

What Is Happening in Fascist Germany?

The speech delivered by Vice Chancellor von Papen before the German University Union at Marburg, on June 17, has aroused comment and speculations overshadowing by far all other recent political events. Its importance derives not so much from what was said, but from the situation which it reveals.

Mere speculation in political conjunctures and turns has nothing in common with a basic analysis of the objective historical processes. The speculation which leaves these factors out of account are worthless. Thus, for instance, headlines of the New York tabloid sheets had the German Reichswehr ready to overthrow Hitler and to set up a military dictatorship. But the Stalinists were no more fundamental in their approach to the question. From that source we are informed that we "stand on the threshold of the German proletarian revolution."

Wordless Speculation

The one speculation is as deceptive and as worthless as the other. While the Stalinists, speculating with such criminal frivolity, proclaim, purely out of their own wishes, the arrival at this moment of the crucial hour in Germany, they are utterly oblivious to the imminent approach of the crucial hour in France. Or, it is because of their false conception that fascism "speeds up" the proletarian revolution that the same policy, applied with such disastrous consequences in Germany when Hitler came into power, is to be repeated in France? So it seems, because it is precisely that same treacherous policy of capitulation which we now witness in face of the growing French fascist movement. If, on the other hand, a correct and revolutionary strategy would be pursued in France that would undoubtedly improve the prospects all over Europe of beating back the fascist hordes. It would help to set the German workers into motion again. But this cannot be expected from the Stalinist organizers of defeat.

In Germany the objective historical processes follow at the present moment a course contrary to the Stalinist prognosis and not at all influenced by it. The von Papen address brings testimony to that fact. He speaks for a special class interest. He speaks for the masters of finance and industry and the large landholdings. In the "famous" address of June 17, prefaced by the remark that "the ultimate truth lies only with God", he proceeded to offer what is now called courageous criticism of the fascist regime. He insists that claims to "revolutionary" or national monopoly must not be held by any one single group and that no one single class must seize governmental power and raise totalitarian claims. There must be no annihilation of popular freedom, for a people cannot be united by terrorism, he said.

Monthly Review New International Comes off Press

The long-awaited theoretical magazine of the International Communists is off the press. The first issue of the New International fulfills the high hopes it has aroused and marks an epochal advance of our struggle for the reorganization of the proletarian vanguard on the grandest foundation of revolutionary Marxism. The only one of the dissident factions to publish a weekly organ and a youth paper now adds a monthly magazine to its arsenal. The first number of the New International is rich in material for the student of the revolutionary movement. Trotsky contributes an article on "The Testament of Lenin". Cannon writes analytical reviews of the Minneapolis Strike and the Socialist Party Convention. A prominent German Communist employing the pseudonym of A. Max writes on "The Legend of the Vienna Commune." Jack Weber discusses "New Trends Under the New Deal." An informative article on "Strikes and the Economic Cycle" is contributed by Alfred Weaver. Arne Swaback analyzes "The Decay of the Stalinist Party."

In addition there are editorial articles by Max Shachtman on the Fourth International, the Soviets and the League of Nations, and the question of the "Dictatorship of the Party or Proletariat."

The appearance of the first issue of the new magazine at the New York picnic last Sunday aroused great enthusiasm. Auctions of the first five copies brought close to \$25.

Organization-Press Campaign Paves Way for Big Advances of Communist League

The Organization-Press Campaign is not in full swing as yet. The returns are still very small, but reports from our branches and groups of sympathizers of our movement indicate that the comrades are busy selling the coupons. One sympathizing school teacher reports: "Before our group leaves on its vacation, we will get together and take up the organization-press campaign. I expect to be able to turn in a fairly good sum as a result of this gathering, as we all get our checks at the end of the week."

An interesting letter, showing what the organization means to some of our sympathizers, came from Bryan, Ohio. It reads: "Dear Comrades: Thank you for your letter of recent date containing the coupon booklet issued for the Organization-Press campaign which I disposed of as you requested, and am inclosing a dollar for the ten coupons. With a little more time I think I could sell two or three more booklets if you would send them. With International Communist greetings, 'Jefferson Hall'."

Of course, the books were immediately sent. We hope that there are a number of such friends and sympathizers of our movement and that they will feel as keenly as comrade Hall does about the need to give material aid to our organization.

There are many "friends" and "sympathizers" of communism in quotation marks. Our friends and sympathizers have dropped the quotation marks, and stand ready to take their place in making a little sacrifice from time to time. If they cannot join our organization for the time being and give of their time and energy, we look to them for other support.

Just at the moment, the best way they can serve the movement is by supporting the Organization-Press Campaign.

Help put into practice the theories you believe in. Help us to enter the coming struggles of the workers. What our members did in Minneapolis can be done elsewhere. The first requisite is to stabilize The Militant and distribute it widely, and at the same time send organizers into the field. One of our comrades has already been asked

to go to Minneapolis. We must send one to Detroit where we now have a good base among the automobile workers, and another into the Pittsburgh area of the steel mills, where one of our members is an official of a local steel union.

Reports from both of these territories state that the workers are becoming more and more restless. To be a factor in these coming struggles, we must have qualified comrades in the field NOW. We should not wait until after the struggle has started. With a little sacrifice it can be done.

Every reader of The Militant; every sympathizer of our movement; every member of the organization must take upon himself and herself the personal responsibility of making sure that we have the means to carry out the program of sending out field organizers and securing The Militant. If you don't do your share NOW, you will have no right to demand results of us later.

HOW MUCH WILL YOU SACRIFICE?

SEND FUNDS WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY!

Receipts Since last Report.

M. M.—Bronx	\$2.00
L. S.—Waukegan	1.00
Chicago Br. (Herman)	1.00
E. S.—Chicago	2.00
Anonymous—N.Y.C.	1.30
T. N. Fall—N.Y.C.	1.75
H. K.—N.Y.C.	1.00
Fred Brode	1.00
Stewart—N.Y.C.	1.00
Shiff & Michael—N.Y.C.	1.00
Bronx Branch—N.Y.C.	1.10
Manhattan Branch—N.Y.C.	.80
E. A. S.—Madison	.50
College Instructor	1.00

Here is an interesting letter from a young Socialist who finds it impossible to contribute:

"Dear Comrades: Unfortunately I find it necessary to return your booklet. Although I am very much interested in the activities of the Left Opposition and the Spartacus Youth Club, I am at present engaged in very intensive activity in the Young People's Socialist League, and all my energies are expended in activity for that organization. Comradely yours, H. S."

Minneapolis Union Forcing Action on Wage Demands

Conference of Unions Prepares for Showdown

Thursday, June 28, is Date for Unity Meeting

(Reprinted from "The Organizer," weekly organ of Minneapolis General Drivers' Union No. 574)

Packed to the doors in Eagles Hall, Thursday evening, the membership of 574 voted unanimously to call the Employers bluff—to demand immediate wage increases, and to enforce this demand with a city-wide tie-up, preparations for which are to proceed at once. The report of efforts to negotiate with Employers on the question of wages and hours was made by Brother Dobbs who together with the committee have been working day and night to get results. Brother Dobbs' report revealed that the Employers have been deliberately stalling. They have delayed the nomination of their spokesman. They bring forward all the age-old excuses; business is bad, they will have to close their doors, etc., etc., in spite of the fact that they have signed an agreement which pledges them to negotiate wage scales. The Employers following custom has been popular among them in the past, continue to dodge, stall, and chisel.

The Union has long ago, even before the strike, presented its demands, worked out with great care and in full detail. They have been on file with the Regional Labor Board for months. Every Employer is familiar with the provisions of these demands. What is lacking is not knowledge of these demands but a willingness to grant these demands.

In view of the serious situation created by the arrogance of the Employers brought out in the report, the committee made the following proposal.

(1) That Local Union 574 call a strike conference of all Transportation Unions to be held within five days.

(2) The conference to prepare for the necessary action to force wage increases. The proposals were endorsed unanimously with the understanding that the machinery for action is to be set in motion immediately.

Thursday night, June 28, has been selected as the conference date. The conference will be called to order at 8:00 p.m. in the Central Labor Union Hall, 614 First Avenue North.

Local 574 has just gone through a strike which, for militancy and organization, takes its place with the best labor struggles of the past; it has demonstrated in action the feasibility of building a powerful Union during a strike. Many sacrifices have been made by the membership of 574. That the workers from other organizations also made real contributions, both with finances and picket support, is well known to 574. We salute those brave fighters and call upon them to stand ready for further service in what we consider to be a cause worthy of the best that the Minneapolis Labor Movement can give. The Strike brought into the Unions hundreds of new workers. All organizations have been strengthened. Local 574 won a fight against the locally organized Citizens Alliance and their hired thugs. Victory on the Picket Lines meant a staggering blow to the organized Bosses.

These Bosses are now attempting to reorganize their forces in order to swindle the members of 574 out of this victory. What could not be done by brutal assault is now tried by double-crossing and stealth. Every Trade Union member must understand that the movement faces a crisis. Either the Employers will abide by the signed agreement, raise wages, and adjust working conditions, or the Trade Unions as a unit must move onto the battle front prepared for a finish fight.

The issue is clear. A Union city where men and women can feel and enjoy the benefits of Union security, and a decent standard of life—or, Minneapolis ruled by Black reaction in the hands of the profit mad Bosses.

All Unions into the conference! All workers into the Unions! For shorter hours—for better working conditions and a higher standard of life!

A.F. of L. Moves Against Pacific Coast Dock Strike

«Red Scare» Raised in San Francisco Labor Council

SEATTLE

Seattle, Smith's Cove.—There is enough happening in the dockworkers' strike to fill a miniature encyclopedia for a class struggle manual. Here in the cove an English steamer was unloaded yesterday by scabs—under heavy guard of 200 police and thugs, with fences erected to keep out the strikers. Traps of every nature have been laid by the authorities, varying from the wholesale attempts at wrecking the strike—by the "liberalism" and hurt feelings of the Oregonian and other star jerking rags like the Seattle Star, and then the usual blah from the Hearst corporation.

"The strike is hurting business," "the government must stop it"; what else is its function—that is what we expect from it.

Down in Portland the strike is strong; all over the Northwest it is holding down. The Alaska boats were loaded because scabs were working elsewhere under the authorities.

The attempt to set up opposition unions—by some hired members of the I.L.A.—has fallen through. The dockworkers have well taken care of these splitters and agents of the shipping companies.

The police are now following the tactic of concentrating at a certain pier. Under this concentration the scabs go to work. The unloading of the second ship is being attempted right now.

Down in Portland, as well as up here, the dockworkers and sailors are embattled right along the wharves, having rigged up shanties. They maintain constant patrols, watching the freights, questioning everybody coming in. "Keep away from the docks," "Section 7a of the NRA allows us of the right . . ." But they are firm and will not be fooled by sweet words.

The scabs are kept at sea, living on tugboats or on the vessels in the stream. It should be demanded of the workers of foreign ships that any attempt at unloading of scabs should be answered by a sympathy strike.

Mr. Ryan and Mr. McGrady are up in the air; the aeroplane service from Washington to Frisco and Seattle is first rate. First a talk in Washington and then a hop out here to try and convince the members of the I.L.A. to settle on Mr. Ryan's "terms." But the strike, despite such speed in modern technique of travel, holds down fast. The workers are on the seventh week and all the ports, excepting San Pedro, are literally entrenchments of class warfare.

—HARRY ROSS.

OAKLAND

Oakland, Calif., June 18.—The latest effort to break the Pacific Coast strike has just flopped.

Mayor Rossi announced in all of the west coast papers on June 14 that he would conduct negotiations with the strikers and settle the strike. Next day every paper in the bay region carried huge headlines that strike negotiations were being successfully conducted under the direction of Mayor Rossi. This pompous ass was suddenly the man of the hour.

Early June 16 the papers stated that a strike settlement was only a matter of a few hours. At one o'clock extras were on the streets, "STRIKE OVER," "Mayor Rossi Successfully Ends Strike," etc. etc. And at 2 P. M. the next day extras were again on the streets. Every local from Canada to Mexico had overwhelmingly rejected the strike settlement. In San Francisco, Oakland and Portland the vote was over 97% against the settlement.

Terms of Rejected Settlement

A labor relations committee of three employers and three longshoremen to be selected at each port:

1. To determine wages and working rules.
2. To establish and operate halls for registration, hiring and dispatching of longshoremen.
3. To act as a court of appeal between employer and employee. In the event members of the committee cannot agree they shall select an impartial disinterested chairman whose vote shall determine the issue.
4. That employers recognize the I.L.A. as representatives of all longshoremen for purposes of collective bargaining.
5. Any longshoreman not a member of the I.L.A. shall pay monthly to the hiring hall committee a sum equal to his pro rata share of the hall expense. (Note: Union pays hall expense.)
6. Existing wage and hours disputes shall be submitted to arbitration.

Ryan tried to get this settlement accepted by threatening the entire membership with expulsion from the International, and said he would then recognize Lee Holman's company union. This threat of Ryan aroused such a storm of protest that he later had to eat his words and issue a half-hearted endorsement of the I.L.A. call for a general strike.

Casby, head of the Teamsters Union, has issued a statement that the teamsters are no longer on strike. But the teamsters are still acting on the picket lines and their numbers are larger today than they were last week.

Committee Moves to Appeal Case of Robins and Gras

In response to an appeal from Harold Robins and Andrea Gras, New York workers sent to Sing Sing on framed charges of felonious assault because of their activities in the recent New York hotel strike, the Robins-Gras Defense Committee has been organized to launch a fight for their appeal. The Committee, organized on the initiative of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, has temporary headquarters at 22 East 17th St., Room 731 and has issued a call to all workers to aid it in its fight.

Robins and Gras, when tried on a charge of beating up a hotel straw-boss, proved alibis, were never satisfactorily identified, showed that the sole witness against them had contradicted his own testimony, and presented a number of fine character witnesses. The hotel bosses, however, were seeking victims and Judge Corrigan, a steady enemy of the workers, helped see that they got them in Robins and Gras. Notice of appeal has now been filed.

The organizations now making up the defense committee are the American Workers Party, Communist League, Communist Party-Opposition, General Defense Committee, Il Martello, Org. Comm. for a Revolutionary Workers Party, Poale Zion Left, Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and Socialist Party. Invitations have been sent to the Amalgamated Food Workers Union, which led the hotel strike, A. F. of L. locals in the industry, and the I.L.D. to join up.

Show up Labor Board

The capitalist press of June 26, in reporting the case of the lock-out of its 653 employees of the Harriman Hosiery Mills of Knoxville, Tenn., published a letter sent by the latter firm to the National Labor Board, consisting of William Green, John L. Lewis, and George Barry, representatives of organized labor; Father Francis Laas, "avowed labor union supporter"; Leo Wolman, "consumer member"; and Pierre du Pont, "representing industry." This letter definitely convicts the latter institution of open strike-breaking.

Listen to what the Harriman Hosiery Mills has to say (N. Y. Times, June 26, 1934):

"In our opinion, the National Labor Board is not qualified to judge 'bad faith.' Their general counsel, in a meeting with mill officials, suggested that trickery be utilized to deceive the strikers in settling the strike. This scheme was also suggested by the director of compliance."

"We were advised by those two gentlemen to make the strikers believe we were going to take them back and then take a few, and that this sort of cheap trickery would satisfy those two branches of the 'New Deal'."

"Even your own secretary, in discussing ways and means of settling the strike, advised us to take back fifty strikers, work them for a week or ten days and then let them out . . ."

Need any more be added to demonstrate the true attitude of the NRA and the "labor leaders" who sit in its boards?

San Francisco, June 23.—The San Francisco Labor Council's reactionary leadership last night opened up an attack on the waterfront strike, whose spread and militancy they have watched with dismay.

With the anti-strike drive of the Chamber of Commerce going on, and the press screaming that the strike is in the hands of the Reds, the officials of the Labor Council nobly responded, and repudiated "communism" in the strike.

The overwhelming support given to the strike by the rank and file of the labor movement here had forced the bureaucracy of the council to bide its time. But the favorable opportunity came—presented to them by the Stalinists—and they opened up.

The Ground for the Attack
A gigantic mass meeting of 15,000 trade unionists and other workers had been held early this week in support of the strike. At this meeting the Stalinist elements in the strike leadership, threw the specific issues of the strike to the winds, and launched a general "theoretical" attack on the American Federation of Labor. Also, in opposition to the wishes of many of the members of the joint strike committee, they insisted that a representative of the T.U.U.L. organization, the Marine Workers Industrial Union, be allowed to speak. In their attacks on the A. F. of L. and insisting on a speaker from the Marine Workers Industrial Union, the Stalinists were merely following their time honored policy of advancing their own special organization interests at any cost, even if it should result in the wrecking of the strike. The result was disastrous and played directly into the hands of the reactionaries by raising the issue of a rival union.

Reactionaries Act

Immediately after the mass meeting, the leaders of the Seamen Union and two other striking unions, presented a resolution to the Executive Committee of the Labor Council demanding a repudiation of the mass meeting, condemning the Marine Workers Industrial Union, and calling upon the Longshoremen's organization to clean itself of "communist elements." This resolution came up before the delegates to the Labor Council last evening for action. A hot debate developed, which brought out openly that the resolution was not aimed primarily at Communism but was actually an attack on the leadership of the strike itself. Those opposed to the resolution pointed out that this was an attack on the strike, would weaken the splendid support given the marine workers by the trade union movement, and play directly into the hands of the ship owners and the Chamber of Commerce.

John O'Connell, Secretary of the Council, Paul Scharrenberg, President of the State Federation of Labor, John McLaughlin, Secretary of the Teamsters, and others, whipped up the red scare and told the delegates to choose between the principles of the American Federation of Labor and the disruptive germ of communism. Under this assault the delegates were brought into line and the resolution carried by a vote of 129 to 22.

"Red-Hunt" Voted Down

Following this vote, a motion was made by Michael Casey, President of the Teamsters, and one of the most reactionary figures in the council. He demanded that the Executive Committee examine the credentials of the delegates to the Council with a view of ascertaining communist affiliation of any of its members. This hereby-hunting proposal, however, was too raw for even the conservative delegates and, in revolt against the machine, speaker after speaker denounced the motion, which was voted down 61 to 20.

The importance of the drive of the bureaucracy of the Labor Council against the striking marine workers at this time can hardly be underestimated. It is especially designed to nip in the bud the general strike movement, which has already been voted for by six or more unions. The strike is reaching a crucial point. Through the Secretary of Labor, the Government has now stepped in, demanding that the workers arbitrate. The ship owners are calling for the port to be opened by force. The Chamber of Commerce, the Industrial Association and the press are attacking the strikers as being under communist influence.

(Continued on page 4)