

# PATRIOTS RUN WILD AT CLEVELAND JAMBOREE

(Continued from Page 1) the American League of War and Fascism, spoke, saying: "It is to the schools and colleges and universities that we must look for the leadership that shall pioneer the way to a new day."

War, declared the General, is a racket, but it could be ended. The way to end war is to amend the Constitution so that no armed forces should be sent beyond the continental limits, and to build up a sufficient force of battleships and also "Ford-type" airplanes with small cruising radius, all to be used for defense.

Another general was the chief speaker the following night: General Fang Chen, Wu of China. General Fang is being toured by the Stalinists, both here and abroad, as the future leader of the anti-Japanese movement.

A "biography" of the general in the January "China Today" fails to mention that the general was elevated to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang in May, 1929 at the very height of the Kuomintang reaction when even liberals were being hounded.

Candor compels one to admit that General Fang is a more principled man than his Stalinist sponsors. In the days when Chiang Kai-shek and Stalin addressed each other as comrades, the leaders of the Chinese bourgeoisie had to render a certain amount of lip service to the world revolution, the proletariat and peasantry, etc.

The generals were the ace exhibits of the congress. Their near-competitors for honors were: Harry F. Ward, re-elected national chairman of the League and America's best-known Methodist; Roger Baldwin, re-elected to the national bureau of the League, famous, as director of the Civil Liberties Un-

ion, for his equal defense of civil liberties for Fascists and non-Fascists; and Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party. When Browder rose to speak, each time the assembled "veterans, Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, Farmer-Laborites, social workers, ministers, workers, etc." rose to their feet and (as the Daily Worker, Jan. 8 wrote) he "was received with tremendous ovation, cheers and applause lasting for minutes before he was permitted to speak."

Browder's chief ideological contribution to the congress was his declaration that the Communist Party would help the American League "reach out to include not only one or two but fifteen to twenty million people in America, who will make this country a decisive force for peace, taking its stand alongside that other great country, the Soviet Union."

In current Stalinist terminology, an imperialist country becomes a "force for peace" when, like France, it makes an alliance with the Soviet Union. The role of the "united front against war," therefore, can have only one function: a pressure bloc to help push the United States into a military alliance with the Soviet Union.

"Pacifism is part of the ideological preparation for war." This fundamental doctrine of the revolutionaries has now been forgotten by the Stalinists. In the heroic days of the Comintern, this doctrine guided an irreconcilable struggle against pacifism. Today the doctrine is remembered for the opposite purpose of using pacifism to put pressure on the American government to make the "right" alliance, that is, with the Soviet Union.

### Wage Raise Won In Newark WPA

(Continued from Page 1) took up the fight of the fired men, charging discrimination and demanding reinstatement of the men on the projects and pay for time lost. The men have in the last few days been reassigned to projects, while the appeal is pending in the state office of the WPA.

Another aspect of the struggle that the administration is carrying on against the Association is to be found in the arrests (four to date) of members of the Association who are guilty of organizing WPA workers. The arrested were Thomas Morans, Jack Dale, Felix Giordano and Victorson. A convenient excuse for such arrests is the distribution of leaflets. Anybody caught distributing leaflets for the Association is liable to arrest on sight, to be charged with anything from "distributing leaflets without a permit"—which is impossible to get—to "obstructing and interfering."

This phase of the struggle has now been taken up by the recently formed local of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, which is in charge of the appeals. With the victory of the WPA front, now being firmly established, a new and most important fight looms on the horizon of the Association and of all genuine unemployed organizations. From now on, it is officially reported, all new applicants for relief will not be given cash, but will be treated to a permanent "grocery order" system. This is heralded by the reactionary press as a first step toward the general reestablishment of the grocery order system. The real meaning of this new step, aside from being a boon to large stores, is to be found in an official announcement to the effect that the administration expects to save 20 percent of the cost of relief by the return to the food order system.

### Preparing to Defeat Relief Cut

Thus what is really implied by the move is a cut in the standards of relief. What such a cut would mean to the undernourished families of the unemployed is easy to picture. Against this new attempt of the administration the Association for Adequate Relief is preparing itself for a real struggle.

every anti-Marxist notion about ways and means of stopping war was voiced and went unchallenged. The one possibly conceivable function of such a gathering, the educational function of revolutionists making clear the difference between these crack-pot ideas and realistic methods of struggle against war—that was the last conceivable function which the Stalinists could or would exercise!

With over two thousand ostensible delegates, the congress itself was nothing more than a mass meeting, in which the delegates submitted to speeches by the generals and preachers. No provisions were made for delegates to have the floor. To make doubly sure that everything would go through greased, the rules provided, when the program and resolutions were brought in and shoved through in scarcely more time than it took to read them, that there could be no resolutions offered from the floor, and no amendments. With a hand-picked resolutions committee, this effectively prevented discussion.

The only possible place where there might have been some purposeful discussion was in the one afternoon's session in which the congress broke up into commissions—religious, children's, women's, trade union, etc. In theory these smaller groups were supposed to prepare and discuss resolutions for submission to the general resolutions committee. Actually, however, these commissions were merely smaller editions of the wind-baggy of the congress as a whole. I can speak particularly of the trade union commission, which I covered. The leaders of the commission, instead of presenting resolutions for discussion, gave the floor to a series of speakers who talked on nothing and everything, and then, when the afternoon was over, the delegates were streaming out, called for the election of a well-Stalinized resolutions committee to prepare the trade union resolutions.

A resume of some of the incidents at the trade union commission is instructive. A labor attorney made a speech in favor of the NRA, which had been very good, he said, "it did away with many strikes." A representative of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen made a speech supporting League of Nations sanctions and, in closing, declared: "I endorse everything General Butler said last night." A representative of the Mexican Popular Front made a speech declaring that President Cardenas was the savior of democratic rights. It was moved and seconded and unanimously adopted, to send a message of greetings to Cardenas as the savior of democratic rights. An aging steel worker urged the audience not to let their boys go to war but to keep them at home. A machinist delegate spoke of organizing unions and the People's Front. A representative of a United Mine Workers local spoke for the united front. Charles Zimmerman objected to the congress solely on the ground that it did not include more unions. A Negro made a splendid speech against Jim-Crowism in the union. Ben Gold made a vicious attack on Zimmerman, for which he was duly reprimanded the next day for not having learned the new line. Zimmerman answered by again complaining about the lack of trade unions in the congress. A couple of speeches, including one by the Friends of the Chinese People, and the trade union commission was about over.

### Left Wing Is Need in Silk

(Continued from Page 1) must be done now? Is the strike necessarily to be a complete rout of the union forces? Will the union that the workers built and tempered in struggle now be completely smashed?

First: What is to be done? We know of no other answer than the one we gave on May 1: **Build the left wing.** By that, we are forced to insist, we do not mean what is now considered by some misinformed people to be the left wing, the Stalinist misleadership and adventurism. What must be built is a group of serious union members that can gauge a situation objectively and supply the workers with the necessary program and leadership. We have lost precious time in the building of such a left wing, and we are now paying dearly for it. Still, the situation is not desperate, and if we apply ourselves to the task and actually do build such a left wing, the union will have a chance to experience a re-growth.

Second: Will the strike be a complete defeat? Not necessarily. If the left wing is built, and if it is able to rally the workers to its program, it will be possible, though in no way assured, that something may be saved out of this battle which now has all the appearances of an inglorious defeat.

Third: Will the union be smashed? Again that depends on the speedy establishment of the left wing. Such a new group would be able to give new life to the union, and steer it out of its present difficult straits. If the left wing is not built soon, then the union, as the result of the defeat, will fall back, lose membership, and become again what it was before 1931, a small group trying to be a union. And all the work of building that has been carried on for over five years will have availed us nothing, and will have to be done all over again. The task before the silk workers of Paterson presents itself in no ambiguous form: **Build the left**

not germane to the congress. Thus, deliberately, the congress was a Babel of all tongues except revolutionary ones; a veritable three-day parade of preachers and generals, politicians and professional pacifists, and a small section of earnest but thoroughly confused workers, who could not but be even more confused by the whole proceeding. The vague, pea-fog intellectual atmosphere clogged minds and hearts, stultified working class instincts and bred vast, fantastic illusions about the struggle against war.

These illusions were embodied in vicious succinctness in the temporary program adopted by the congress. The program falls into two parts, the first being points dealing with struggle against reaction. These are issues which properly should be raised and carried on by a broad labor defense organization and by a progressive movement in the trade unions, and provide no real reason for the existence of the American League. They are, in fact, quite perfunctory, and are merely window-dressing for the real purpose of the League: its pacifist program. The "anti-war" part of the program is its real essence. These points are the replica of the Stalinist line on the war question.

In reading these "anti-war" plans, one realizes the enormous usefulness of this "people's front" to Stalinism. Speaking in its own name, the Stalinist is still embarrassed by the baggage of scraps of Leninism which remain from the days when the Comintern was a revolutionary organization. Stalinism must in the same breath declare that France will fight a progressive war which Communists will support but that at the same time they will prepare for civil war. Stalinism must in the same breath declare its loyalty to bourgeois democracy in the People's Front but simultaneously swear it has not forgotten the dictatorship of the proletariat. All this baggage, so outmoded for the chauvinist role of the Stalinist, they can happily leave outside when they appear in the guise of the American League. In the name of the discipline of the "united front," Hathaway rendered lip service to the class-struggle approach but hastened to declare that this is "a perspective we know that many people at this congress are not yet ready to accept"—and therefore the Communist party "unconditionally" accepts the American League program which is not based on class struggle!

The united front used to be a form of joint action on class struggle lines but not requiring all participants to accept the final revolutionary outcome of the class struggle. Now, under the formula of the People's Front, "against war and Fascism" in the abstract, even the elementary conception of independent class action is thrown overboard!

(Another installment on the program of the League will appear next week.)

## FDR Masks War Plans

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completely dominant in the economic sense over both northern and southern continents, European nations so utterly unable to challenge it, that it can masquerade as the benevolent good rich neighbor in the same way as some individual steel, coal or textile magnate plays "the good neighbor" to his wage-slaves at the foot of the hill. Indirectly, but it may well be intentionally, Mr. Roosevelt when he draws his picture of the twenty-two "democratic" nations of the two Americas, arms all linked together and dancing the dance of brotherliness, is telling other nations that twenty-one of them are essentially satellites of the U. S., that the U. S. is not going to tolerate any other suitors, and that if any nation from the more barbaric continents steps on Uncle Sam's toes it may have to fight the other American nations too.

But the picture of noble, peaceful Uncle Sam and his neighbors, as Mr. Roosevelt paints it, is plausible and touching and subtly insinuates into many minds the idea that if ever such a country as this should be involved in a war, it would be "purely defensive" or unselfishly on behalf of some great ideal—perhaps the missionary ideal of carrying to other lands the blessings of American peace and neighborliness. And of course when such a country now drills troops, builds military planes and war vessels, it is for the same noble, irreproachable ends! Only some nasty-minded Bolshevik could think otherwise.

### The Certainty of War

Once again we note the tenseness of international relations today, the certainty of war and of our involvement in it, involuntarily coming to the surface. In the very act of picturing the peace-loving U. S. Roosevelt conjures up the enemy whom we are to fight in the approaching war. "The temper and the purposes of the rulers of many of the great populations in Europe and in Asia have not pointed the way either to peace or to good-will among men." The "twin spirits of autocracy and aggression" rule these nations. Roosevelt is not satisfied to charge the rulers of these autocratic and aggressive nations (obviously Japan, Germany, Italy, etc. are intended) with crimes. More openly than is customary in this stage of war preparation he tries to prepare the American masses to hate and therefore to fight the peoples of other lands. "It is idle," he says, "to preach that the masses of the people who constitute those nations which are dominated by the twin spirits of autocracy and aggression, are out of sympathy with their rulers. . . They follow blindly and fervently the lead of those who seek autocratic power." After more of this kind, he becomes positively truculent, challenging these wicked nations to knock the chip off his shoulder: "I recognize that these words which I have chosen with deliberation will not prove popular in any nation that chooses to fit this shoe to its foot"—the implication, if they don't like it, to hell with them.

Let American workers, farmers and intellectuals make no mistake about it. Primarily, Roosevelt's speech was an expression of American imperialism flinging defiance at its foes, seeking to engender a war spirit in the American masses. "Good" and "Bad" Capitalist Powers

The Roosevelt speech gave support to the two rationalizations by means of which the imperialists—and, it cannot too often be pointed out, the Stalinist and social democratic misleaders of the working class—made use in duping the masses into participation in imperialist war. One is the idea to which we have already alluded, namely, that there are two kinds of nations: the good, non-aggressive, "democratic" ones and the bad, aggressive, autocratic, Fascist ones. The fact that all alike are capitalist-imperialist nations, engaged in daily deadly competition with each other, which some day shifts into open, military conflict, this is pushed into the background. So is the fact that in the Fascist countries the masses are told that the "democratic" countries are plous hypocrites who have plundered and slugged their neighbors and now won't let them get up and rehabilitate themselves. Thus as in 1914 the masses are to be duped, hypnotized by looking at an illusion so that they don't realize the truth until they perish in agony in No Man's Land.

And the other fairy tale is that of the small nations who "if left to themselves, would be content with their boundaries" and whose rulers "deep in their hearts follow these peaceful and reasonable aspirations of their peoples." Poor little Belgium, noble, democratic King Albert, all over again!

No mean task, to be sure. Yet upon the ability of the Paterson silk workers to carry it out rests the very life of the union.

After Roosevelt has thus foretold and indicated at whom the guns we are making are pointed (mainly Japan, of course) it is not hard to discern the real meaning of our "neutrality" policy over which pacifists, including socialists and Stalinists, wax so enthusiastic. There is no "moral" consistency about it certainly, for it proposes to withhold munitions equally from the "good" neighbors and the "bad" in case they are involved in war and to keep up "normal" trade if possible with both in other forms of merchandise which might be used for war purposes. For the present, while the preliminary skirmishes take place, we can hold aloof under this "neutrality" policy, go about our business of consolidating our economic power especially on the American continent, building our naval and military machine, letting other countries deplete their resources and energies. Even after the outbreak of large-scale conflict the U. S. may still for a time pursue the same superciliously virtuous course, as in 1914-17, but in due time, unless the American workers under the leadership of the revolutionary internationalist party decree otherwise, when it has exhausted possibilities of gain from a "peaceful" policy will plunge again into war.

### New Deal Served Capitalism

The New Deal, as Roosevelt points out in this very speech, holding it to be to his credit, saved capitalism and the capitalists. Business is on the upgrade. Stock quotations and profits are mounting. Relief funds are being drastically cut. Strikes were kept in bounds by Hugh Johnson and his successors. The basic industries are still unorganized. There are eleven million or more unemployed. But the capitalists are feeling chummy now that profits are being made again temporarily. They want to take away from the workers even those concessions, mainly illusory, which Roosevelt realized had to be given to save the system. So there is to be a sham battle to divert the masses' attention from the truth. Some Republican hack will run against Roosevelt, champion of the forgotten man.

Unwittingly he made it clear—and this is for us the most important point in the second half of the speech—that regardless of who is elected President, which old party

### Pickets Shut Mather Plant

(Continued from Page 1) preparation for the moment when it can cry out "Violence!" and "Unruly agitators!"

There is little doubt but that every agency of the capitalist class, government, police, press, strike-breakers, reactionary organizations, are being mobilized in an effort to demoralize unionism in Toledo by restoring a plant to full operation in the face of a picket-line for the first time in a score and over of strikes during the "New Deal" period. Industrialists are deliberately driving for a violent show-down battle.

Leading figure in the strike is Burke Cochran, vice-president of the M.E.S.A. Toledo local, who has been elected to take full charge of all strike activities. Cochran was the key-speaker at the mass meeting of the Mather strikers and M.E.S.A. men yesterday, which was called for the purpose of mobilizing the forces in the strike. His indomitable drive, keen tactical sense and fighting fervor have revitalized the spirit of the strikers, drooping under two months of inactivity, tension, uncertain waiting and slim living. Today's clashes indicate that the union is going to fight bitterly. A mass picket line is being built up in icy blizzard weather. At the moment when the seabs appear to start actual plant operation, there is going to be a fight and the outcome of this fight may determine in large measure the course of all auto unionism in this city for some time to come.

"Hottest affair since the Chicago fire!"

## Harlem Jamboree

Benefit  
NON-PARTISAN LABOR DEFENSE  
Friday, January 17th  
SARATOGA CLUB 575 Lenox Avenue, N. Y. C.  
Tickets: \$1.00 per person  
Dancing 10 to 4 A.M. — Midnight Supper — Floor Show

is in power, the old age of individualism, of laissez faire is gone. Government will more and more throw off any pretense of being merely an agency to keep peace between individuals in the land or some higher essence "above the battle" of economic forces. More and more open-ly the economic system will function directly through government agencies. Government will "interfere" in every phase of life, including the labor movement. "Our resplendent economic autocracy," orates Mr. Roosevelt, "does not want to return to that individualism of which they prate. . . They realize that in thirty-four months we have built up new instruments of public power." Of course, says Mr. Roosevelt, in my hands, "in the hands of a people's government this power is wholesome and proper." But Mr. Roosevelt used it to save these very capitalists whom he pretends to fight. "The new instruments of public power" designed to save capitalism, point inexorably to—Fascism.

From that and from the war to which Mr. Roosevelt also pointed, the toiling masses of this and of all lands cannot be saved by pacifism or reform, but only by taking power into their own hands by revolutionary action, smashing the capitalist state and building a workers' state and an ordered economic life.

## NEC Suspends NY Old Guard

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filiated organizations of the national party."

Daniel Hoan absented himself from the N.E.C. meeting but sent a telegram demanding unity and proposing that the five leading factionalists from each side should withdraw from party work for the next period.

### National Split

There is no doubt that the split, already an accomplished fact in New York State, will be extended throughout the party. But, from all indications, the Old Guard claims of a majority will not be substantiated. The Federations—Finnish and Jugo-Slav—will go with the right wing in the split and the Jewish Verband majority will follow suit. A minority of the latter, however, is expected to remain with the official party. The Young People's Socialist League will follow suit by an overwhelming majority. The Reading organization is divided over the issue; this accounts, it is said, for the middle-of-the-road position of Hoopes. The Milwaukee organization is expected to remain with the official party once the split becomes definitive on a national scale. The municipal Socialist organization controlled by Mayor McCleary, on the other hand, will probably go with the Old Guard.

Throughout the debate at the sessions of the N.E.C., as in the long struggle since the Detroit convention, the Old Guard hammered away on political issues, making no compromises in its demand that "armed insurrection" and "united front with the C. P. be banned as a condition for unity. The "Millitants" took a defensive position on the political issues and centered their arguments on "autocracy" and the demand for an "active and inclusive party."

In the national split, which now appears to be irremediable, the Old Guard will have the advantage of a homogeneous grouping and an unambiguous program. It will also have the important financial resources accruing from the institutions under its control, particularly the opulent "Forward." The Forward was attacked by Thomas as having dominated the party "because it has the money." The Forward was also attacked by Krueger, according to press reports, as a "job machine and a money machine" which employed Tammany methods in the party.

The official party, headed by Thomas, will come out of the split with a decisive majority of the membership, the "activists" and the youth. The personal popularity of Thomas as the Presidential candidate will also be an important factor in the struggle to prevail. Its handicap will be its heterogeneous composition and its lack of a definite and consistent policy. This is the fruit of the strategy of the activists in conducting the struggle primarily on the basis of secondary and organizational questions and evading the challenge of the Old Guard on political issues.