



Issues Of The Day At The A. F. of L. Convention

In his keynote speech to the Fifty-Fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, now in session in San Francisco, president William Green hailed the strike truce proposal made in President Roosevelt's broadcast the night before. In an interview later he said: "I know it will meet with a warm reception from labor."

Simultaneously the National Association of Manufacturers welcomed the strike truce proposal and referred to a memorandum it had previously submitted "recommending the issuance by the President of a proclamation similar to the doctrine laid down by the National Council of defense during the World War and subscribed to by Samuel Gompers."

Strike Truce of the Past

And why should not Green and his worthy cronies be ready to subscribe to such a truce? They have done it before. We recall the beginning of the crisis when President Hoover summoned the captains of industry and the leaders of the trade unions and, in view of "the national emergency", obtained a no-strike pledge from the latter. So here we have it; a no-strike pledge in time of war; a no-strike pledge in time of crisis, and now a prospective no-strike pledge in the time of the attempted recovery. It is not difficult to find the grounds or the motivations for it; but we venture to say that it will be much more difficult actually to maintain a no-strike pledge now and take away this most powerful means of mass resistance of the American workers against the increasing intensity of exploitation.

In this warm greeting to the strike truce proposal by the labor lieutenants of capitalism we see manifested one side of government and "labor" relations under the NRA. The increasing governmental supervision of relations between labor and the barons of industry and finance, that is the class relations, attempts to make class collaboration a permanent institution to be founded on a much broader basis than heretofore, with the labor lieutenants as the guardians, not of the interests of the workers, but of their hoped-for docile acquiescence to continued exploitation. The trade union officials sit on the labor relations and mediation boards. They engage in truce agreements and sell-out settlements of strikes

with representatives of the administration.

The trade union officials rely on this sort of an equilibrium. No doubt, President Roosevelt's broadcast fitted admirably with the A. F. of L. convention, both from the point of view of purpose and time of delivery.

But there is also another side of government and labor relations, and this is a far more important one. It was particularly and glaringly manifested in the recent textile strike. In every strike, in practically every city where textile mills are located, the strikers' picket lines met the government in its real expression, in the form of the mailed fist. Gunmen and sheriffs; policemen; steel-helmeted soldiers; tear gas, machine guns and concentration camps; the imprisonment and killing and maiming of strikers—this is what the workers met in their conflict with the government of their masters. The full significance of this experience may not yet be clear to the textile workers who fought so heroically. But, taken together with the empty promises by which they were cajoled to return to work and, for the time being, give up their strike weapon, the lesson will become increasingly clear. At the same time we will witness the upsetting of the equilibrium that the trade union officials rely on today.

Real Issues to the Fore

No doubt consideration of the proposed strike truce will dominate the A. F. of L. convention. But beneath it the real issues will press to the fore. Certain rumblings of disagreements and difficulties in the official family have already appeared in the split between those officials who are inside the Building Trades Department and those of the carpenters, bricklayers and electricians who are outside. Of course, this split does not reflect any of the real issues. It merely expresses the quandary of the official family and the attempt to lead the issues into channels where they can be blurred and obscured. But this will not help. The problem of the right to union organization remains and this right can be won only by fighting for it: the question of policy and method in the face of an arrogant class of employers begins to call for a solution: the question of forms of or-

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Read the Crime News and Forget Your Troubles

First it was the dashing bandit Dillinger, now the sullen Bruno Hauptmann, reputed kidnapper of the Lindbergh baby, latest bourgeois contribution to a Roman holiday, crowding off the front pages of the capitalist press such minor items as the textile strike, arms inquiry, NRA steel sell-out, and similar stuff calculated only to disturb the working class.

Accordingly, the Hauptmann mess has been served up to the public in all its luscious details, the bewitching Anita Luxemburg, Mrs. Hauptmann crowning a cradle song to her tiny baby, Hauptmann as Don Juan, Hauptmann the monster, Hauptmann snarling at his captors.

Newspapermen are snatched from off their routine prosaic tasks, and converted into the dashing sleuths we see in moving pictures. No expense is spared; not a crumb, not a drunken panhandler with a Hauptmann story to tell, but is given an eager hearing. A howling mob dashes through the corridors of the Bronx County courthouse, trampling innocent victims, making mince-meat of youthful assistant D.A.'s, pouncing menacingly upon the witnesses. They are reporters hunting interviews, with anyone, about anything, so long as it connects with the Lindbergh case.

All this lunacy, all the slobbering details, the sob and sex angles, the general hysteria, is carefully prepared, well in advance of its release, anticipated and even manufactured.

First, because it sells papers; second, because it is part of a deeper purpose.

Sensation Made to Order

Flatly, the capitalist press prints news—is forced to—but welcomes sensation with open arms; in fact, with obvious and almost comical

relief. How gratefully it turns to the Hauptmanns, and the latest American Tragedy! The crimes of Sir Basil Zaharoff are exciting and dramatic enough, but Pretty Boy Floyd furnishes less dangerous copy.

To Make the Workers Forget

Never mind the alibis: The boys only want to sell their papers; they'd print news but the public isn't interested. The interest in the Hauptmann case is genuine enough, but still not to a degree to satisfy the press. They must magnify this interest a thousand times, dimming the public ear until it can hear nothing else. Strikers must abandon the picket lines to discuss the Hauptmann clues; workers must forget that they are hungry in their absorption with the job of most dangerous criminal? Who is your real monster, thirsting for human blood, greedy, insatiable? Hauptmann? Even if he is guilty of a dozen such crimes, horrifying the world, he is a petty amateur in crime as compared to any church-going, philanthropist arms manufacturer. Set the newspaper hounds truly on the Du Pont trail, and they will uncover as choice a mess as ever the late lamented *Graphic* or the *Mirror* printed. And the boys have the talent to dramatize the stuff, too, if they so desired, examining every inch of wood in the Hauptmann garage.

It is not true that there is only one thought in the public mind; that nothing else is discussed in the home and public places; that there is only one issue before the world, that the world has stopped and the Depression suspended, merely to see Hauptmann go to the electric chair. The newspapers are merely trying to give you that impression.

—HENRY CAPE.

Cannon, Muste Address Paterson Silk Workers

Paterson, N. J.—A crowd of 300 silk workers, constituting the largest local meeting brought together by any left-wing organization in some years, packed Oakley Hall Sunday night and received with warm applause the addresses of James P. Cannon and A. J. Muste. This was the first public meeting held under the joint auspices of the Communist League and the American Workers Party, and references made by both speakers to the probability of unity on a revolutionary program in the near future were greeted enthusiastically.

Muste Scores "Settlement"

Comrade Muste, the first speaker, analyzed the recent textile strike, and characterized the settlement as a flagrant betrayal. Muste pointed out that the workers must not regard the strike as altogether a wasted effort, especially in view of the moral effect of the militant activities of textile workers all over the country. He went on to show that nothing had been won of the original demands of the U. T. W., and that in a way something had been lost since Paterson bosses, who had formerly signed large-scale joint agreements could now point to the Winant Report as favoring shop-by-shop settlement.

"This worthless report was endorsed by the leaders of the U. T. W.," said Muste, "at a moment when the strike was still on the upswing. They did not even require the bosses to accept the report. Without a single guarantee, not even a paper one, they called off the strike, leaving thousands of workers high-and-dry without their jobs. To produce such a result, it was necessary to have the type of leaders now in control of the U. T. W. and the A. F. of L. in general,

that is, men who combine with stupidity, a lack of courage and disloyalty to the working class."

Cannon Analyzes Strike Wave

Comrade Cannon discussed the general background of the textile strike, analyzed the militant mood which has become more and more characteristic of labor in all important industries in the past year, and took up in some detail the manner in which the textile strike was run in Paterson. His criticism of the Lovestonette local chief of the silk Federation, Eli Keller, was greeted with vociferously-expressed approval by the workers present.

During the same afternoon, a group numbering about 700 had gathered at union headquarters to complain about the fact that the strike had been called off without a membership meeting and that Keller, in order to maintain power, was violating the union constitution in a dozen ways.

Comrade Cannon said that it was not surprising that Southern mill workers, holding a union card for the first time in their lives, should be unable to offer resistance to the sell-out perpetrated by Green, McMahon and Gorman.

"Paterson, however," he continued, "is the bearer of the great tradition of militant struggle in the industry. Here every militant union current has found full expression in its time. Here the I. W. W. had its stamping ground in its halcyon days. Here the workers are always ready for struggle; they have been through the mill, they are union men from head to toe and know the meaning of that. How come that in such a town this rotten 'settlement' could be perpetrated by a pint-sized Gorman without a single obstacle being put in his

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Youth Demonstrate Against Italian Fascism Friday

A monster united front demonstration will be the reply to the New York workers, on October 12, to the Yankee Stadium pageant in greeting of 300 Italian Fascist students. A United Youth Committee has been set up including the Y.P.S.L., the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Communist Youth Opposition and the Spartacus Youth League. Both the Young Communist League and the National Student League refused to participate in this arrangement committee on the grounds that the Lovestonettes and Trotskyites were in it. All youth organizations have been invited by the United Youth Committee to join the united front.

The Yankee Stadium pageant for the 300 Italian Fascist students is part of a systematic campaign of Mussolini's to popularize Italian Fascism in this country. The students are to tour the important cities and universities of the country. In addition Mussolini's "Fascist Band" is touring the country. Already they have been "greeted" by demonstrations of New York workers when they appeared at a theater in this city.

All anti-Fascist organizations must be rallied to protest this arrogant provocation. Wherever they appear the working class organizations should stage a counter-demonstration. A united front of these forces must be consummated. It can become the starting point of

genuine common action against Fascism and all forms of capitalist reaction.

Assemble before Yankee Stadium on Oct. 12th! Protest the provocations of Mussolini! Forge the united front against Fascism!

Members and sympathizers of the Communist League and the Spartacus Youth League will meet at their central headquarters, 144 Second Avenue, on Friday, Oct. 12, at 11:00 A.M.

The Stalinists, through the American League Against War and Fascism, held a rival conference on Thursday for a demonstration for the same purpose, on the same day and place. Hardly twenty-four hours intervened between the call and the meeting of the conference.

The Y.P.S.L., the S.L.I.D., and the United Youth Committee sent observers to the conference, the first two organizations having been invited. Ben Fischer and Joe Carter representing the Committee and Aaron Levenstein of the Y.P.S.L. and Hal Draper of the S.L.I.D. protested the holding of a dual conference. They scored the refusal of the Y.C.L. and the N.S.L. to join the united front. The invitation extended to the Youth Section of the American League Against War and Fascism, they stated, had not been answered.

A representative of the American League Against War and Fascism

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BUILD THE LEAGUE

The Stalinists disagree with us once again. They object to the unification of the Communist League and the American Workers Party into a revolutionary party in America. They are issuing advice to the membership of both organizations. They even warn the leaders of the two organizations against the fusion on the ground that it will not do Stalinism any good.

They realize that a new revolutionary party will be able to challenge them on every front. While they fear the new militancy of the Stalinists, they nevertheless figure they can handle them. The prospect of a new revolutionary Marx-

ist party, however, throws them into a panic.

But we still think the new party is necessary. Let us not delay this important step. You can help. Build the foundation of the new party by helping now to build the Communist League. We have issued one-dollar and five-dollar certificates. Every reader should buy one. Send in your contribution at once. You will receive a NEW PARTY CERTIFICATE by return mail. Every member of the League and every sympathizer should buy one of these certificates. Each branch is organizing a special drive to recruit members and collect the new party fund.

ARMED CLASHES IN SPAIN AS CIVIL WAR BEGINS

Spanish Workers Destiny Hinges on Militant Action

The Spanish Revolution began in the spring of 1931 with the overthrow of the monarchy and was carried to great heights by the mass action of the workers and peasants. Its further progress was checked by the betrayal of the Socialist party leaders, who at the time shared power with the Republicans and the sectarian Putschism of the anarchists. Between them they objectively prepared the way for the present rightist regime.

With the setting in of reaction in 1933, the political forces of the nation gravitated to both extremes. The Socialist party, in an attempt to rectify its past, has pushed its more conservative leaders to the background and forged ahead under a new banner—that of the Proletarian dictatorship. Important sections of the anarcho-syndicalist movement have oriented towards political action. On the other extreme the Catholic Popular Agrarian (Fascist) Party of Gil Robles has come to the fore, anxious to fulfill its historic role in Spain as has been done by the Fascist parties of Italy and Germany.

Political Crisis in Spain

The last few weeks have witnessed the development of a serious political crisis in Spain. The right-centrist government of Samper is on the verge of complete collapse. Representing a minority of the Cortes, it has been unable to solve any of the pressing economic and political problems of the day. The Fascists are demanding the formation of a "majority" government which means that they would have to be included. Gil Robles openly announces that this would be only a temporary arrangement, and that the time when the Fascists will make a bid for complete power, is not far distant.

Faced with this situation, the Socialist Party, claiming to speak for the majority of the proletariat of Spain issued a manifesto in *El Socialista* on Sept. 28 in which it is predicted that the decisive showdown with Fascism will take place during October. This manifesto, reads in part as follows:

Socialist Party Manifesto

"Next month may well be our October. The maneuvers of the reactionaries should catch us one in the proletarian camp off his guard. We must be prepared for anything. . . . The great army of workers of field and city should from this moment consider themselves mobilized, so that at the proper moment, everyone will know his post and his mission and carry forward his task without any wavering or doubt."

Declaring that the Socialist Party does not pretend to foresee the events of October, the manifesto adds, "But we do know that the horizon has not yet cleared. The rightists will attempt to get as far as they can. Days of difficult trial for us are ahead. Our preparations must not fail. Everything must be completely organized, no longer must anything be left for the morrow. We must have every detail prepared for our victory. Thus there will be no risk of awakening one day to find ourselves under a Fascist dictatorship."

After stating that the party will not back out of the most costly sacrifices, *El Socialista* goes on to say, "Our responsibilities before the Spanish proletariat are enormous because there does not exist in Spain any other organized force with as concrete objectives as the S. P. The now weakened bourgeois parties will have to seek difficult twisting bypaths if they are to win; but, on the other hand, the working class knows what it wants to achieve, and how to accomplish its ends."

Aim to Conquer Power

The manifesto goes on to relate the efficiency with which the Spanish workers even today are collectively and successfully working the land, mines and enterprises of many industries that the capitalists were forced to abandon because of their inability to make profits. These enterprises are now functioning under the direction of the Socialist Union, which is pointed

Workers Conduct Militant Struggle Against Fascism

The Spanish working class has answered a threat of fascist rule by the declaration of a revolutionary general strike.

The political crisis, long developing, came to a climax this week when the Samper government presented its resignation at the opening session of the Cortes. A new government has been formed under the "radical republican" Lerroux, representing a coalition of the blackest reactionary elements of the country, with the inclusion of Fascists (Popular Action) in three ministries.

Armed Clashes

Everything is tied up throughout Spain, armed clashes have taken place, the country is being placed under martial law. As this issue of the *Militant* goes to press, the death toll has reached 50. The National Army and the Assault Guards are mobilized for suppression of the strike, which is already being carried over into insurrectionary action in several provinces. The miners of Asturias are in open revolt in a body, and appear to be well supplied with rifles, ammunition and even with machine guns.

Sabotage of United Front

An unfortunate circumstance in the present situation in Spain, is the fact that the Socialist party insists on its preparations to seize power unaided. Even if we recognize the hegemony of the Socialists over the majority of the proletariat, the very important minority which maintains its organizational and ideological independence should not be left out of account. The National Confederation of Labor, controlled by the anarcho-syndicalists, has a following of several hundred thousand of the country's industrial workers, precisely those with the most militant traditions during past years. The Syndicalist Libertarians with their important trade union following in the Opposition unions, and the three communist groups, must all be taken into consideration in any serious attempt to carry through a workers' revolution.

But the leaders of the Spanish Socialist Party have consistently sabotaged every attempt to form the Workers Alliance on a national scale. This united front organization, from which the future Workers Councils of Spain may well emerge, is functioning efficiently in a number of provinces with the participation of organizations of different tendencies, but it appears to be the object of the Socialist leaders, to prevent interference as much as possible by the various labor minorities, organically allying themselves with these lesser groups only on a local scale in those regions where said groups constitute a considerable force.

The Minority Groups

The labor minorities, represented by the Communist Left (Bolshevik-Leninists), Iberian Communist Federation (Maurin group), Syndicalist Libertarians and the Opposition Unions, are exerting pressure to force the Socialist Party into a National Workers Alliance. The truly sincere revolutionary elements within the Socialist Party are aiding in this struggle. To sabotage the Workers Alliance at this time, is to pave the way for defeat. Only a united front of all working class tendencies can defeat fascism and clear the way for the proletarian insurrection in Spain. Within the framework of the Workers Alliance, and in the course of the struggle, will be tested the theories and policies of each tendency, thus giving the best guarantee for a successful revolution.

Today, with reaction advancing throughout Europe and the world, the countries of Western Europe are next in order for the decisive struggle. A proletarian victory in either Spain or France would turn back the tide of Fascism. Such a revolution could not but immediately overflow the national boundaries, becoming international in character. All of Europe west of the Rhine would present a solid proletarian front against which the barbaric regimes of Hitler and Mussolini could not long stand. On the crest of the new revolutionary wave, a new international of labor and a new, brighter perspective will be opened to the workers of the world.

—R. B.

World Labor Must Aid

Meanwhile it will be the duty of all workers and all working class organizations to give their whole hearted support in action, to the efforts of the Socialist Party, while not failing at the same time to point out its political and tactical errors, in an effort to correct them.

Ex-premier Manuel Azana, left petty bourgeois republican, has broken with the national government and now maintains himself in readiness, according to current rumors in Spain, to head a liberal regime to be proclaimed in Catalonia. It will be the task of the Workers Alliance of Catalonia at this juncture to raise the issue of national autonomy against the semi-fascist central authority, at the same time tying up the struggle for national emancipation with the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants of all Spain.

In this life and death struggle, the fate of Western Europe and, in a sense, of the entire world, will be vitally affected. Workers of all countries should organize united front movements in support and defense of the Spanish revolution.

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