

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

DESTRUCTION THREATENS ROBBER LEAGUE

The League of Nations was organized by the victorious Allies after the first World War to safeguard their plunder against the attacks of the defeated powers. Its function as the "organizer of peace" was to maintain the status quo, to guarantee to the imperialists their colonial possessions and the right to exploit the colonial peoples. The attempt by Mussolini to seize Ethiopia is a threat to the very existence of the robbers' League precisely because it ends the truce, threatens the status quo, and re-opens all the antagonistic issues temporarily "settled" by the first World War.

ATTITUDE OF BRITISH LABOR

The Ethiopian crisis is a class issue of fundamental significance. It becomes the test of the working class movement in all countries. For in face of the threat of the second World War, the working class must once more take a stand on the question of defense of the national capitalist state in an imperialist war.

Plan Expulsion of French Bolshevik - Leninists

(Continued from Page 1) Out of these and out of the ferment now shaking the ranks of the youth, a unified process which will sift the revolutionary gold from the reactionary and reformist dross will begin to clarify itself.

WORKERS Protect Yourself Against the Hazards of Life, Join the WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE U.S. 1894-1935 Organized, managed by and for workers with only one purpose: to render protection to members and their families, and to support all endeavors and struggles for the improvement of toilers.

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ish imperialism against Italian. To suppose that the League of Nations could act in the interest of the exploited peoples, is to place confidence in the English capitalists. Where is there any demand that the English ruling class give up British Somaliland, or India or Egypt? How is it that no voice is raised by the "official" movement against the small war just started in India, against the mere punitive expedition into the territory of the Mohmands in the Northern native states? It is by such fakes as the support of "sanctions" that the leaders of British labor tie the workers to the bourgeoisie, enlist them for national defense and for the support of English imperialism. True there is a small minority of "left socialists" like Cripps who warn the workers against putting their heads in a noose by supporting sanctions and who point to British imperialism. But these elements organize no real mass movement against British imperialism and its role in the next World War.

EFFECT ON BRITISH GENERAL ELECTIONS

The betrayal of the working class by the Labor Party in its class collaborationist attitude on the war danger plays directly into the hands of the ruling class in the coming general elections. By covering the national capitalists with the cloak of national defense and the supposed desire for peace, the Labor Party leads the workers to believe that in the national emergency the bourgeoisie may be trusted with the power. If it is all right to conduct a war, if necessary, the masses will prefer to leave things in the hands of those who are more experienced in such matters.

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sentiment against the expulsions of the revolutionary youth leaders and the demand for their reintegration into the party. Far from heeding this demand, the bureaucracy now moves forward to its next step, the expulsion of the Bolshevik-Leninists from the adult party.

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Anti-Union Conspiracy Revealed in Chamber of Commerce Letter

NEW YORK.—The operations of a secret and heavily financed apparatus set up by bankers and businessmen to control the California State Legislature and courts, and large-scale preparations by the California Chamber of Commerce to launch an anti-union drive, are revealed by a confidential letter of the Chamber, made public today here by the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, 41 Union Square.

The letter, dated August 7, on the official stationery of the powerful Stockton, California, Savings and Loan Bank, and signed by fourteen leading industrialists, financiers and ranchers of the Golden State, after taking credit for the defeat of "many radical and unsound tax measures," goes on to boast that the Chamber, by securing the enactment of legislation enlarging the powers of the Attorney General, "proved perhaps the most important factor in winning the recent trial of eight Sacramento unionists."

This boast refers to the conviction of Norman Mini, 26-year old ex-West Point and Workers Party member now in San Quentin Prison, and seven other union organizers, sentenced to 14-year terms under the notorious criminal syndicalism act and to the recent statute, admittedly passed by the pressure of the Chamber of Commerce, which enabled the Attorney General to remove, as prosecutor District Attorney Babcock and substitute Neil R. McAlister, who had just failed of re-election but who was in the pay of banking interests in the Sacramento valley.

The signers of the Chamber letter characterize the low-paid agricultural workers who organized unions as "agitators who are fomenting strikes and trouble," declare "the

STOCKTON SAVINGS AND LOAN BANK STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA August 7, 1935 Dear Sir: At the last Legislature our California State Chamber of Commerce was able, by vigorous opposition, to defeat many radical and unsound tax measures. It also secured legislation that will prove beneficial to all California business. It is continuing its efforts for economy in county budgets and for the elimination of many duplicate services in state and local governments.

problem is costing us all money," and "must be stamped out." They propose, therefore, that "the only effective means to combat the situation is statewide leadership for training community leaders in this work," and then refer to the Sacramento convictions as an example of the kind of work the Chamber wishes to push throughout California.

The letter concludes with an appeal to the rich Central Valley district to "subscribe its pro rata of the funds necessary to carry on this fight," since "the need for immediate, organized, united effort on our part is obvious."

charges made in the National Sacramento Appeal Committee's pamphlet "Union Smashing in Sacramento," by Herbert Solow, that the Sacramento convictions were part of a state-wide conspiracy of anti-union employers to use the criminal syndicalism statute to destroy the trade unions.

In a letter just sent to the N. S. A. C. by Raymond W. Henderson, Bakersfield Socialist and noted labor attorney, he reports that the transcript of the trial record will not be delivered by the court until Sept. 28. As soon as it is delivered Henderson will begin work on the Mini brief.

PROGRESSIVE ISSUES CONFRONT THE A.F.L.

By ARNE SWABECK

Bill Green and the whole A. F. of L. leadership was challenged at the rubber workers' convention. It suffered another heavy blow, directed simultaneously at its methods of bureaucratic domination and its reactionary "red baiting" campaign.

So long as the hidebound craft unions of the skilled trades formed the backbone of the movement matters were comparatively simple. These workers enjoyed certain privileges and questioned much less the doings of their union officials. The unions could be managed fairly easily and the bureaucratic regime solidified. It was not so difficult for the latter to make all kinds of shady deals with the bosses. Much has now changed. Many of the privileges formerly enjoyed in the skilled trades have disappeared.

The new-born rubber workers' international union refused, by a vote of 44 to 9, to accept certain A. F. of L. charter provisions, presented to the convention by Green, which would confer upon him the right of appointment of officers for a probationary period to be left at his discretion. With that vote the convention also rejected his choice of handpicked officers.

Overwhelmed by this decisive vote, Green had to beat a hasty retreat. He accepted it, pecked up his belongings and left for the more tranquil atmosphere of his home town Coshocton, Ohio, where he still remains a deacon of the Baptist church.

These recent experiences cannot be easily ignored by the A. F. of L. officials. No doubt they are beginning to ask themselves some serious questions and preparing to straighten their own fences. But there are many difficulties to overcome, particularly in regard to the new unions.

It was with the greatest reluctance that they had agreed in the first place to grant international union charters to these unions. They fought to the last against the idea of granting industrial union charters and accepted it in principle only to sabotage it in actual practice, as they have done so far. But they are still faced with the dilemma of pressure from present economic conditions out of which grow the demands of the rank and file workers. These demands begin to crystallize into distinctly progressive tendencies. Naturally this is much more marked in the basic

and the mass production industries where exploitation is most ruthless. And here the A. F. of L. officials will be much more closely bound up with the development and growth of these unions than has been the case in the past.

Old Basis Undermined So long as the hidebound craft unions of the skilled trades formed the backbone of the movement matters were comparatively simple. These workers enjoyed certain privileges and questioned much less the doings of their union officials. The unions could be managed fairly easily and the bureaucratic regime solidified. It was not so difficult for the latter to make all kinds of shady deals with the bosses. Much has now changed. Many of the privileges formerly enjoyed in the skilled trades have disappeared.

Progressives Grow in Struggle It is no accident that more voices are heard every day in the trade unions demanding an aggressive policy of organization. In many instances on a local scale the demand has been carried out in practice, and thereby the progressive tendencies gained. Wherever unions have set to work, organizing aggressively without fear of the bitter struggle that it involves and ready to meet the sacrifices that it imposes,

Trade Union Democracy It is very interesting to note that the change toward the new conditions places as the first point on the agenda the question of trade union democracy. This was inevitable. Only by means of its bureaucratic control were the reactionary officials able to function effectively as the agents of capitalism and prevent the unions from engaging in serious struggles for their rightful demands. As a result the unions were stunted in their growth and their power of organization remained largely ineffective.

The free and unhampered development of the trade union movement therefore demands democratic union control as a first prerequisite. It becomes a first class progressive issue and it will play an important role in the crystallization of a progressive movement in the trade unions. The attitude to this issue will be of a determining character in the test for leadership.

In these recent experiences the fact that the progressive tendencies reflect the needs of the movement and represent its vital interests is verified once again. On the opposite side, the retarding reactionary influence of the A. F. of L. top officials is just as clearly revealed. Not only did the latter attempt to maintain its control by the celebrated steam-roller method, but they did actually succeed in preventing the new-born international unions in automobile and rubber from taking on their necessary industrial form. According to the charters, the shop crafts are to be organized as heretofore in their old craft unions, separate and apart from the production workers.

Industrial Unionism In the light of recent economic changes, the question of the industrial form of organization is only reinforced as a progressive issue. It is likewise connected up intimately with the future life and growth of the trade union movement. If the unions in the mass production industries are to meet the ruthless onslaughts of the gigantic corporations effectively, this form of organization is imperative.

At the time of receiving their charters, both the automobile workers and the rubber workers' unions appeared with greatly reduced ranks. The reason for this is not difficult to find. It was due essentially to the sheer incompetence and downright treason of the A. F. of L. officials who had been in charge of affairs up to now. Still, with an aggressive policy of organization, there are undoubtedly good prospects for the building up of strong unions in these industries. For the life of the movement as a whole this is necessary; but this has very much to do with the kind of leadership.

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progress has been made. A good timber for a new and progressive leadership is being seasoned in such struggles.

The coming A. F. of L. convention cannot escape facing these issues in one way or another. Of course, they will not be reflected at this gathering in the same direct and decisive manner as in the general field of the class struggle. The labor party issue will most likely appear. There is little chance that very many distinctly progressive spokesmen will slip into the convention hall. But it is to be expected that perhaps several of the well-paid officials already now in or near to the higher councils, out of fear of the potential progressive movement for one reason, or due to pressure from below for another, will take up some of these issues in order to appear as spokesmen and head off the actual crystallization of a genuine progressive movement. When that occurs it is well for real progressives to be on guard.

Political Tendencies It is yet too early to speak of a progressive movement already in existence. Only tendencies in that direction are manifested so far; and much confusion still prevails among these tendencies. Where they appear they represent, generally speaking, a combination of elements of various degrees of political consciousness. But in most cases they are not yet strongly influenced by the workers' political parties.

Without at this moment going into the positions that these parties hold in regard to the problems of the trade unions and the issues and struggles within them, it is necessary to remember that the building up of a progressive movement is a first class political job. But it will also be a test of these parties, not only of their ability to organize the movement, but above all of their ability to influence it in the direction of political consciousness. There will be a struggle of political tendencies in this movement.

It should not be difficult for the revolutionary party to meet this test. But there is more required than merely to counterpose its program to those of the other political tendencies and parties. It will be necessary also to take over the responsibility for active, persistent and devoted work right on the firing line of the movement.

Imperialist Bargains The present League session is then, seeking a "solution" of the Ethiopian question. That is to say, it is seeking a deal that will reconcile these requirements on the part of Great Britain with, first, France's need to get British guarantees against German aggression on the Continent, and second, the drive of pent-up Italian capital for an outlet together with Mussolini's desperate necessity for consolidating his rotting internal regime.

Working Class "Sanctions" The elementary duty of Marxists is clear beyond argument. It is for them to sound the alarm against all the machinations of the imperialist powers. It is for them to expose every facet of the war dangers. And this means not merely to fulminate against the tyrant Mussolini, and to beg the League to step in to save the world. It means to expose every step of the League's robber course. It means not to call on "peace-loving Great Britain" to close the Suez Canal and apply sanctions—but to reveal the rottenness of British imperialist policy beneath the mush-mouthed peace talk.

It means to call on the international working class, the only force against war, to apply its own sanctions, to make its own boycotts, to voice its own material and ideological solidarity with the Ethiopian masses—rejecting all talk of "national unity," all pretense that a capitalist nation is ever or will ever

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