MARCH OF EVENTS

💳 By JACK WEBER 💳

Roosevelt's Open Offensive Against Labor

to the inconveniences of the NRA and the demagogy of the New Deal, ties of an upswing of business, they have exerted the utmost pressure on their government to sweep aside the paper concessions made to labor and to put the workers among the unemployed assumes a back in their places. This became new and more concrete aspect. By is hard for many, even for some perfectly clear when Roosevelt its present tactics the capitalist Marxists, to accept. Surely, they other groups set up machinery to imperialist ends, and could not proobeyed the voice of his masters state, through Roosevelt, offers us feel, there is something important carry out certain specific activities perly defend the Soviet Union, (Ford, Sloan, Swope, etc.) and a means of uniting the employed in common between us and the nonblocked the attempt to organize and the unemployed in a common revolutionary millions from both the unorganized workers in the struggle. It becomes clearer than the working class and the middle mass production industries - steel, ever to the employed workers that class who oppose war. At least we autos, machinery-by legalizing the it is necessary to secure coopera- agree in our opposition to impercompany union. Roosevelt was sec- tion of the unemployed. The em- ialist war, in our realization of its onded in his attack on independent ployed workers must, through their barbarous cruelty and horror, and unionism by the class collaboration unions, offer every help to organize in our earnest wish to put an end policies of those lackeys of capital- the unorganized in relief workers' to it. Can we not all unite on this tollows from the fact that only the ism, the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. unions as auxiliaries to the regular basis, leaving other differences revolutionary party is actually sions to support colonial struggles, But the next move of the capitalist unions. Our answer to the attempt aside? Thus we may not only have against the whole social institution whether of U. S. colonies or of government in its attempt to bring of the bosses to destroy the build- greater forces to defend ourselves of war-and it cannot have a united others—to prevent U. S. capitalists program intact. Marxists join about "recovery" (of profits) in ing trades unions by utilizing as against war and its destruction, front with itself. the basic construction industries, is tools the unemployed in the form but we will come into closer condirected not against the extension of relief workers, must be the com- tact with these others and win them of unions into new fields, but at plete organizing of the unemployed gradually to our side on other ques- UNITED FRONT the very heart of the old A. F. of as well as the employed to secure tions. L. the unions of the once well-or- | higher wages for both. The recent ganized building trades workers. In militant strikes of relief workers accordance with the general inter- in Arkansas for higher pay give us ances, Marxists have in fact noth- united front is more limited in the flicts and sweep the whole nation nal reorganization of American im- excellent reason to believe that our ing in common with these "war- fight against war than in any other into its embrace, as at the entry of perialism with its drive on the liv- task is one that will meet with opposers". The reason for this is ing standards of the entire working ready response. Already the organ-that the war-opposers do not really class, Roosevelt has now taken over izations of the building trades the task of restoring profits to the workers are seething with revolt because they do not oppose the sharp. In the face of it only the with the war, and an act against building contractors by a drastic against the direct blows aimed at causes of war, and are not willing firmest Marxist position can stand the war becomes an act directly in this field. This means an attack on the very existence of the unions

Shall the Unemployed Be Used Against the Employed?

in the building trades.

The method to be used in this

working class, employed and unemployed, into a mass movement of Nothing restores the feeling of protest and militant action against strength and confidence to the cap- this open offensive of the capitalist italists so much as the flow of pro. class, the bosses will succeed in fits into the tills. The American their plot against the unions. Here fight against war is the fight for clear to the working class the exact It is quite feasible that a broad power, and without this would eiruling class was willing to submit is a clear-cut issue on which all workers' power and a socialist so- progress of the war danger, and to united front, including both work- ther evaporate or go quickly down must take a leading role in strengholding out illusory promises to thening the unions of the building the Marxist, participating actively statesmen. the despairing worker, only so long trades workers and aiding them to and constantly in the class strugas it was necessary to tide over a resist the concerted drive prepared gle, who is carrying on the only dangerous period of crisis. Now for long in advance by the propathat the bosses scent the possibili- ganda of the contractors and construction monopolists.

> New Methods of Unemployed Work In this connection our whole task | aid to the war-makers.

The Workers and the State

longer finds it necessary to even screen to satisfy their consciences. appear to cater to the A. F. of L. AN ENTRY TO THE bureaucrats. When it becomes necessary in the eyes of the capitalist MINDS OF PACIFISTS drive is to pit the unemployed class to make a drive directly foragainst the employed workers, ward against the A. F. of L. unions, story There is one advantage Roosevelt proposes that there shall the A. F. of L. "leaders", only yes- which even a vague feeling of opbe no more direct relief in the form terday sitting at the same table position to war, so long as it is of doles, but that relief is to take with the bosses and their govern- sincerely held, gives, and this is of the form of pay for public construct ment representatives, are uncered great importance to the growth of tion work. Under the thin disguise moniously shown the door. The the revolutionary movement. It couraged from accepting private part of the labor fakers is quite psychological meeting point beemployment, it is proposed that the understandable. But the workers tween Marxists and non-Marxists. wage rates on public construction face a problem more difficult, but In the resolve to end imperialist erably less than prevailing more educative, than ever before. war, pacifists and Marxists share rates in the different localities in- Their enemy now becomes the com- in common an idea. This gives volved. Actually fifty dollars a bined force of the capitalist class Marxists, if they make proper use month has been set as the proper and its political expression, the of it, an entry to the minds of pacrate. The A. F. of L. has met this capitalist state. The building trades lifists. It gives them an audience, menace in its usual style, by at- workers will find themselves more a chance to say: "You believe you tempting to use the backstairs and more in conflict with the state are opposed to war. Very well, we method of congressional amendment itself. It becomes clear that the will take you at your word. If you framework of our general program to the Roosevelt proposal so as to government must take on a more are opposed to war, you must want of parliamentary action. If we hold establish a "prevailing rates" and more repressive character to to get rid of the causes of war. We to the theory that we can vote the clause. Unless this is combined achieve the bald and undisguised will show you what the causes are capitalists out of office then a Lawith the rallying of the entire aims of American imperialism.

The Party Fund

THE Party Foundation Fund Campaign is coming to a close. Ac L cording to the report listed below we have received close to \$3,000. This leaves another \$2,000 to be collected in the remaining period. CAN WE DO IT? YES! PROVIDED THAT---

Every member of the organization

Every friend and sympathizer of our Party gets busy NOW. Comrade Muste who just returned from a trip as far west as Minneapolis and Chicago and down south into West Virginia, gives a hopeful picture of the possibilities for quick growth of the Workers The immediate need, according to Comrade Muste, is a few capable

organizers in the field. If we collect the balance of the \$5,000 we can fulfill our Program

of Action. WHAT IS YOUR ANSWER? MAKE IT TO-DAY!

Respond to the circular letter sent you a month ago, if you are a sympathizer.

Complete payment on your pledge if you are a member.

Don't delay. Let us prove that we are able to make sacrifices for our convictions. Pinch your personal budget. Make a small loan if necessary. Make it possible for us to announce that we have been able to rise to the occasion and complete our first task.

WE ARE WAITING FOR YOUR ANSWER WHAT SHALL IT BE?

RECEIPTS	
Previously reported\$1,483.50	New Castle, Pa 4.00
From Individuals	Los Angeles, Cal 8.50
Our friend who promised	Minneapolis, Minn 75.00
\$1,000 if we can raise a simi-	Chicago District 75.00
lar amount from others com-	New York District 168.20
pleted her payment and sent	At Muste Dinner raised for
the balance of\$600.00	Party Fund 300.00
Mae Allen, Ky 1.00	
A Friend, Minneapolis 10.00	Total\$2,958.95
Jeff Rall, Bryan, Ohio on list 3.00	
H. H. Weaver\$1.00	Workers Party of the U. S.
A. Youse 1.00	2 West 15th Street
Rall 1.00	New York City
Herman Dudeck, Ohio 1.00	Enclosed find \$ for
A. Brumz, Northville, Mich. 5.00	the Party Foundation Fund.
(for point 10 of Program)	Name
Jane Hartford, Cal 1.00	Address
Anonymous, Warwick, N. Y. 1.00	
	I City
A Friend, N. Y 1.00	City
A Friend, N. Y 1.00 Dan, N. Y. C 1.00	City
A Friend, N. Y 1.00 Dan, N. Y. C 1.00 L.C.R., Utica, N. Y 1.00	City
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Philadelphia, Pa. 31.60

Davenport, Iowa 2.70

Kansas City, Mo. 11.00

Pittsburgh, Pa. 9.45

At Muste Dinner raised for	168.
Party Fund	300.
Total\$2	,958.
Workers Party of the U. S.	
2 West 15th Street New York City	
Enclosed find \$the Party Foundation Fund	
Name	
Address	

GOT ANY LABOR BOOKS TO SPARE? WE NEED THEM

The workers are flocking into the Unemployed Leagues. We need lots of labor books! LAWRENCE CONWAY

233 Kanawha St.

Charleston, W. Va.

THE UNITED FRONT AND WAR By JOHN WEST

(Ed. Note: This is the last in Comrade West's series of four articles on war.)

genuine and effective fight against

However, this is not the whole . ." And Marxists can go on to

Many persons have come to a

revolutionary position after starting with a feeling against war. And many more will do so, if Marxists make an intelligent and clear approach to them. The logic of an anti-war stand, if carried out, must lead to the revolutionary movement. Too much should not be expected: economic interest, the powerful propaganda on the other side, will, in the majority of cases, prevent pacifists from accepting the full logical conclusion. But not in all cases. And Marxists cannot afford to neglect any avenue of ap-

WAR ISSUE

BASE FOR AGITATION

Thus the "war issue" is correctly a powerful base for Marxist education and agitation. This is particularly true in approaching intellectuals, professionals and others from the middle class, whose alliance with the revolutionary movement often follows more from psycholoos Angeles, Cal. 8.50 gical and moral considerations than from immediate economic interest. finneapolis, Minn. 75.00 A factory worker who wants secur-168.20 ity and a better standard of living can be shown how only a workers' state can provide them. A teacher or writer honestly against war can be shown how only socialism will eliminate it.

essary for Marxists to participate Nite Club Revue It is, therefore, correct and necin "Conferences against War". Their business at such conferences is, of course, not to form permanent "alliances against war", not to tell pacifists that "we are all engaged in a common fight", but to been completed for the "Nite Club" leaders, trade union or political, present openly and unequivocally revue to take place at midnight on they are social reforms and if these the Marxist analysis of war and the Saturday, Feb. 16, as one feature of gains are won by our class in strug- of capitalist controlled organiza- concrete struggle must have its tacfight against war, and to show why the dance to be held at Germania sle led by its vanguard they are tion. all other analyses are wrong. It is Hall, for the International Work- sparks for revolution. Practical likewise important to speak and ers School. A last minute change write about the Marxist position on will be the appearance of A. J. both working class and middle class the place of Max Shachtman. audiences. For example, this is often an excellent opening for the bers by Anita Case, Russian airs demands or gains from the position statement of the revolutionary po- by Fred Nash, violinist, a Mexican of battle of the class forces we sition before meetings of trade peon dance and Siberian folk dance could say all these gains are reunion or unemployed league mem- by Sylvia Stone, songs by Einar forms. But such an abstraction is

MAKING MARXIST

POSITION CLEAR The Marxist position, moreover, starting at 9 P.M. should not be left in the abstract. Other features will be gypsy for- kind hearts of the bosses and their gain given by capitalism as a re- action-charity organizations, etc) It is the duty of Marxists at all tune telling, card tricks and a chess flunkeys. We know they are grant- form is just so much labor power -the latter will not be isolation times to expose concretely the war and checkers table. Supper and ed from above because the class (controlled by capitalism) spent as from numbers but will be isolation plans and maneuvers of the imper- drinks for all the hungry and pressure from below compels them it would be spent on the battlefield from the role of the Marxists as ialist governments. Immediate an- thirsty.

alyses of treaties, "conversations", possibilities for united front ac- | who are prepared to carry armaments, "war games", exchange tivities, and these should not be through to the revolutionary trans-The firm understanding that the the Marxist press, in order to make vention will be immediately raised. advanced working class, ripe for workers can be united. Our Party clety is the key to all the "anti- pierce through the fogs of the ing class and middle class organ- in the uselessly spilled blood of the the long-announced Italian corporawar" activities of Marxists. It is "peace talk" of the capitalist izations, should be formed to fight strikers. The imperialist state,

war. All the fine phrases and noble them includes anything in the nasentiments and even the deep sin- ture of a "united front against cerity of pacifists are powerless war" Even a conference against even in such a united front. It force which is itself prepared to against war, when not actually of war participated in by several parties and organizations is not a The knowledge that this is true united front. A united front is con- the war, against Japan. Since the in common.

We have already seen that there is no such thing as a "programmatie" united front, either against war or on any other matter.

It is moreover true that no united front of any kind can be constituted against war in general. This

APPLICATION OF THE

Unfortunately, this feeling is sible in the fight against war? The capitalist state is at its strongest, mistaken. Whatever the appear- truth is that the application of the seeming to rise above internal conoppose war at all. They do not, fight against war is too deadly and tence of the state are bound up to take steps to remove these causes up. The last war proved this be- against the state. The act against that is, take revolutionary steps. youd question. Before the war war is almost automatically a rev-Their "opposition to war", there- crisis, not only the bourgeois "in- olutionary act. And only the Marx-It is clear that Roosevelt no tore, is in the last analysis only a ternationalists" and the pacifist ist party is consciously prepared organizations but the great Social- to advocate a revolutionary act. Democracy itself collapsed. Any compromise whatever with the cap-

and tariff struggles, border encoun- neglected. For example: If a rev- fer of power to the workers can ters, arms limitation conferences, olutionary crisis arises in Cuba, genuinely advocate it. It pre-supnaval races, etc., must be given by the question of United States inter- poses, furthermore, a tremendously Such agitational and educational war between Japan and the Soviet est gamble -- imperialist war-is new fascist organizations has imefforts are all part of the fight Union, a united front might well scarcely going to give up and acagainst war. Nevertheless, none of struggle to prevent the sending of cept defeat from abroad because of might be utilized to support en- defeat and overthrow the state. trauce of the U. S. government into stituted when several parties or U.S. would enter only for its own Marxists would be required to oppose the U.S. government in such an eventuality as implacably as in any other war. The defense of the Soviet Union can come only from the working masses, not from the capitalist state.

United front agreements might be properly formed on other occafrom aiding the imperialist home countries. But in a major war of the workers, in common action. crisis any united front would inevitably be a narrow one. At the Is any sort of united front pos- start of a major war crisis, the phase of the revolutionary strug- the U. S. government into the last gle. It could not be otherwise. The war. The strength and very exis-

position does not compromise- forward by socialists and even pac- stood, like every advance in the means weakening when the state insts. A general strike at the out- workers' movement toward power, is confronted with a war situation. break of a major war would be a are real and genuine actions in the However, there remain certain revolutionary strike; only those fight against war.

intervention. Or, in the case of a staking its existence on its greatmunitions and supplies to Japan. pressure at home--unless the pres-There would be dangers, however, sure at home is a revolutionary

But though the united front is thus strictly limited in the fight against war, narrowly understood, the analysis of war shows that actually every successfully carried through united front is an advance in the fight against war.

This is the answer to those who say that we must have an approach to the middle class and to middle class minded workers; and conclude therefrom that we must build pacifist Leagues to publish pacifist literature and make pacifist speeches. By no means. Marxists approach all groups with their own Marxist them, where it advances the cause

United fronts to defend civil liberties, to protect workers' rights, to resist ylgilantes, to free class war priscaers and defeat lynchings by courts or mobs, to force through a workers' security program, to build an effective non-partisan labor defense league -these are united fronts broad enough to include all groups who are honest in their protests against the excesses of capitalism and their desires for a better social order. These, moreover, provide in ac

tion approaches to the middle class and to the working masses, without This is the reason for the decep- at the same time capitulating to tiveness of the slogan, "a general the illusions of a middle class proitalist state and only the Marxist strike at the outbreak of war," put gram. And these, properly under-

WORLD IN REVIEW

FASCISM DEGRADES ITALIAN WORKERS TO FEUDAL SLAVES

MILAN, Italy .- Neither Mussoini's bombastic declaration that tive system has finally been ushered in, nor the creation of numerous proved the lot of the Italian workingman.

At the end of 1934, Italy had more than 1,200,000 unemployed. Unemployed agricultural workers increased from 118,000 in the summer of 1933 to 144,000 for the corresponding period of 1934. Due to the fascist trade union regulations of 1926, which safeguard the employers, wages have sunk constantly to lower levels. Collective bargaining means in practice only the regulation of wages by the state. According to figures published in the November issue of Lavoro Fascista the average wage decreased 20 percent in 1927, 10 percent more in 1928, and in 1930 a further 8 per cent.

Mine Wages Decline

Since 1930 wages are no longer regulated on a country-wide basis, but according to the needs of the employers' groups in the various districts. The organ of the Federation of Italian Industrialists, L'Organizzazione Industriale, states hat the wage level in the mining industries declined 23 percent from November 1930 to June 1934, and 19.4 percent in the building industries. The reduction of wages has been greater than the decline in living expenses.

Return to Feudalism

Agricultural wages even in the most fertile centers are so m'serable that the government has been compelled to create the "Compartecione" Under this system the landowner turns one half to one acre over to the worker, with implements and seeds. The worker tills the and in his free hours, and keeps one-third of the crop. Two-thirds to to the employer, who has no wage obligation. In other words, he corporate state has brought about a return to a feudal system.

In the political arena, opposition reaching far into the ranks of government officials is evident. Organized labor which fought fascism tooth and nail for more than six years, is not dead, as is clearly shown by the steady increase of political trials before the special Fascist tribunels. During October the terror tribunals were in session almost dally. Many socialist workers were sentenced to long prison terms for their efforts to resurrect old political organizations and distribution of illegal literature.

by shells and ammunition. But the comparison does not hold water. Because a material gain even in relation to the capitalist is just so much spent, while in relation to the workers it is a material gain. Let us see. If the vanguard of the workers moves up and intrenches the class behind the material gain (reform and not a spark) it is already a NEW PROBLEM and esbecially a totally different struggle If the captalists try to retake what of defensive struggles of our class. How many material gains (re-

gardless of how they came) were the capitalist in the present crisis? this fairly well. In this case if the vanguard does not measure up to standards we can say, the greater the number of these gains through reforms and social reforms, the easier it is for capitalism to retake revolution, the harder it is for the One only has to look at the sick

sponse to class pressure were the coal industry (favorable to the capleast evil for the bosses, because italist) with past gains primarily the very expansion and new mark through class struggle and compare it with other healthy capitalist inloss. In the decay stage reforms dustries (favorable to the workers) are bitter concessions from the where gains were mainly reforms capitalist, knit to a higher degree and realize the difference between not only to the class pressure but the two. A comparison will show more so to the policies of the van- reforms are relinquished easier than the gains through class battles unless the vanguard's right or Can we lay down definite plans

of march that is fool proof. Each tics formulated on the basis of Such prevents the crystallization Marxian analysis. A line of deof our class ideology and unless the marcation between reformist action (reforms) and revolutionary action can be made in every struggle but ideological position of the class. If retrenching ourselves for the next every developing struggle will have we could abstract these immediate struggle. In this sense, as a class forces and action of both. It is up problem and not as an abstract ma-l to the Marxists to move these terial gain our class, which only struggles out of the channels of learns by experience, has lost by REFORM into the channels of the bosses' coup and with it the deeper class struggles. A simonpure struggle (made in the office of the bureaucrats) is just as wrong forms, the class line re-forms with (disolation) as to enter movements We know that reforms or social the bosses at a more advantageous which are organizationally part of reforms do not come from the big position than before. A material the enemy forces (Parliamentary

that the worker is not to be distresulting outery of "Judas" on the provides what might be called a Course and from accounting property of "Judas" on the provides what might be called a Course and from accounting property of "Judas" on the provides what might be called a Course and the provides what might be called a Course and the provides what might be called a Course and the provides what might be called a Course and the provides what might be called a Course and the provides what might be called a Course and the course and the course and the provides what might be called a Course and the course Party in America?

By HUGO OEHLER

(continued from last issue)

The question of the Labor Party must be considered within the forms. with one stroke of the pen.

ized parliamentary action only as vital class question. Both of these an auxiliary activity and to win organizations have taken a negative backward layers of the masses in position while the S. P., swinging the process of exposing the enemy to the opposite direction, has transand their agents in elections, etc. formed every struggle for immedi-

unions and help build trade unions worst kind. In the Communist curof the workers, some draw the con- rents, sad to say, we find them clusions that we can help build a handling the question with kid Labor Party. But there is no com- gloves. parison between the elementary union organizations on the econo- dictionary words and use them to to obtain a proper relationship hetween the elementary economic organizations of the class which are the instruments for immediate demands and the political party of the class.

The political party is the instrument of the vanguard and its main objective is the struggle for power. Only a revolutionary Marxian party can lead the masses and fulfill this purpose, A Labor Party can only be an instrument of reform.

Reforms and Immediate Demands The question of a Labor Party

No Feature Dances

war as widely as possible, before Muste as master of ceremonies in struggle and the organizational and There will be three Spanish num-

Oftedahl, and three gypsy numbers | false while other abstractions, such by the Settlement Dance Group. as are explained in "Capital" are The dance music will be played by "Ozzie" Caswell and his band,

The P. P., to this day, is following tion of class and party. The revolutionary Marxists util- the footsteps of the S.L.P., on this Because we work in reactionary ate demands into reforms of the

We Marxists cannot borrow many mic field and the Labor Party on define things and conditions in the struggle for immediate demands. the political field. It is important class struggle. The word reform

> Is there any difference in the material gains or practical needs of the day for our class "given" by the bosses or their labor leaders or won by our class in struggle? To every Marxist we know there is a fundamental difference for our class position. Only by understanding the class forces and causes for the way our class receives these material gains from "day to day" can we (after explaining) use the word "reform" in a "revolutionary sense". This understanding enables us to label the kind of material gain to denote reformist or revolutionary action in the struggle for immediate demands.

If the practical needs of the day are "given" by the bosses or their NEW YORK .- Arrangements have they come from the bosses' labor needs of the day for our class cannot be abstracted from the class not false.

to relinquish this material gain for in destruction of the enemy forces' the vanguard of the revolution,

is bound up with the question of our class in order to stem the tide immediate demands and reforms, and check the growing opposition. Let us consider the question of re- it is more profitable to "kill with kindness" than to kill through All working class organizations white terror, providing the position claiming to fight for the class have of the bosses enables them to carry stumbled on this problem to a out the former. The degree of class greater or lesser degree. Outstand- pressure determines, in the majorbor Party may be the ideal instru- ing in the Marxian camp are De ity of cases, if the practical needs demonstrate how real opposition to ment to sneak up on the capitalists. Leon and the S. L. P., which, un- will be direct from the bosses or war must lead to a revolutionary But since this is the height of folly able to find a way out, just threw from their flunkeys or from the the Labor Party falls from grace. the whole question of immediate class itself through correct leader-On the other hand, it is not diffi- demands overboard and denied it ship. Reforms can be said to recult for the ultra-lefts who swing all except in the trade unions. But sult from class pressure but class to the other extreme and refuse to since practical needs of the class pressure without or with wrong participate in parliamentary ac- today are material things and not pressure of the class vanguard tion, to dismiss the Labor Party ghosts their denial was to no avail. means a disproportion in the rela-

The growth and decay stage of capitalism will cause a big variance in this disproportion. In the growth they gave, and not what we won, stage of capitalism, the objective it is no longer a question of reform factors favor the capitalist and re- in the sense of immediate demand forms while the decay stage gives (offensive struggle) but a problem the objective factors to the revolutionist to a far greater degree. This brings to the fore the subjective factor, the vanguard as the retaken and are being retaken by vital defermining factor of the problem as Trotsky points out, not Any thinking worker can answer only in revolutions but also in the The degree of class pressure does

not always determine the success of reformism, as the above will indicate. The stage of capitalism we live in as well as its ebbs and them and those that come to us as flows, and also its uneven capitalist material gains as sparks toward development, is no abstraction in the class struggle. In the growth capitalist to retake. stage of capitalism, crumbs in reets more than made up for the guard.

If capitalism grants reforms (beats us to our point of advan- wrong policy alters the problem. tage) this has its ideological influence upon our class or section of to prevent our action from followgovernment they are reforms; if the class as well as a negative or- ing the reformist camp? We can ganizational result, scattering our lay down principles in general, but forces and at the same time driving it is impossible to lay down a line these class forces into some form

vanguard is wide awake and capable we lose even the possibility of vanguard loses.

With the capitalist coup in re-