as well as the organization form of state power after the victory.  
The soviets are not formed after the revolution. They evolve out of the developing united front movement as the revolutionary crisis approaches and organize the struggle for power. The soviets (workers' councils) should be described in the program. It should be explained that they are an expression—the highest expression!—of the united front, that they consist of representatives of all the workers' organizations and places of employment and that they are not under the formal control or leadership of any party.  
These explicit statements are indispensable in the program. If the German experience has shown the tragic consequences of the failure to fight, the Austrian tragedy has demonstrated the no less fatal results of the neglect to **prepare and organize** the workers for the fight and to explain to them in advance the organization forms and methods of the struggle for power.  
The questions of the state and the struggle for power have been considered first and at some length in this review because of their pre-eminent importance. In next week's article other sections of the program of the R. P. C. will be discussed.  
—JAMES P. CANNON.

# The Crisis in the Pocketbook Makers' Union

**Editor's Note:** This article, received last week, was unavoidably held over on account of space limitations in the May Day issue. Other contributions from the pocket book makers are invited.

After nine months of negotiations between the NRA administration, the bosses, and the union officials, and after running back and forth to Washington, the code for the pocket-book industry has been signed. This code is a dreadful blow added to the already rotten conditions existing among the pocket-book workers for the last few years.

On March 15, Louis Waldman, Socialist lawyer and one of the S. P. chiefs who represented the union at the code hearing in Washington, came to our meeting at Stuyvesant High School, and reported on the wonderful code. He said "I am happy to report that the code was signed by the President". In a demagogic speech a la S. P., he informed the workers what a hard job he had in Washington, to bring the workers this victorious code.

**What the Code Provides**  
Now let us analyze Waldman's and the union officials' "victory" for the pocket-book makers. The code provides \$14.00 a week for unskilled workers, and \$18.00 a week for semi-skilled workers. There is no classification for skilled mechanics, for cutters, operators, framers, etc. Helpers, examiners, packers, are left out of the code entirely. Under the collective agreement in New York the scale for skilled workers is supposed to be \$32.00 and \$35.50 a week, and for helpers \$23.00 a week. But in many shops the bosses do not pay the scale, and the union officials are not doing a thing to make the employers live up to the agreement.

As a result the employers who made every attempt not to pay the scale of wages will have a chance to bring down wages to \$14.00 and \$18.00 a week, if the workers are not mobilized to put up a fight. At union meetings it is not mentioned even once that wages should be raised, due to the high cost of living, and due to the fact that in the last few years our wages have been reduced from 40-50%.

**Role of "Fraternal Club"**  
It was also pointed out that due to the general unemployment situation in our industry, hours must be shortened under the code in order somewhat to relieve this situation. The "Fraternal Club" administration in both cases did not carry out the wishes of the membership. The 40 hour week remains as it was before the code was signed. In other words our misleaders have brought us a code as they did in the unorganized steel industry.

The pocket-book workers have been organized for the past twenty years, and at one time they were among the best-paid workers. In many other organized and unorganized industries wages have been raised and hours reduced recently. In our trade wages have come down, and hours remain the same. Is it a wonder the pocketbook workers at the last two meetings stormed against the "Fraternal Club" administration and their allies, the L. W. gang?

**Who is Responsible**  
Who brought the pocket-book workers to their present miserable condition? The present administration, who has been in power for the last two years and especially our manager (pardon, damager), Stein. When the strike of last summer was settled in New York, there was a group of New York manufacturers who also had non-union shops elsewhere. These employers included Morris White, Resnick Bros., Chic Bag, and others. In New York these employers have to pay the scale of \$32.00 and \$35.00 a week. Out of town our manager Stein settled with the same employers when they gave their workers a raise of \$1.00-\$2.00, which meant that, with the increase, their wages were from \$7.00-\$10.00 a week.

This was done without the knowledge of the Joint Council or anyone else. A Right winger, I. Lederman, pointed this out in an article in the *Forward* of March 22. At that time Lederman was an organizer, and made a similar settlement for a dollar more a week. These out-of-town settlements encouraged the employers to fight for a code of \$14.00 and \$18.00 a week.

**Incompetence of Officials**  
The union officials did not mobilize the workers, but deliberately helped the employers to bring down wages and undermine further the deplorable conditions of the workers. Our bureaucrats have demonstrated to the entire labor movement how incompetent they are even from a conservative point of view. Every worker in the trade must realize that if these people stay in office and negotiate a new agreement it will mean suicide for the pocket-book workers.

In order to show how hard up the administration is, it is interesting to note that a part of the "Fraternal Club" gang is trying to bring back the notorious faker Wallinsky, to save the union. Wallinsky was forced out of the union in 1925. While he was manager of the union he was a partner in the firm of M. White and Co. Under his leadership, expulsions, terrorization of members, and gangsterism were introduced into the union.

**Walinsky and his Gang**  
On April 17 the Walinsky gang held a meeting at the Rand School. At this meeting Walinsky delivered a demagogic speech promising everything under the sun if he became manager of the union. It is no secret that Walinsky lost his money, and is interested in returning to the union only to recoup his finances. He is not at all interested in the union members. The Walinsky gang may cause a split in the ranks of the union. There is a strong sentiment against him.

The S. P. Labor Committee published a statement in the *Forward* a week ago advising Walinsky to stay out of the Pocket-book Workers' Union. I suppose the *Forward* and the Labor Committee will be against Walinsky till he is back in the union. What is necessary is united action of all opposition groups against Walinsky and Co. A clear statement should be issued by the united group against the false messiah Walinsky.

**New Administration Needed**  
Since the administration lost the confidence of the entire membership they must be forced out of office at the next membership meeting. A committee composed of all groups who are interested in a radical change in the union, not a reactionary one, should be elected to take charge of union affairs till a new agreement is reached with the employers. Then elections should take place. This united group must map out an immediate plan for an organization campaign out of town and in town. Twelve capable organizers should be selected who are willing to work without pay, for their expenses only.

There are enough intelligent workers in our union who would be willing to work and sacrifice for the union. The committee should also ask the International, the Amalgamated, and the Millinery Union, each to help out with an experienced organizer for out-of-town work. The Pocket-book Union has a perfect right to demand help from these unions in the present crisis. The Pocket-book Workers' Union has helped every organization financially, and it is the duty of the labor movement to help the pocket-book workers in their present situation.

**Mobilize the Workers**  
Our agreement with the employers expires in June. There is little time left. Every effort must be made to mobilize the workers in New York, and launch a vigorous campaign out of town, to prepare the workers for a national strike. No tricks or demagoguery will help the situation—only hard organizational work and preparing the workers for the coming struggle.

It will be of interest to review briefly what took place in the pocket-book industry the last few years. In 1929 the pocket-book industry employed over six thousand workers in New York, nationally 10,500. This shows that 60-70% of the work was turned out in New York and vicinity, including New Jersey. In 1931 a radical change took place in the New York market. Of the 6,000 workers employed in 1929 only 4,000 were employed in 1931. What happened was this: In 1930-31 an epidemic of running out of town began. Manufacturers opened shops out of town in order to escape union control and operate with cheap labor. While in New York employment has decreased, out of town employment has increased. This situation has continued for several years. In 1929 the union controlled 192 shops, in 1931 only 152—a 20% loss.

**Wage Standards Destroyed**  
In 1929 the average earnings of a pocket-book worker including framers, operators, cutters, pocket-book makers, helpers, and general helpers, was \$1,837 a year, which meant \$35.53 a week, although in those days helpers earned not more than \$15.00 a week, and framers as high as \$100.00 a week. In 1932 the average earnings of a pocket-book worker were only \$631 a year or a little more than \$10.00 a week. These are government statistics from the U. S. Department of Labor. This shows what a situation the pocket-book makers are facing today.

In order to save the situation and maintain more or less decent conditions in New York, the out of town shops must be organized. Otherwise the N. Y. workers will find themselves without shops. Is it a wonder that bosses are abusing, intimidating and terrorizing the workers?

A worker was discharged from Kadin Bros' shop, ostensibly for going to the toilet. The real reason for his discharge was that he would not be bull-dozed by his employer. He had demanded equal division of work and similar things. He was in the street for three weeks while their was enough employment.

When the case came up before the impartial chairman, Dr. Moskowitz, the decision was a warning to the worker not to sabotage on the job. Dr. Moskowitz is a great humanitarian and calls himself a Friend of the Soviet Union. Impartial? Oh yes. This gives a picture of the inhuman conditions under which the pocketbook workers are slaving these days.

**Program of Demands**  
What should be our demands to the employers? (1) An increase in wages to the 1929 scale. (2) A 30 hour week to relieve unemployment. (3) Unemployment insurance. (4) Abolition of the "impartial" machinery which is an agency for the bosses and a club against the workers. (5) Settlement out of town to be made only if the workers' wages are gradually raised to the New York level.

—A POCKET-BOOK MAKER.  
Regular reports will be printed.

# United Front Against Hooliganism in L.A.

**STATEMENT OF LOS ANGELES A.W.P.**  
At a regular meeting of the Los Angeles Branch of the AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY, after hearing the eye witness report of one of our members, who reported the brutal breaking up of a meeting held by the Communist League of America on Sunday evening April 15 in the city of Los Angeles, Calif., said meeting being deliberately broken up by recognized Communist Party members thru the use of clubs, sticks, rubber hose and physical assault with intent to inflict bodily injury upon any and all individuals present, the following resolution was unanimously passed, that:  
Whereas, such tactics following so closely upon the Madison Square Garden incident, it is obvious to us that the official Communist Party not only does not condemn but officially condones and recommends the use of Hitler and Mussolini tactics in its relations with other workingclass organizations, and Whereas, the point has now been reached where no language or criticism can be strong enough to prevail upon the official Communist Party to refrain from such terrorist, hooliganistic and fascist methods against the members of other workingclass organizations, and Whereas, in the face of the aggressions of the capitalist class, the fascist tendencies of the Roosevelt administration, the growing war danger, the assault upon the workers standard of living, the danger of Fascism, the increasing anti-liberal and anti-workingclass sentiment arising among the capitalist organizations in the city of Los Angeles and thruout the United States, and Whereas, the crying need today is a united front against ALL acts of aggression regardless of its source, Therefore, we members of the Los Angeles branch of the AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY propose a united front conference of all workingclass organizations who recognize that the danger of terrorist and fascist attack is held in common, and that ways and means of organizing in common defense is an immediate issue of the day. We are ready to participate in such a conference at once.

Fraternally yours,  
ALLEN STILLER  
Sec'y L. A. Branch  
American Workers Party

**Wipe Out This Hooliganism**  
The Whole Labor Movement of Los Angeles Must Unite to Prevent A Repetition of the Brooklyn Hall Scandal!  
Fellow Workers of Los Angeles: On Sunday, April 15, 1934, one hundred workers gathered at a meeting organized by the Los Angeles branch of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition) to hear a lecture by Comrade Max Shachtman on "The Defense of the Soviet Union". Gathered outside the hall was an organized group of members of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League, led by the organizer of the latter body. No sooner had the meeting begun with the opening remarks of the speaker, than this group made an assault upon the door and the ushers in an attempt to break into the hall with the obvious purpose of disrupting the meeting. Having had bitter experiences with the same abominable tactics at meetings organized by us in other cities, the ushers of our organization resisted the attempt to break up our meeting.

In the fighting that ensued, a number of workers were seriously injured. Half a dozen of our members were beaten about the head and body, and two of them so seriously hurt that they had to be given medical attention. A number of the attackers were also injured in the battle. The upshot of this disgraceful attack was the intervention of the Los Angeles police. We immediately announced that although order had been established by that time, we refused, as a working class organization, to hold any meeting under "police protection" adjourned.

This is not the first time such scandalous incidents have taken place in recent years. Coming on the heels of the Madison Square Garden meeting, which the same gang of "Communists"—who disgrace and discredit the name of Communism—also broke up, it serves to place ineradicably upon their foreheads the stigma of **HOOLOGANS!**

Hooliganism is a shame, a discredit and a menace to the whole working class movement. This affair is not merely a matter of a difference of political opinion between us "Trotskyists" and the official Communist party. No! It is a matter of concern to the whole labor movement. Today the members of the Communist party are mobilized, at the direction of their cowardly officials, to break up our meetings, to prevent workers from listening to a lecture or to attend a meeting with which these people do not agree. Yesterday, they were mobilized to break up the meeting of the Socialist party in New York's Madison Square Garden. For five years, they have been trying to break up our meetings throughout the country. Tomorrow, they will decide that they do not want to permit you and your organization to hold a meeting and they will act or try to act accordingly.

And what will be the inevitable result? As happened last Sunday, the capitalist police use the opportunity to intervene in the internal disputes of the labor movement. They will use the opportunity to prohibit all working class organizations from meeting, on the pretext that we cannot keep order in the labor movement.

This hooliganism of the Stalinist Communist party is therefore **A MENACE TO THE WHOLE LABOR MOVEMENT**  
It is imperative that every worker and his organization should

# MARCH OF EVENTS

**Diplomacy at the Breaking Point**  
The diplomatic staffs, those Boards of Directors for national capitalist imperialism, have brought the next war a long way nearer by their none-too-veiled challenges to each other. The pleasant European vacation of Charles Schwab during which, by one of those peculiarly fortunate coincidences, he happened to bump into several rather influential Chinese henchmen of Chiang-Kai-shek and what is more charmingly natural than the combining of a little business with pleasure!—proceeded to arrange for the sale of vast supplies of munitions to China, called forth without delay the threat of force contained in Amano's statement of Japan's protectorate over China.

This document, issued to all Japanese consuls in China some weeks ago, is thus made public most discreetly but also most opportunely. Called upon to explain by "startled" American and British capitalists, the Japanese rulers, far from disclaiming the document or rejecting its viewpoint, merely state that it is not "official". Magic word! At the same time Matsuoka, former League delegate and defender of the Manchurian adventure, is permitted—to be sure in a "private" capacity—to launch the sharpest, most plain-spoken attack yet made on American imperialism. All of which indicates that diplomacy, with its maneuvering for advantage, is close to the breaking point.

And indeed how could diplomacy solve the life and death problems of imperialist capitalism? The U. S. and Japan are driven with irresistible force to seek abroad their salvation from the internal contradictions that suffocate them within their own national boundaries. China is the last, albeit the vastest market that remains, still undivided and ripe for colonial exploitation. That the fierce struggle to conquer this market will be ultimately transformed from the sphere of diplomacy to the field of battle, is inevitable. Under the present conditions of rivalry, with each new development diplomacy merely reveals its utter impotence to do anything but seek justification for the unrestrained banditry of capitalism.

**The Attack on Labor Deepens**  
In their more and more open

tempt to choke off and stifle labor's revolt against the unbearable living conditions imposed on the working class by the NRA, Roosevelt and Johnson forge new weapons and place new obstacles in the path of the oppressed. Every strike brings home more keenly to the working class the lesson that all the forces of the government are at the service of the capitalists and are arrayed against the workers.

The intensive drive under Roosevelt's direction for the open shop and against the real organization of labor, reveals the use of every agency of betrayal—the creation of fake "impartial" boards (National Auto Board), the use of company unions to prevent the closed shop, the use of the courts for strike-breaking injunctions, the intervention of the NRA machinery for capitalist defense, and above all the resort to the labor lieutenants of capitalism for class collaborationist sell-outs.

In the Fisher Body strike the meaning of the refusal of Johnson to permit the majority of the workers to bargain for all, becomes obvious. The fake company union appeals to the courts to prevent its "members", a minority, from being kept out of the plant by the pickets of the vast majority.

**Who is Aided, Who is Not?**  
The Weirton case became and remains the touchstone for the disillusioning of those workers who thought Roosevelt was helping them. The NRA can apply pressure upon the workers to yield up their living standards at the will of the bosses, but it has no power over the big capitalists.

Weir has flogged the government with impunity and—lo and behold!—he receives a PWA sub-contract through the loan made by Sec. Ickes to the New York Central Railroad, although Ickes has the right to reject the sub-contract for violation of the law.

The railroads receive most subsidies while the railroad workers starve. A report that is being suppressed by the government, shows how severely these workers were hit by the crisis. Homes, savings, living standards, insurance, health, recreation, all were sacrificed due to wage cuts and part time employment, if not total unemployment.

And yet Roosevelt, defending the profits and dividends of the big capitalists, tried to force these miserably exploited workers to be satisfied to continue living under these conditions and to accept the wage cut for an indefinite period. The railroad workers have not yet answered Roosevelt. They have been sold out for the moment.

—JACK WEBER.

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**"America First" Parade Fiasco at Minneapolis**  
(Continued from page 1)  
come forward and say so. Such workers will be given a chance to prove that they wish to make amends. No worker should be fooled by the miserably small parade that was finally started from the Auditorium into thinking that there is no danger in such maneuvers. They constitute the breeding ground for all sorts of shady elements hostile to labor. It is but a step from these kind of "loyalty" marches to the "preparedness" parades.

This kind of loyalty means loyalty to the bosses' whims and the acceptance of his "fair play". The "merchants" and "factories" will "cooperate" to keep the workers divided and without union organization. The "fair play" that suits their kind is the shouting of the slogan of "loyalty", the issuing of guns to the workers with which to have our class brothers shot down.

Remember what the press had to say about the tear-gas barrage let loose by the police when the workers militantly demanded more relief and jobs at decent wages.

**Fight for the United Front**  
The Communist League was an active force in building the United Front that launched the Minneapolis Central Council of Workers. It believes that the most powerful instrument for workers unity is the United Front. The M.C.C.W. acts as a United Front body in support of the unemployed. We urge workers to join its branches, to become active in the field of this pressing work; the organization of the unemployed.

It is a tribute to the clean common sense of the Minneapolis workers, that the "America First" parade had less than FIFTY marchers when it started (one hour late) from the Auditorium. Nevertheless this experience should be a warning to every honest worker. It is the job of the class-conscious workers, the revolutionists, to so prepare the road toward the Labor Movement and also inside the workers' organizations that the workers are not marshalled under the banners of the dark forces.

—R.