and the Stalin-Laval Communique

WAR

By JAMES P. CANNON More poisoned fruit from the reactionary theory of "socialism in one country."

Another deadly blow at the international working class movement.

A new step in preparation for another social-patriotic betrayal.

In the joint communique issued in Moscow on May 15 in the names of Stalin, Molotov and Litvinov for the Soviet Union, and Laval, the Foreign Minister of Imperialist France, the Stalinist betrayal of prole-tarian internationalism stands out in fuller measure than ever before. For a long time it has been clear to revolutionary internationalists that the course of Stalin was based on a renunciation of the international revolution and could only lead to the disorientation of the workers in the struggle against their own exploiters. Now it is written down, black on write.

The fatal leadership of Stalin was never so clearly revealed workers' vanguard of the whole from the influence of the Stalinist bureaucracy before it leads them to catastrophe on another "Fourth of August."

Read this paragraph in the joint communique, as published in the New York Times, May 16:

"Above all, the duty falls upon them (the Soviet Union and France), in the interest and maintenance of peace, not to allow the means of their national defense to weaken in any sense. In this regard M. STALIN UN-DERSTANDS AND FUL-LY APPROVES THE NA-TIONAL DEFENSE POL-ICY OF FRANCE IN KEEPING HER ARMED FORCES AT A LEVEL **REQUIRED FOR SECUR-**IY."

There can be no misunder-



Will Lay Seige to Ill. State Capitol Says I.W.A. Leader

By GERRY ALLARD

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., May 15. laving staged two marches on the state capital as well as scores of local demonstrations, the Illinois Workers Alliance was again rallying its forces this week-end for another gigantic march for a showdown on the relief crisis now facing this state. The mass upsurge of the jobless

in Illinois was precipitated by the

shutting down of relief stations in

the state as the Democratic admin

an increase in the sales tax from

Ragged, hungry and weary work

ers trekked into Springfield last

state to protest against the closing

week from various sections of the

Present Their Demands

GERRY ALLARD

VOL. 1, NO. 22

as in this infamous communique. It is a warning signal to the St. Louis Gas istration maneuvered to force a further levy down the throats of a stubborn legislature in the form of world to free itself completely Strike is Solid an increase in the influence of the Stal **Despite Terror**

of relief stations, against the sales ST. LOUIS, Mo.-The strike of tax and for improvements in relief the St. Louis Gas House Workers standards. A march took place runs into its third month with through the heart of town to the ranks as firm and determined as capital. While approximately 1,000 ever. A short history of the slanjobless workers cheered speakers der, provocation, and violence who spoke from the huge monument against the union reveals something of Abe Lincoln a delegation wa of the spirit that has carried the received by the Governor. union through with flying colors.

The Laclede Company, after re-The delegation presented the de covering from the surprise attack mands of the demonstrators for re of the union, hired scabs and an opening of relief stations, defeat of army of thugs to protect them. The company thugs discovered a "bomb the sales tax, abolition of the national guards, clothing for school When this collapsed the nlot." children graduating, proper medi-Company had three union members cal care, comfortable shelter, \$1 for arrested for "possessing dynamite." unskilled and \$1.25 for skilled labor Although the state refused to proson projects with a minimum of 24 ecute on so flimsy a charge the men hours and a maximum of 30-hours were continued under arrest. The Company obtained an injunction per week, representation on local county, district and state relief orbidding the union its legal to picket. The police began mass boards and for a levy on income, arrests of the strikers. The Com- gift and inheritance. The Govern pany thugs organized attacks on or of the state showed respect for

the homes of the strikers, breaking the committee now representing windows, and endangering their 150,000 organized workers, but the standing of the meaning of families. The police began beating substance of his decisions as to imthese words. It is clear alike the strikers at the point of guns, mediate redress was nothing. am a servant of the people, no as many as six at one time in the king," he said. The excuse was a open street. The company thugs poor one because a few months bestink bombed the union headquarfore he had dispatched hundreds of troops to the coal fields in a most on-The Company, their thugs and tyrannical invasion against the self rule of the population of the coal the strike-the kept press playing fields. up every scrap of anti-union hysApplying the "Merit Clause"

NEW MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

Toledo Auto Progressives Organize

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 18, 1935



Lessons of the Great Toledo Battle

All the forces of the General Motors Corporation, the resources of the U.S. Departward F. McGrady, a barrage from the Toledo

1. When account is taken on the one hand of the forces with which we had to work and ment of Labor's ace "trouble shooter," Ed- on the other hand of those arrayed against us, we can safely assert that the Toledo militants the strike committee, caused them newspapers threatening a permanent shut- met the challenge presented to them and that to rescind a previous motion which down of the Chevrolet transmission plant, and the Toledo strikers put up a magnificent battle. they had passed excluding all perunbelievably dirty trickery and brazen terror- William Green had the strike votes of the Fedization on the part of Francis J. Dillon, rep- eral auto unions in his pocket. Not only, how- members of the strike committee. ever, did he not call a strike but he and his ing and given the chance to speak representatives did everything in their power on the agreement which he, Edward to prevent it from spreading and to tone down F. McGrady, assistant secretary of its militancy. The Chevrolet workers had labor, and William S. Knudsen, exjoined the union only a few days before the ecutive vice-president of General strike broke. Very few among them had had Motors, had devised last Saturday. previous union experience. Yet they shut down Dillon had already expressed his sentiments on this union-busting the Chevrolet plant. They tied up Chevrolet agreement Monday in the daily press, which featured his statement production throughout the country for three arging the strikers to accept the weeks. They brought 30,000 workers out with them. They measurably cut down production of the steel and glass corporations. General Motors said it would not confer with them until they went back to work. General Motors was one, were "reds," through a vague forced to change its mind. It had to negotiate allusion to "those who presume with the Strike Committee and grant additional concessions.

Dillon and Co. Wreck Chance To Win Strike

PRICE 3 CENTS

Temporary Setback is Signal to Cement Ranks

By ART PREIS

TOLEDO, May 14.—After three weeks of magnificent battling, the union auto workers of the Chevrolet Motor Ohio Company, whose mass picket lines had stopped the production of Chevrolet transmissions and closed down almost the entire Chevrolet Corporation, voted last night to accept the offer of a four cents an hour wage-increase and other slight concessions and to return to work. For three weeks these inexperienced workers, who have been in the union but a month, fought back blow for blow against the financial might of General Motors, the pressure of the government, the cunning propaganda of the capitalist press. They went down to temporary and partial defeat at last through the treachery of Francis Dillon, national organizer for the A. F. of L. in the auto industry, and Fred Schwake, the business agent of their local whom they had trusted. But they went

down fighting. In one of the most spectacular and rousing floor fights ever waged, the militant progressives in the union, denounced as "Muste men" by Dillon, took the meeting last night by storm, hooted Dillon from the Civic Auditorium at the outset of the session, and were on the verge of tearing to pieces the General Motors offer, which failed to grant them one important concession, including their demands for union recognition, a signed contract and straight seniority without the notorious "merit clause

Lack of Experience

. Their lack of experience and desire for "democracy" and "fair play," which was appealed to by equally inexperienced members of posals but the strikers and the

Dillon was recalled into the meet-

to the workers and to their class enemies. The bourgeois journalists had no difficulty in ters and picket stations. And so interpreting it. Ralph W. Barnes, Moscow correspondent the police all in one band against of the New York Herald-Tribune explained it bluntly as folteria. lows:

"This is an indirect way, of course, of explaining to the French Communists that, in the existing circumstances, subversive propaganda directed to the French military and naval forces is harmful to the Soviet Union as well as to France."

That's it, precisely; the paragraph cannot have any other meaning. The "leader of the international proletariat" says to the French workers: "Do not interfere in any way with the military preparations of French imperialism: 'M. Stalin understands and fully approves."

Nothing is to be done to interfere with military preparations of the French imperialists. And from that it follows

(Continued on Page 4)

Next Week!

In view of the tremendous tion, headed by Mayor Bainbridge by the workers themselves through significance for the internationand police chief "Bloody Mike" Jo- their fighting organizations: the al labor and revolutionary hannes, who were responsible dur- unions, unemployed organizations, movements of the Franco-Soviet military alliance and the joint statement on it issued by sides are marshalling all their gram although running no inde Pierre Laval and Joseph Stalin, the National Committee of the Workers Party is drawing Alliance. up an official statement of its position. This statement, which will deal exhaustively with the | will determine the result, the Minn- | surance at the expense of employeapolis Branch of the Workers problems presented by the al-Party has decided to throw its liance, will appear in the com- electoral weight behind the Farmer ing issue of the New Militant. | Labor candidates, at the same time Readers are urged to give it their closest attention and to see to it that it is disseminated as widely as possible.

Thousands of Illinois workers faced actual starvation. Yet the

Strike Paper Invaluable Governor took the position that not During all this storm and stress. "one red cent" would be further the daily strike paper has proved expended by the state on relief uninvaluable in holding the union til the tax against labor's bread and firm, in recruiting support of other beans was passed. At the verv unions, and of the general public. moment \$7.500.000 was laving idle The first week's trial brought in in the coffers of the state treasury over a thousand subscriptions. More | In Chicago former Vice-President than fifty unions have pledged sup-Dawes played the fiddle to the tune port. In addition many storekeepof the 90,000,000 dollars he had ers have assisted the strikers with received from the R.F.C. without food and supplies. making an effort to repay the "loan,

The lighter side of the strike is enough to carry Illinois' relief burrevealed in the following story from den for 29 months. Newspaper

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.-The com- lines of their election leaflet. After

ing election in Minneapolis will see introducing as the main immediate

a battle to the finish between the task the defeat of the Citizens Al-

reactionary candidates of the Citi- liance, the Workers Party clearly

zens Alliance and the candidates of distinguishes itself from the Farm-

the Farmer-Labor Party. Every er-Laborites, "The Farmer-Labor

city is up in arms against the pres- the working class any real lasting

ent Citizens Alliance administra- benefits-these will have to be won

ing Local 574 truck drivers' strike and the revolutionary

worker in every trade union in the

workers and the death of two. Both

forces for the election, on which de-

pends the immediate fortune of the

labor movement and the Citizens

and of the narrow majority which

of last year for the shooting of fifty party.

In view of the questions at stake works program.

resentative of the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy, were needed Monday night to brow-beat and trick the Toledo Chevrolet strikers into voting acceptance of compromise proposals. Rejection, advocated by the large group of militants among the strikers in close

touch with the Workers Party branch, would have meant in all probability a nation-wide strike against General Motors, one of the most terrific battles in the history of class struggle in the U.S., since the outcome would determine the whole issue of unionism in the basic industries. While a thorough analysis of the dramatic onslaught of the Toledo vanguard upon the citadel of open-shoppery must wait, it is already possible to draw the main conclusions. It is essential that all party comrades and progressive workers understand the conclusions in

equipped for the battles to come.

Not only was a great automobile corporaorder that they may be by so much better tion shaken, but a more open and more nearly violation of an agreement made (Continued on Page 4)

uemployed movement.

sity of Pennsylvania

Crest College for three years, Prev-

iously, he was instructor in the psy-

chology department of the Univer-

A fight for Dr. Hallett's rein-

president of the Synod, has prom-

terms of the proposal, and hinted that the progressives who fought its acceptance, including every one of the elected strike committee but without authority to speak in the interests of the workers the language of a Soviet Dictatorship." His public statement was in direct with the strike committee not to express himself on the proposed settlement prior to the meeting. Fulminates at Muste

Expel Allentown Professor for Dillon was given the platform to speak. Two hours before he had raged from the auditorium howling Activity in Labor Movement that the union was expelled fro**m** the A. F. of L. The press reported him as saying then, before he en-ALLENTOWN, Pa., May 15.-Dr. officer in the powerful Lehigh Coun- tered a cab to go to his hotel, "Let Winslow N. Hallett, treasurer of ty Unemployed League and is still Muste run their outfit. If they want an I.W.W. or a communist the Allentown local of the American an active figure in the Pennsylvania outfit let them have it. They're out!

They're out! I disown them.' Dr. Hallett has taught at Cedar Three times during his ensuing speech Dillon was booed and hissed down. But with infinite cunning, demagogy and the basest lies he shouted and threatened. His big club was the threat to withdraw statement will be made at the meet- the charter of the entire local if the ing of the Eastern Synod of the Restrikers did not accept the comformed Church, scheduled for next pany's offer. The local has members in nineteen Toledo plants. week, at which the annual report of Cedar Crest College will be pre- Slowly he ground into the minds sented. Dr. Hallett announced toof many of the strikers the fear day that Dr. Paul Ried Pontius, that he would smash their un on if they did not end the strike. In ised to fight for academic freedom return for the "democratic" gesture of the strikers, Dillon used the foul-The Committee on Academic est and most undemocratic tactics

Freedom of the American Civil Lib- ever devised to force the company erties Union has announced it will agreement down the strikers' ake action in the case. The Amer- throats. He used their very union can Association of University Pro- loyalty, their desire to maintain fessors has been asked to make an their union at all costs, to betray them.

> During the course of his tirade, Dillon snarled an attack at A. J.

> > (Continued on Page 2)

conducting its own campaign, warning the workers against the dangerous illusions of Farmer-Laborism. The campaign of the Workers Party is being carried on along the

(Continued on Page 4)

3. Unemployment and social in-Immediate relief of \$10 per 4.

workers

officials will not and cannot give

The Party presents its own pro-

pendent candidates in this election.

minimum week.

1. The thirty hour, thirty dollar

2. A ten billion dollar public

week with \$3 for every dependent. 5. An end to red tape in relief administration: adequate medical care for the unemployed. 6. Full rights of free speech

Dillon Men Slug Toledo Workers in Flint Meet

> FLINT, Mich., May 14.--For the third time in the past two weeks, members of the Buick local here were prevented from going on strike through the action of Francis Dillon and his organizer, Louis Hart.

When a progressive member of the Toledo local, Wilbur Patton, with a delegation including Dick Myers and Herbert Munson, attempted to speak at the meeting here last night to give a report of the Toledo strike, he was assaulted by members of Dillon's machine, led by Louis Hart.

Patton was injured about the Curtis to resign, Dr. Hallett rehead when he was struck by a fused, requesting specific charges be chair. In order to break up the brought against him. The formal meeting, Dillon's men turned out notification of dismissal, on May 11, the lights and threw chairs about. The meeting was broken up in confusion.

One of the methods employed by Dillon to discourage strike action here was to circulate a story, played up widely in the press, that the Toledo local strike was in control of "reds," "communⁱists" and "professional agitators."

in the college. contained no charges. Pressed for an explanation of the board's action. President Curtis admitted that Dr. Hallett's work was satisfactory at the college and that the dismissal was due to Dr. Hallett's prominent role" in the organized labor nvestigation. movement

Federation of Teachers and its del-

egate to the Central Trades and

Labor Council, has been dismissed

from his position as professor of

psycholgy at Cedar Crest College

His dismissal by the board of

rustees has been denounced by the

student body. More than half of

Asked by President William F.

the 185 students enrolled at the

college have signed petitions de

manding his reinstatement.

because of his labor activities.

In addition to his position in the Dr. Hallett has asked the Non eachers' union, which Dr. Hallett Partisan Labor Defense to rally was instrumental in organizing last support for his case in the labor November, he was until recently an movement.

(Continued on Page 4) (Continued on Page 2) **W.P. Supports Election Battle** Against Mpls. Reactionaries

sure

issued

that some money was on hand. The

hunger marchers had exerted pres-

Federation Knifes Unemployed

mine the threat of the unemployed

workers, Mr. Soderstrom and Mr.

Olander, boss parrots and officers

of the State Federation of Labor,

against the Illinois Workers Alli-

ance and came out in favor of the

sales tax. Soderstrom, a Republic-

an state legislator, and Olander, a

member of the Illinois Emergency

Relief Commission, again stabbed

the militant labor movement in the

back with an irresponsible charge

that the jobless "were allied with

At the same time when the hung-

er marchers, tattered and hungry,

petitioned the state to feed them,

these two arch labor traitors were

eating in ritzy restaurants, sleeping

in swanky hotels and consorting

men and women, many of whom

are members of the Federation of

Labor. We were compelled to wit-

ness again well groomed. well fed

The Illinois unemployed marched.

They experienced some necessary

political lessons. They rehearsed in

one of the simple immediate strug

gles. They'll march again. They

will march in larger numbers, bet-

ter organized and knowing more

avert a calamity of famine.

the Chamber of Commerce.

a vicious denunciation

As a desperate resort to under-

Central Labor Union Backs Local 574 | III. Jobless March on Capitol Comments appropriations began to announce

On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

BILL REICH-

Privileged Classes . . .

"We have privileged classes in this country," said Miss Alice Mertz, New York relief supervisor in explaining the \$99 per week.salary of herself and husband. . . Pa., were told by relief investigat- the chair, on the ground that such ors to "go and steal coal." . . . As relief funds are cut off and 1,300,000 Union itself open to expulsion by throwing every available force into people face starvation, the Illinois Green legislature adjourned so that members could attend the Kentucky Derby.... The \$90,000,000 that the (and which will never be repaid) would take care of Illinois relief Tobin, reactionary president of the will show. needs for nearly a year. . . . An International. Tobin's charges, the evicted share-cropper with his pallid wife, rickety children and mea- in some cases completely unfoundger pile of furniture was seen ed. It was shown that 574 had standing by the roadside near made tremendous sacrifices to pay Shreveport, La. All were wearng its per capita tax, although it was "EVERY MAN A KING" buttons. .

Food . . .

The AAA has expended to date \$678,000,000 for crop reduction and \$191,000,000 to purchase crop surpluses. . . . President Roosevelt last week signed a bill appropriating \$60,000,000 for seed loans to farmers. . . . Food prices have risen 34 percent in the past year. The CON-SUMERS' GUIDE issued by the AAA states: "never before in this country have so many people been action from Tobin. unable to buy food and the simple necessities of life as in the past two years." . . . Secretary Wallace. head of the AAA, says: "Prices are not excessive; the increase in the that 574 has voluntarily relinprice of food products has only kept pace with the rise in national . . Although farmers income.' comprise 25 percent of the population, for the past five years the farm income has averaged only 8.8 percent of the national income, . . Profits reported for food processing corporations for 1934 are: National Biscuit Co.—\$26,592,000; National Fruit Co.-\$21,290,000; Armour & Co.-\$19,446,000; Borden Milk Co. with the Brewery Union. -\$9,136,000; National Dairy Co.-\$13,603,000; Corn Products Refining financial secretary of the union was Co.-\$21,207,000; A. & P. Stores not bonded were presented docu-(two year period) \$43,219,000. . ments, including the bond itself. Encrease in food prices have raised dated last November, when the the average cost of feeding a soldsecretary was elected. It was pointier from 37¹/₂ cents to 50 cents a day, ed out that a copy of this bond was necessitating an extra allotment of on file in Tobin's own office. \$5,000,000 per year to feed the army and navy. . . . Commissioner Osborne of the New York State Fish Hatcheries complains that because of the increased cost of liver he cannot feed the trout adequately.

Jobs . . .

Helen Fortney, 138 lbs., of Lake Geneva, Wis., advertized for a job as bodyguard. She received 48 proposals of marriage, one offer of a job. "It must be phoney," she re- to the union after the strike. First: marked. . . Franklin Jr. and John | It could have followed the policy Roosevelt, sons of the President, indicated by president Tobin in his are in the market for summer jobs. we are willing to do almo

Unanimous Appeal letter of April 15 in which he says 'No union shall have the right to pay any bills before they pay the For Reinstatement per capita tax due the International Union each month.'

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn --- Without "This would have set up a small

Find Charges False

office with a secretary in charge one dissenting voice the Minneapowho could have done little more lis Central Labor Union voted last than collect dues-and would have week full support to Local 574 of the Truck Drivers in their battle resulted in the quick and decisive liquidation of the union and would for reinstatement in the international. A motion to continue 574's have reduced it in a few short weeks to its former impotent posidelegate on the Central Union was Relief recipients in Clinton County, defeated only after an appeal from tion. "Second: the policy followed by

a motion would lay the Centra! the present leadership, that is, the fiel**d.**

"a) To check and finally defeat The vote was taken after a rethe bosses' plan of wholesale discrimination. That this was absoport by a committee of three apgovernment "loaned" Charles Dawes pointed by the Central Union to in- lutely necessary the record of the membership lists month by month vestigate the charges made by Dan

"b) To set up a steward system and build a well-knit block of accommittee found, were unjust, and tive organizers in the different firms and sections.

"c) To take care of the wounded men and their families, to pay off gradually the most pressing oblifaced with extraordinary expenses, gations, hospital, doctor and food debts left over from last year's bills, to maintain a suitable hall strike, the expenses of negotiating and headquarters. with hundreds of employers, the ex-

"d) In the meantime to pay to penses consequent on the hospitalthe International every cent posization of workers wounded in the sible without crippling the union strike, the expenses of 'maintaining and scattering the membership, usual hypocrisy they declared that the widows and families of those which is the source of all funds. killed, etc. etc. In spite of all these "e) In this way to lay the basis expenses, the local paid over \$3.000 in the last 15 months. It was pointed out that in previous years the local obligations. union had been as much as one year

behind in per capital tax without Tobin's charge that the unior had overstepped its jurisdiction was answered by evidence showing quished the Ice Drivers, the Bakery Drivers, the Laundry Drivers, the



Ramuglia. Admission free.

entertainment at Branch 1 head-Branch 1 W.P. and S.Y.L. Help Saturday, May 18—Grand Opening

ville Branch and Spartacus Youth League, 1776 Pitkin Ave. (near Stone). Entertainment, Dancing and Refreshments.

(near Stone), Brownsville. Speak er: Arne Swabeck New Militants and New Interna-

ionals can be purchased at: NEWS EXCHANGE

So. Main Street, Akron CONFECTIONERY STORE 1 West Market Street, Akron

Boston Dressmaker Calls for Effective Preparations to Improve Conditions el chairs. The strike was called

By J. RAYMOND

ments on the contracting shops. BOSTON, May 3. - A general All shops, with and without stoppage in the dress industry was called here yesterday with about agreements, have been called out. 2,000 workers responding. Although What is most necessary now is for the strike to be settled in short orthis strike comes at the tail-end of der since the season will soon be the season, the conditions which over. And of greater significance surround it and led up to the union are the preparations for the future. action are highly instructive for all All sincere and active workers must dressmakers.

be banded together and an intensive For the past year conditions in organization drive started. Only the dress industry have been rapidsuch preliminaries and then a dely rolling down hill. The little termined struggle will lead to imgained in the May strike two years proved conditions. ago after the signing of the code

was fast disappearing. The union on its part did nothing to organize the unorganized who were underconditions in the union mining

shops. On February 15 the agreement with the employers expired. The workers believed a strike to be nec-

By R. FERGUSON essary if conditions were to be im-AKRON, May 13.-The first mili proved and the unorganized retant step in turning back the tide cruited for the union. Insistent de of reaction in the rubber workers mands were voiced at local meetunions was taken yesterday by the ings that preparations be made and locked-out workers of the India machinery set up for strike. But Tire and Rubber Co. when by a the administration dallied and postvote of 141 to 33 they flatly rejected poned on the pretext that the time the proposal of President Klauss was poor for a walkout. With their that the company be turned back

into an open shop. the workers could not be depended Klauss, having pleaded with on in these "hard" times and would not support a strike. great emotion that the closed shop, the only one in the industry, was The union militants struggled

desperately against this policy but ruining India's business, that the consumers of India tires (bearing the union label, no longer would At conferences between manufac

buy them "on account of their turers and the union about twelve problems regarding labor." of the bosses agreed to sign the The company, admittedly in bad old agreement. There was no great financial shape as a result of bitter price wars between the large corporations, expects to receive a \$190.

> Finance Corp. if "labor difficulties are ironed out"-meaning, of course, if the open shop is reestablished. Once again the rubber workers in the class struggle.

Having temporarily broken the morale and exhausted the treasuries of the big rubber unions, Coleman C. Claherty, A. F. of L. organizer in rubber, was rushing off to strikers. He left behind one of his henchmen who merely advised the

Filled with disgust the workers oted for the agreement and left open shop proposal. Again the the meeting with disappointment ic leadership deserting them at the Conditions went from bad to worse. Most of the dressmakers crucial moment. The India rubber worked without agreements. Wages workers can depend only upon their were anything the workers could get. Lock-outs and reorganizations

union did nothing, calmly awaiting at Mogadore. he return of prosperity. Only when In the big rubber unions plans talk became rife that the union was are being pushed to test the recent tant too. worthless and that members would sell-out agreement by demanding stop paying dues to it, were the bu- wage increases for the cleaners and reaucrats stirred out of their swiv- elevator men.

(Continued from Page 1) came out simultaneously with the roaring banners on the "hunger march" that thousands of dollars had been appropriated for the Great Lakes naval station. Other items told of millions being expended for for the purpose of forcing agreenaval maneuvers in the Pacific. Yet, when the unemployed petitioned the Governor of the state for redress in the face of famine and

wholesale destitution, they were told in no uncertain, terms that a levy on an income tax was "unconstitutional." In the coal camps hovels and shacks of the jobless whimpering children starved. This, perhaps, is "constitutional."

Learn Political Lesson

The unemployed of the state learned the political lesson of their life. They were taught that the government of Illinois, like its big Reject Pact in government of Illinois, like its big brother, the government of the United States, was a government of Rubber Strike a class—the capitalist class. Il-lusion after illusion were dispelled a class-the capitalist class. Iland the unemployed should realize with the very enemies of hungry by now that a program of action must assume definite political character if victory is to be acquired. The marchers carried banners. United We Eat - Divided We and well cared labor aristocrats Starve," the slogan of the fighting spitting in the face of the masses National Unemployed League was who were desperately trying to adopted as the most popular banner of Illinois' hunger army. "We Want Work At Union Wages," "Down With The Sales Tax," "Feed Us Or Shoot Us Down," "Tax The Rich."

'We Want Shelter" were others among a hundred or more banners carried by the marchers.

Strangely enough, after Horner about this thing called the class had issued a statement of "not one struggle. In the meantime the fight cent," and Hopkins "not one thin continues. The jobless will refuse dime" for the jobless, the Illinois to starve in silence. They will re-Emergency Relief Commission came fuse to be satisfied with a "bean across with \$1,250,000 as a sop to order."

the unemployed. Other counties through rich donors and special READ THE NEW MILITANT.

Letters to the Editor

on the front page of the New York

Toledo to make an empty pledge of do) are irked at the influence which dent, one housewife, an S. P. secre-'moral and financial" support of A. J. Muste of the Workers Party tary, a machinist and a pal of his the rubber workers to the auto appears to have with the left-wing so I step all over the gent's toes in India workers "to use their own appreciation, and say "Atta boy" school teacher, a minister and shall judgment" about voting down the right out loud, and several people give the tenth sub to an unemrubber workers see the bureaucrat- and gives me his seat-maybe he thought I was talking to him! own strength on the picket line, and that I write something for the New a W.P. member out of a good Demthe support given them by the large Militant campaign,-but I thought ocrat! were regular occurrences. But the and militant Unemployed League I'd mention it anyway. After all, 'influence" of the W. P. does de-

pend a mighty lot on the New Mili-

is only so-so, and there is only half a month left. Personally I like to work "under pressure" at the last

HEARTED SUPPORT NOW CAN So I was hanging on a subway PRODUCE THAT TYPE OF PAPER! I have three more to get on my

ndividual quota of ten subs, and "A. F. of L. officials here (Tole- I'll get them somehow. One stu-(vocation unknown), a printer and members of the strike committee," a shop foreman comprise my catch to date. I shall go gunning for a look at me, and the gent gets up ployed friend, instead of seeing 'Goin' to Town." Now isn't that sacrificing for the Party! But after Which doesn't have much to do all Mae West will always be Mae lirectly with the Manager's request | West, while that sub might make

> How about it? All together for a final two-week's drive!

CARA COOK, Former Manager, New Militant



witness the role of the government Innininghin Dear Editor:

strap Monday morning, and I read



I understand the sub campaign minute, and perhaps many comsuccessfully cripple a giant organ- tall hustling! Visiting headquarters * hear ru-

sacrfice for them in this offer as the agreement had remained a deadletter hitherto. At a mass meeting called to ratify these negotiations considerable opposition was voiced y rank and filers. They were enthusiastically received by the work ers present. As was to be expected however, the stage was set in ad

vance and Hochman, International Situation in Fascist Italy." At President, was the last speaker. 420 E. 19th St., between Ave. A Soft-soaping in his own inimitable style, Hochman dilated on the de

to no avail.

pression, pleaded for acceptance of Saturday, May 25, 8:30—Dance and the agreement, begged for patience until the opportune moment, urged quarters, 420 E. 19th St. Given by that the workers wait for the New York strike after which conditions

S.Y.L. and Br. 1 raise its rent! | would automatically improve in Boston. the prevailing sentiment.

After voting support, the Central committee of three was voted to Friday, May 24, 8:30 P.M.—"What

instatement of local 574. In presenting its case local 574 contrasted the policy of Tobin and the policy of the union:

. . . There were two lines open

Take Immediate Steps

Union took immediate steps.

"Neither will you!"

Schwake Rats for Dillon

Despite Dillon's threats, lies,

ing the strike, had it not been for

local which has been stringing

along with the Dillon gang and



Brewery workers, actually went Friday, May 24, 8.30 P. M.--"The merely to gather the extra dues, pressed for a jurisdictional fight and 1st Ave. Speaker: Anthony Against Tobin's charge that the

and Housewarming of Browns-

see Tobin in Indianapolis and Green is the Meaning of the Francoin Washington, to fight out the case Soviet Pact?" At 1776 Pitkin Ave. on its merits and demand the re-

for the liquidation of all debts to the International, as well as other In connection with debts to the International it was pointed out by the union that "During the past 18 months while the work of building

the union was in progress no strike benefits or other financial ail or, indeed, any assistance, organizational or otherwise, was received

anything says their mother. Last summer John taught polo at a summer camp and Franklin Jr. toured Europe. . . . Eighty percent of the industrial firms in the U.S. will not hire new workers over 40 years of age. . . The majority decision of the Supreme Court nullifying the Railroad Retirement Act states: "It does not follow, as contended, that a man of 65 is inefficient or incompetent. The facts indicate a contrary conclusion." . .

Patriotism . . .

Ex-Senator George Wharton Pepper shaved his mustache of 40 cajolery and brow-beating, it is years standing in order to play the doubtful that Dillon would have part of George Washington in a succeeded in his purpose of smash-Philadelphia pageant. . . . In an "aversion test," Dr. E. L. Thorndike of Columbia University, found Schwake. that two thirds of the older persons tested would "spit at the picture of George Washington" for \$10,000. Half the younger ones would do it for less than \$10. All union put over by the pressure of were jobless. . .

Society Notes . . .

bucking the progressives on the "I couldn't tend to Anne drunk strike committee-Schwake stepped all night and work all day," pleadto the "mike" and pleaded with the ed Brandon Smith, husband of Anne strikers to accept the proposals. He Cannon, textile and tobacco heirtold the strikers to think of their ess. "Brandon was dumb and I wives and children going hungry if was dumb for living with him. The the strike continued further, he aronly reason I married him was to gued that they weren't strong get a home," retorted Anne, Branenough to battle General Motors dedon was awarded \$125,000 heart spite the fact that the strikers had balm by the court. . . . The 287 forced the company to terms on "rugged pioneers" being transplantpoint after point in the course of ed to the heart of Alaska revolted aboard ship when they were given

threat to lift their charter. buttered bread rather than indi-Schwake swung enough of them tant remained in the hall for an vidual pats of butter. . . Elsie de to carry the vote for Dillon. Until | hour after adjournment. They were Wolfe, actress, considers her bathhe spoke, the strikers were dead- fighting mad. They wanted to hold oughly. room the crowning glory of a life devoted to beauty. "Moonshine and set against acceptance. But Schwa- another meeting to reconsider. They glamour, white orchids and rock ke was the man whom they regard- wanted to return and man the crystal, silver tissue and white furs, ed as one of their own trusted lead-picket lines despite everything. In barons and corporations are not inreflected in many mirrors-that is ers. It was he they had voted for this group were the best fighters, vincible. A small handful, commy bathroom. The hooks are in in the Auto Labor Board election the most self-sacrificing, the picket paratively, of Toledo strikers, milithe form of dolphins. The faucets one month before. All during the captains, strike committee members. are the heads of swans. The car-strike he had presented himself as But it was too late. For the mo-eral Motors to negotiate with them pet is of white velvet. The electric a militant, although behind the ment demoralization had set in. The directly, against all the previously lights are mother of pearl in a de-scenes he went along with Dillon, majority of the strikers had dis-declared policy of General Motors. sign of oyster shells. There are fought the progressives under cover, persed, most of them in disgust. They won some concessions, even always white' flowers, sometimes prevented the publication of the They were weary of body and torn though meagre and apt to be withgreat sprays of white orchids." . . . strike bulletin, helped keep strike in spirit. Some of the bravest of drawn if the union men fail to push

Ninety percent of American farm- funds from the strike committee, them wept. ers still perform the Saturday night tried to start a "red scare" and pre- Jimmy Roland had given the fight every attempt to violate the rtual in a galvanized wash tub. ... vented the distribution of hand- real militant leadership and direc- terms. Further, they have demon-



(Continued from Page 1) bills by other working class organ-Muste, who has been in Toledo as- izations, and sought to take over sisting the local branch in developthe leadership of the strike from ing the forces and strategy of the the elected strike committee. union progressives in the strike.

Knifes Roland He shouted "Muste won't feed you!" perhaps didn't understand, these A score of voices hurled back,

was betraying Jimmy Roland, their tive in the organizing of the pro-

While slips of paper were being Ramsey and Bossler, the former means. And then Dillon thanked passed out for ballots intended to Schwake in as business agent. They in the back. record a secret vote-a maneuver to catch the "weak-sisters" in the didn't know Schwake was inexperienced and vacillating and that he the executive committee of the

had been run for office with the promise that he would accept the be termed an utter defeat, however, advice of the experienced union men although the auto workers have like Roland. When Schwake turned lost their finest opportunity to date

under many of them. They became knees throughout the country. confused. Their confidence in the correctness of their militant position was shattered. Many faltered as he spoke all through the votetaking. Only after the vote was ly adjourned did they begin to realize that they had voted for something they did not want, that they the strike, he pointed to Dillon's had been fooled and tricked.

kept the strike committe time after of workers, willing to fight, can 1, but there will have to be some time from capitulating to the presand the General Motors officials.

had personally spread the strike to other cities in the face of the opposition of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, was indeed the spark-plug of the entire fight. He fought in his

grim bull-dog honest fashion to the But the strikers didn't know, or bitter end, but he seemed in a daze during the entire meeting. Only 24 things. They didn't know Schwake years old, he did not as yet possess the skill and knowledge to offset fighting chairman of the strike the maneuvers of Dillon. His very committee and leader of the mili- incorruptible honesty and sense of tants. They didn't know that it fair play betrayed him. For it was was Jim Roland who was most ac- he who finally persuaded the strikers to permit Dillon to speak. He gressives in the local after last did it in the sense of demonstrating year's Auto-Lite strike, in ousting to Dillon what democratic unionism

reactionary leaders, and putting him by knifing him and the strikers

Progressives Organize

The results of this strike cannot tail, the props were knocked from to force the auto barons to their Out of this fight has grown a force of militant progressives in the clean, progressive, fighting unionauto unions who have demonstrated ism which the W.P. has succeeded conclusively their power and abili- in implanting in the minds of the ty. The struggle they put on in auto union members will bear fruit. announced and the meeting official- Toledo, although meeting with temlocal held tonight, a thousand unporary defeat, has already aroused progressives in the auto unions ion men cheered the President of the local when he said: "In three throughout the country. Tonight weeks you won more than General these progressives are planning to Motors has granted any group of get together, to lay out a national workers in twenty years. What program, to organize, train and can you do in another six discipline themselves more thor-

months! Build the union for the Moreover, this strike has proved next, fight," Walter Gunthrop, to the auto workers that the auto President of the Central Labor Union of Toledo, denounced the settlement as a bastard affair whose mother was Francis J. Dillon. Midwife at the birth was James Wilson, tant and determined, forced Gen-Green's personal representative, he stated. The men unanimously pledged themselves to stick in the union, throw out their false leaders, and build the organization toward a fight to a finish with General forward their organization and Motors.

ization like the Chevrolet Corp. W. P. in the Strike

gressives in this strike were organ. pages, etc. And apparently the ized have laid the groundwork for main obstacle to taking the plunge more successful and wide-spread is not having quite adequate supattempts in the future. Although port in pushing the paper from the most of the strikers were new un- branches and membership as a ion men, the militants were drawn whole. It's my guess that if this together. Bill Prior did a splendid campaign were to approach closely job on this. A real floor machine, 100 percent success, the New Milinexperienced as it was, was devel- tant would immediately come out pped, and it put up a magnificent larger or more frequently. battle when all the circumstances are considered. A regular series of leaflets were issued to the strikwere eagerly read and were tremendously effective in suggesting to Mass., the strikers the practical and necessary course to be pursued in the strike. Key men, rank and file

tactics, and militant unionism. For one brief period, despite all the handicaps, it seemed as though the progressives would carry the day. This year the production season is almost over. But the seeds of

At a meeting of the Chevrolet

mors of an enlarged paper, a daily, The methods by which the pro- a bi-monthly supplement, eight

With a larger paper, its character inevitably improves. In my own case, for example, it hasn't been ers by the Workers Party. These easy to sell the New Militant "as she is" in the wilds of Worcester, open - shop, middle-classminded city. But I am sure a larger paper would be more comprehensive and complete in its viewleaders, were educated and trained point and presentation of news, and in parliamentary procedure, strike so easier to promote. Only WHOLE-

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READ THE NEW MILITANT.

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SATURDAY, MAY 18, 1935

NEW MILITANT

In the Labor

Movement

PAGE 3

ing society" or an "academy of The 'American Approach theoreticians?" If by that is meant **MARCH OF EVENTS** that we have vigorous internal discussions over real issues, in the national and international sphere, one has come forward with any (Ed. Note: This is the second of

In Belgium . . .

Social Democracy again proves its role as a brake on the working class in its struggle against capitalism. With the existence of a Marxist party in Belgium, the politsurrounding the formation of the ical crisis through which that councoalition ministry that the socialist try has been passing could have workers, the rank and file, were opbeen utilized to direct the proletariat in militant struggle for the purposed to this betraval and to class collaboration at this juncture. For pose of achieving as a first step a the entry was in the nature of a workers' government. But a revocoup d'etat, an accomplished fact, lutionary party did not exist there. put over not merely on the Labor owing in largest measure to the Party, but on the Central Commitcriminal blunders and betrayals of tee of the party as well. This Stalinism. Social Democracy rethrows the clearest light possible tains its power over the trade unon the attitude of these misleaders ions and in the political activities towards "legality." They would of the masses. But within the ranks have the workers follow the course of the socialist Labor Party of Belpermitted to them by finance capgium, the most advanced workers, ital in the struggle to overthrow absorbing some of the bitter lesthe bourgeoisie, but they reserve to sons of the German defeat, have been slowly moving to the left. The themselves the right to act "illegally" for the benefit of the bourgeoisdeep-going crisis of capitalism proie in the ranks of the working duced the objective conditions for class. This act on the part of the the rapid growth of such a left reactionaries will have wide reperwing, but its leadership could only cussions. The desertion of the left accommodate itself to the pressure wing by its leader Spaak, who also of the reformist leaders at the right joined the ministry (his reward for and thus held back the workers inthis foul treachery), prevented an stead of arousing them to militant immediate split, since the left

Coalition Gov't . . .

* * *

action.

lication of "Action Socialiste" and In Belgium, as in France, fasdenounced the coalition government, cism is a growing menace to the stating: "We again reaffirm our beworking class. The Belgian king is in close touch with the forces of Socialism. Coalition is disastrous." reaction and the monarchy will be The situation in the Labor Party utilized without a doubt in the atat present is a real test of the lefttempt to save the capitalist system ist forces and may result in rapid by handing the power to the exprogress to a real Marxist basis. treme reactionaries who will crush Thus a deputy from Brussels deall workers' organizations unless clared in the Special Congress the workers seize the power and called to "ratify" the fait accomliquidate the monarchy at the same pli: "I am convinced now more time. Far from preparing the than ever that with these methods masses for this revolutionary task. (compromise) capitalism will never the Social Democracy is rendering be conquered. We have behind us them passive. Instead of breaking bitter events-Germany, Austriawith the bourgeoisie as the first isn't that sufficient that we should step in the defense of the workers learn? We must have more confiagainst fascism, the betraying dence in the power of the working leaders of the Labor Party have class—in our own strength—the joined in the coalition ministry. time will come when our voice will The militant workers have demandbe heard-the voice of Revolutioned straight along that in the politary Socialism." ical crisis accompanying the economic one, the Labor Party take over the government alone. But will tend to unite the left centrist there is nothing that socialist leadforces and aid them to reach the ers fear so much as power, for then advanced workers. This also inthey cannot reject the basic devolves the struggle against De Man mands of the working class withfor putting into effect his entire out standing naked and exposed. "Labor Plan" which would involve The entry of Vandervelde, De Man the taking of power by a workers' and the "leftist" Spaak into the government, and not merely por-Van Zeeland coalition shows once tions of it, as De Man now promore how reformism creates illuphoses. In this fight the Bolsheviks sions among the workers by demust come to the aid of the revonouncing capitalism loudly in words | lutionary workers in the Labor in order the better to save the Party. In the course of common deeds. Vandervelde requires the to avoid complete exposure when workers' power.



It is clear from the circumstances

forces in the Labor Party were

thrown into confusion. Neverthe-

less the left wing continued its pub-

The struggle against coalition

series of articles by Comrade Muste. The third article will appear next week.)

By A. J. MUSTE II.

sing.

correct tactics."

first to disown.

There is another dea advanced cussions which have indeed raged by Comrade Budenz which along furiously many times in the radwith certain valuable suggestions ical movement thus to be discussed exhibits the same individualism, un- as the ravings of neurasthenics reality, "other-worldliness," the about fictions? Was there not a real pioneer's longing for a fresh start, issue between Marx and the Utothe yearning for the ideal, as the pian socialists? Or Marx and conceptions we have been discus-Bakunin? And was it not essential The "American approach" to the advancement of the working means, he suggests, that in buildclass that these issues be fought ing the American revolutionary out and clarified? To take another party we must make a fresh start. illustration, comrade Budenz would The movement in this country must be the last to argue that there is be "foot-loose from the broils of no real issue as between the Social-European radicalism." Our workdemocrat and the revolutionist or ers and farmers are "nauseated that it is not necessary to break the hold of the Social-democracy on the with the charges and countercharges of 'opportunism,' 'renegadmind of the working class. ism,' etc. which fill the radical air.

The Issue at Hand

They are "fed up on the neurasthenic fictions which one radical question as to whether the conflict group must, as a matter of duty, between the C.P. and the W.P., becreate about the other-muddying the waters and hiding the lesson of those who have raised the banner

There is here, be it said in passhas to do with significant issues. ing, a hint that it is only European But to ask this question is to an- a few years ago? radicalism which is afflicted with swer it! Conceivably an honest broils, that American radicalism would be free of them if these bad Europeans had not brought them over or if, perhaps, foolish Americans had not imitated the Europ- and social-fascists (a breed that talism in the U.S. rapidly approacheans There is surely no foundalief in the revolutionary road to tion in fact for such an assumption of the peaceableness of Americans, red or any other color, and who belong to the C. P. or are un- thwart the labor movement, we can a tendency is evident here to slip into language which might easily

with other workers?

Mud-Slinging Methods Now there is no question that of the C.P., social-fascism. party ternational, not national issues. radical parties and groups have and workers' democracy, socialism Still further, it is utterly impossible sometimes devoted time and energy in one country, the foreign policy to comprehend what is happening in the class struggle. Obviously, if to wrangling over non-essentials or of the Soviet Union, cannot be disissues that had become dead. It is missed as unimportant, "neurasalso true that controversy has de- thenic fictions," any more than the and farmers, or to devise a way scended at times to the level of controversy between Marx and the petty sniping. The C. P. has pur- Utopians, or Lenin and the Social- what is happening to world-capitalsued a policy of mud-slinging, char- Democrats could be. The advent ism and of what the working class acter-assassination (at this very of Fascism, the reasons why the of all lands can do about it. moment directed against Comrade workers' movement did not prevent

Budenz), lying, double-crossing, it, the debacle of the C.P. in Gerbreaking up meetings of other many, the fact that in seven years, groups, which have introduced a and such years, the Third Internademoralization and bitterness into tional, claiming to be the general the radical movement. With any staff of the world revolutionary protest against any of these tenmovement, has had .no congressdencies wherever they may appear, all this, the W.P. claims, can only the W.P. will associate itself. It mean that the working class of the

has taken and will take the lead in world has entered upon a new the effort to eradicate them. But there is here a lumping together of all controversies in the radical movement and the suggestion that they are not over serious the revolutionary vanguard must over these forces for a real militant

be given a nationalistic interpreta-

tion which its author would be the

and genuine issues but the product first decide whether the basic princapitalist ("democratic") system in struggle the Bolsheviks can win of "neurasthenic fictions" which ciples of the movement remain or we fight with all the mental re-

bourgeoisie in the coalition so as struggle against fascism and for against the others as a justification out. The W.P. bases itself upon the conception as to what that basis is. for its own existence. Are the dis-principles of Marx and Lenin. No Are we then to become a "debat-

The Use of Polemics ation.

> The Point of Departure It then becomes necessary to ask

how the basic principles have been perverted, misapplied, departed from. How can the revolutionary movement possibly go on, unless it is simply to make a leap in the dark, save on the basis of an evaluation of the past, its successes and its failures? Since when has it become scientific and realistic for a movement not to strive earnestly to benefit by its own experience? To propose to "start from scratch' in action. with a brand-new revolutionary

movement is to cry for the moon. We cannot wipe out history. Our opponents will talk about it if we do not. It is not even true that the workers of the U.S. are nauseated are certain comrades in the Party with discussion of these issues. Most of them do not know anything about them, it is true. They are

It really comes down, then, to the uninterested, rather than nauseated. But will any one say that there is less discussion in the S.P. for extween the Third International and ample, or among the more advanced workers generally, about revoluof the New, Fourth, International, tionary principles and the evaluation of European events, etc. than

Less now than ever before is it do. worker may be on one side or the possible or advisable for the revoother in the controversy, and we do lutionary movement in the U.S. to not class those workers who differ | ignore or isolate itself from Europguments have all been answered. but that has not made the C.P. from us as counter-revolutionists ean or world-experience. As capidisappear. The arguments of the seems suddenly to be as extinct as es the same stage of development capitalists have all been answered the dodo). But every day in the as in Euroean countries and ret00. academic, intellectualistic, i.e. nonfield our comrades encounter those sorts to much the same devices to Marxian, approach could possibly think that arguments, oral or writder its influence. They must be learn very direct and specific lesequipped to reason with them. What sons from European experience. ten, by themselves, dispose of instielse should a responsible wetker do Fascism is not a remote or abstract issue for American workers. War

Furthermore, the issues of the is not a remote or abstract issue united front, the trade union policy for us. Furthermore, they are ina living alternative, a revolutionary party that can actually function we have to prove that we can functo the pocket-book, the home, the tion in order to win the leadership dinner-table of American workers of the workers as against opponent parties, we have to function while out, save by an understanding of these parties still exist and are also at work. Who would expect to be otherwise in the world of reality? Whe can give the matter a mo-

Unity—Its Real Meaning

One other point in this connection. It is true that the workers desire unity. They must achieve unity in order to win their freedom. But a revolutionist has no business to lapse into sentimentality or muddle-headedness. As we have

pointed out on other occasions there was a united labor movement epoch, as truly as a new epoch in Austria, but it went down before dawned with the debacle of the Fascism because it was united on a false, social-democratic, basis. We

Second International in 1914. Confronted with such a situation, must not, therefore, seek to evade the controversy as to what is the sound basis for unity. Rather must each radical group has to trump up whether a new set is to be worked sources at our command for our

and the entire household terrorized

when the mob told them that un

The Federal government, that



S. W., PHILADELPHIA-

we develop an ingrown party, the answer is that we shall permit that Question: Do not Stalin and to happen at our peril. Again and other of his followers prove that again we say, the Party must get Lenin claimed that it was possible into the class struggle, yes, here to completely build a Socialist soin the U.S.A. It must prove itself ciety in the Soviet Union alone?

in action, and if it does not, it will Auswer. The sole theoretical justification given by the Stalinists be thrown into the garbage-can. where it would belong, by the workfor the "theory of Socialism in ing class. Theory is with us the one country" consists of two quoguide to action and is to be tested tations from Lenin, one from his article on the United States of

Europe, written in 1915, and the The Question of Stalinism other from his unfinished article on Are we to be an "anti-Stalinist" Cooperation, written in 1923. Everyrather than an "anti-capitalist" thing else that Marx, Engels and party? It seems to me that there Lenin said, wrote, or did is ignored, as are the programs of the Party who from different angles take an and Young Communist League durunrealistic view of the matter here ing the October period and all the raised. On the one hand, there are opinions expressed by the Party comrades who to all intents and leaders during that time, including purposes say that we have to anthose of the now-supporters of the swer the Stalinists' arguments and "theory," if we do that we can dispose of

Space does not permit a demonthem and go ahead, and those who stration of the fact that even the from a slightly different angle conquotations adduced by the Stalintend that until the C.P. has been ists do not permit them the claim put out of the running, by whatever that Lenin was an advocate of the means, there is very little we can "theory" which Stalin first advanced in 1924, but if you will refer For one thing, the Stalinist arto "The Draft Program of the Com-

munist International, a Criticism of Fundamentals" by Trotsky, a copy of which is available from almost any of the former C.L.A. members, Only comrades with a very you will find a complete analysis of this question under the chapter headed "The Theoretical Tradition of the Party."

tutions and organizations. We have (H), NEW YORK-

to demonstrate to the workers not Question: What is the difference only that we can win a debate with between a "minimum" and a Marxthe C.P., but that we can offer them ian program?

> Answer: The posing of the problem in this manner puts the entire question in a false light. The confusion surrounding the term "minimum," where the program of the political party is concerned, flows from the attempt to decree history, i.e., to set up, a priori, and regardless of time and space, the concept of what a program must be, and to label this "Marxist." When a program, under definite historical conlitions, obviously advances the historical needs of the working class but is nevertheless "less" than that which the historical ultimatists would "like," it is sometimes accepted by them but labelled "minimum" IN CONTRAST to "Marx-

The Ostrich Method On the other hand, there are

ment's thought and then propose

that we put off trade union work

until the C.P. has been liquidated

rather than contest the field in the

unions now with the C. P.? Yes,

comrades, again: Project the party

into the class struggle!

ian." Actually such contrasting is comrades who practically take the impermissible because that program, conditioned as it must be by position that the Party should ignore the existence of the C.P. "sim- the life process, which moves social ply go ahead with its work," spread | forces in a progressive direction, IS its anti-capitalist message, build MARXIST.

Let us recall a historical exambranches, help organize the unemple. When the Bolsheviks, under ployed, enter the unions, etc., but Lenin, divided the land equally eschew controversy either about principles or practical matters. If among the peasantry, this was sharply criticized by Rosa Luxemthe comrades referred to in the preceding paragraph suffer primarily bourg as having nothing in common with Socialism. The progresfrom being academic, these latter comrades are afflicted with a senti- sive character of the program of mental outlook. It would indeed be the Bolsheviks is now obvious so pleasant if there were no serious that if we were to follow the methcontroversies in the working class, odoloy of those who contrast "mini-

Ward H. Rogers Tells Stirring Story **Of Share-Croppers Battle**

By HARRY STRANG "The plight and struggle of the exploited sharecroppers of Arkansas are an integral part of the plight and struggle of the whole American working class. It is quite logical, therefore, that the Non-Partisan Labor Defense should be part of the committee supporting my appeal against a six-month's sentence for 'anarchy.' The Southern Tenant Farmers Union appreciates this support. I wish the Non-Partisan Labor Defense every success in its effort to build a nation-wide, fighting defense body including workers of many political affiliations."

Thus Ward H. Rodgers, class war victim of the Arkansas plantation struggles now touring the East on behalf of his union, of whose executive he is a member, wound up a brief address to members of the New York N.P.I.D. at their reorganization meeting last week. Rodgers, who will speak in many eastern cities during the next two months, was unanimously elected an honorary member of the new Executive Board of the N.P.L.D. at this meeting.

Interviewed after the meeting, Rodgers told something of the situation in Arkansas, the fight of his ers. union and his own persecution at the hands of the landowning class.

"Our union is made up of sharecroppers. A sharecropper is a man who owns nothing but his own | "and it was quite safe. We started labor-power. Generally, whether Negro or white, he has no vote. He lives on a great plantation and farms a little corner of it. The plantation owner furnishes him, that is gives him seed, a mule, tools and food, as well as a rotten clapboard shack. The cropper and his family work all year, planting, cultivating, picking.

NRA a New Burden

"He is supposed to get half the market price brought by the crop. That would be little enough. . . issue. Then, before we could even through with his 'deducts'-whe- now I can't move around in North were arrested and jailed by J. Mays,

crooked pencil-the cropper gets next to nothing. The new policies of Roosevelt mean nothing to the cropper-except that some of the most energetic among them have been forced off the land altogether to starve with the urban unem ployed.

'Poverty, illiteracy, tuberculosis, pellagra, malaria, starvation . that is the life story of the sharecroppers of Arkansas as well as of other parts of the country. In Arkansas the average family earns about \$300 a year. Half the poputhat much---if you can call it living.'

Color Issue Raised

high-powered car. Deputies, night-| They were terrorized while in jail | for years. riders, vigilantes are the exploiters' by a mob of planters who threat-On April 2 the home of EA B. answer to the croppers' first move ened to lynch them. They were McKinney, another member of the party which toured the east in the to improve their living conditions." held in a flooded cell for three days Rodgers outlined some of the acts without adequate food or fire. interest of the union and vicepresident of the union, was riddled On February 9 Powers Hapgood,

planters and officers.

On March 6 Will Irving, share-

of terror perpetrated by the agents of the landowners. A few of them of the Socialist Party and several with more than fifty bullets while follow. On November 20, 1934: W. H. Stultz, President of the Union, and three organizers were arrested and jailed while organizing Cross

cropper and union member was shot | less they all left Marked Tree with-County. They were held in jail for in the arm by a plantation rider in 24 hours they would be killed. 40 days. At the trial in February named Lancaster.

the judge ordered a verdict of "Not On March 16 Norman Thomas, H. friend of the oppressed, sent an inguilty." The union meeting was L. Mitchell, John Herling and How- vestigator to Arkansas, Mrs. Mary broken up by Sheriff Stacy who ard Kester were manhandled and Connor Myers. She didn't like to acted on orders from plantation slugged by a drunken mob of plant- make trouble for the plantation owners near Parkin and Earle, Arers and officers at Birdsong. Bob owners, but so terrible is the plight kansas. A gaug of gunmen accom- Frazier of Tyronza, Arkansas, re- of the croppers, so obvious the lation of the state are living off panied Sheriff Stacy, including puted head of the recently organ- crimes against them, that her re-Floyd Roberts, planter, O. R. Bel- ized Ku Klux Klan was in the moby port necessarily reflected some critford, plantation rider (foreman). There were many prominent planticism of the landowners' methods

The croppers have been promised W. W. Hazlip, Justice of the Peace, lers in the mob who took no active As a result, the Department of Agpart except to encourage the others. salvation a thousand times, but and Walls Campbell, Justice of the riculture and the AAA have supthey never got a step nearer until Peace at Parkin, Arkansas. O. R. On March 21 a mob, many of pressed the Myers report. Senator Belford took charge of A. B. Brookthey began to take their fate in whom are identified, attempted to Robinson of Arkansas, Roosevelt's their own hands. When Rodgers ins, Negro minister and Chaplain of lynch Rev. A. B. Brookins, Union floor-leader in the upper House of and others began to organize the the Union and beat him so badly Chaplain and organizer at Marked Congress, uses his power to block

Southern Tenant Farmers Union that it was necessary for Sheriff Tree, Arkansas. After the mob had all requests for the publication of last July, the croppers at Tyronza Stacy to secure medical treatment. failed on four occasions to lure the report. He vetoes any Federal On January 26, 1935, Rodgers Brookins from his cabin they turned intervention on behalf of the cropwent for it in a big way. Today according to Rodgers, it has 10,000 was arrested at Marked Tree, while their guns upon his home and ridpers

members in 50 locals in eastern addressing a meeting of Negro and dled it with bullets. Brookins is Arkansas, with a few in southern white croppers. Fred H. Stafford, in hiding. Missouri and eastern Oklahoma. It deputy prosecuting Attorney for On March 22 W. H. Stultz was

Poinsett County had been stationed has held the largest mass meetings taken to the office of Chapman-Dewever held in the history of Arkansas with his stenographer at the edge ey Land Co. in Marked Tree by A. -and held them in the face of a of the crowd with the evident infierce government-backed terror tention of framing someone. Rod- Bob Frazier. campaign launched by the landownjury composed of 11 planters and

business men and 1 tenant farmer. He was sentenced to six months "I used to hitch-hike when I went

and a fine of \$500. The case is out organizing," Rodgers related. now on appeal. **Threaten Lynchings** in the summer and the owners thought it was just a little pre-On February 1 Lucien Koch and

election stunt by political fakers. Robert Reed, both of Common-Election passed, and we went on wealth College, Ark., were forcibly organizing the union. We took in taken from a church at Gilmore, Negroes and white, mixed up in the Arkansas by an armed mob carrysame union. We showed the croping a rope with which to lynch pers that militant unity is the only them. Both were severely beaten road, that class matters rather than and "pistol whipped." The mob was led by Jake Lewis, a planta-

color. The union grew. "Then the owners changed their tion rider and Benton Moore, formattitude. They did not wait for us erly an officer of the law in Crittento strike. They raised the color den County.

Spillings, Fred Bradsher and Stultz was told by gers was tried for "anarchy" by a Frazier and Bradsher that they "Your brains are blown out and your body thrown into the St.

Francis River." Carpenter of Marked Tree, attorney

for the union, was fired upon by vigilantes in Marked Tree. Shoot Union Men

On April 1 Walter Moskop, one of the members of the trio which toured eastern cities in behalf of higher court of Arkansas in Octothe Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, escaped from his home when by a union committee which has

boy that the vigilantes were clos- Defense Committee, a joint body ing in on home to kill him. Andy including the Workers Party, the

union officials were prevented from his family and some friends were

holding a meeting at Birdsong by inside. Two men were badly shot

croppers came to the sensible conclusion that a union must be a good thing for the croppers. So in they came, and no terror can stop them."

he was told by his eleven year old the backing of the Ward H. Rodgers

if they were all engaged in a united mum' with "Marxist" we must necessarily conclude that the Bolsheattack on the capitalist system. But viks had such a non-Marxist "minthen the revolution would be here! imum" program. Actually it was The world does not happen to be as we would like it. In the real world | Marxist in the fullest sense of the word and Trotsky had occasion to we must fight those who mislead the working class in order to fight point out that if they had followed capitalism effectively. In any event, Rosa Luxembourg's "Marxism" they might have been left with this but they will attack us and leave us no in all probability without the proalternative but to fight. letarian power. And though argument about prin-

"It would be possible to speak of ciples does not of itself suffice to Socialist perspectives only after wrest leadership from an opponent the establishment and successful party, it is just as true that in preservation of the proletaria.n order to achieve leadership the power. And this power could pre-Party must do more than conduct serve itself only by giving leterpicket lines. It must demonstrate mined co-operation to the peasant its intellectual superiority. Partly in carrying out his revolution. If because only thus can the most adthe distribution of the land would vanced and intelligent workers and strengthen the socialist government intellectuals be won. Chiefly, bepolifically, it was then wholly juscause the Party's job is not merely tified as an immediate measure. The to conduct a series of skirmishes peasant had to be taken as the revwith the employing class, but notholution found him. . . ," ("History ing less than leadership in the overof the Russian Revolution"). throw of capitalism. The Party

The gist of the matter is this: must have intellectual competence Revolutionists may, wthout illuand satisfy the advanced workers sions, adopt a program which does not contain all that they would The Job Before Us like to see fulfilled but which ad-It makes a tremendous difference, vances the historical needs of sohowever, whether the attack on ciety under a given set of circum-Stalinism is regarded as a means

stances, and such a program 18 MARXIST even if it be labelled "minimum" to show its historical conditioning. which is after all to do the job or whether we are really conscious of

Question: Is the "Declaration of being the revolutionary party whose Principles" of the Workers Party task is to rally the workers for the a Marxian document?

> Answer: YES! The "Declaration' ontains the following points which are essential prerequisites for advancing the historical needs of the proletariat under present-day historical conditions: The recognition of the decline and reactionary nature of present day capitalism (imperialism); the recognition of the nature of the capitalist state power; the need for the overthrow of capitalism through a revolutionary struggle for power; for a vanguard party; for the dictatorship of the working class; for workers' councils (soviets); for a classless society; for a new International, for

on the plantation owners of Arkanthe defense of the Soviet Union; Smith, riding boss for Chapman- Socialist Party, the LW.W., the sas, Rodgers may yet be saved from for a struggle against imperialist On February 2 Rodgers, Koch, Dewey, lay in hiding throughout Non-Partisan Labor Defense, unions a six-months' sentence in jail. To war and fascism; for a program of but by the time the landlord gets pose demands, the terror began, and Atley Delaney and Robert Baker the day near Moskop's home. Mos- and other bodies. If this committee save him would be a real aid to immediate demands and the united kop is a native of Arkansas and succeeds in raising the needed funds the share-croppers and their union, front; against reformism, Stalinism ther reckoned honestly or with a Bastern Arkansas safely even in a city marshall of Lepanto, Arkansas. has had his home in Marked Tree and bringing aggressive pressure of which he is a leading militant. 'and centrism.

The Federal government knows or as an end, whether we think of what is going on in Arkansas, ourselves or act as if we considered and it wants nobody else to know ourselves critics of another party about it or to do anything about

that it has.

assault on capitalism, which justi-

fies itself in action on a broader

tem which with our sister parties

Muste's series will appear next

(The third article of Comrade

we aim to overthrow.

week.)

it! N.P.L.D. Aids Defense

Rodgers stated that the only solution is further organization and would personally see to it that further struggle. He said that On March 26 the home of C. T. fighters," he says. "When the owners began to fight the union, the

and broader scale, and pays just since the terror was loosed against so much attention to other parties the croppers, the union has moved as may be necessary as an incident ahead. "Down in Arkansas we are in that major task. We are the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, rev-

the capitalist system in the U.S. and throughout the world-the sys-

Rodgers case comes before the ber. His defense is being handled

olutionary Party and our pre-occupation is not with the C.P. but with

SATURDAY, MAY 18, 1935

NEW MILITANT

Treason in France

ed by M. Laval would limit itself

to an agreement that Germany

with which is merged THE MILITANT Published weekly by the Workers Party of the U.S. 2 West 15th Street, New York City Phone. ALgonquin 4-9058

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Lessons of the Toledo Battle

(Continued from Page 1)

successful fight was put up against the A. F. of L. bureaucrats in the automobile situation than ever before.

That General Motors knew whom it was fighting is attested by the fact that when Flint was threatened with a strike despite all the efforts of the company and the A. F. of L. to prevent it and the General Motors-controlled newspapers in that city launched a vicious campaign of red-baiting and incitement to violence, it was directed against the Workers Party and its national secretary.

That the A. F. of L. bureaucrats shared the company's view as to the enemy to be feared is attested by Francis Dillon's petulant exclamation when the Chevrolet workers barred him from speaking at their meeting: "Let Muste run their union for them if they want him."

2. The Party and the workers must nevertheless frankly face the fact that the strike was only in a very limited sense victorious. General Motors was compelled to negotiate directly with the Strike Committee elected by the rank and file. The Automobile Labor Board was clubbed into unconsciousness. Wage increases were obtained. They are small when the cost of living and General Motors' profits are taken into account. Real union recognition and definite assurance that a quietus will be put upon the company union was not obtained. Questions of seniority and abolition of the "merit clause" are left hanging in the air. Most deplorable is the fact that Toledo workers who have marched in the vanguard so often and to whom General Motors' workers in Norwood, Cleveland and Atlanta had pledged not to return to work until Toledo got its union contract-Toledo workers at the critical moment permitted themselves to be thrown into confusion and to vote to go back to work before settlements had been negotiated in these other plants. That was indeed a defeat and a humiliation.

3. The Toledo workers were subdued not by General Motors and not from any lack of courage and militancy on their own part, but chiefly by the perfidious treachery of Francis Dillon, the chief representative of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy in the situation. The lowest forms of trickery, the most brazen intimidation, were employed by him. For public consumption he pretended to urge the Norwood committee to call their men out in support of Toledo. Privately he told them to throw copies of Strike Truth into the waste basket. The New Militant has told the story of how he literally forced the Flint workers to stay in, condoned their working on scab transmissions, and insinuated that the Toledo strikers were yellow and unworthy of support. His henchmen beat up a Toledo union militant in Flint. This mouther of phrases about "democratic" America and the "democratic" A. F. of L. told the Toledo strikers, the strike committee, the union executive board, BEFORE THE VOTE Monday night that if they did not vote to accept the company's compromise proposal, he would withdraw the union's charter! This is his notion of democratic procedure! Thus when the Chevrolet strikers had barred him from speaking at their meeting-correctly so in view of the slimy role he had enacted-he played, desperately and despicably, upon their open shoppery!

very loyalty to their union, upon the desire of the new unionists to be a part of the A. F. of L., in order to put over a brazen piece of autocracy, which violated the most elementary principles of democratic unionism.

More openly and more sharply every fight for unionism is a fight against the present reac-proletariat, will accomplish the tionary leadership of the labor movement. In overthrow of the capitalist regime, every strike we must from the outset make it one of our principal tasks to expose it and undermine whatever confidence the rank and file may have in it. That it can be done was proved in Toledo. The Chevrolet strikers Monday night, after having read the New Militant issues with the exposure of the Akron sell-out and Dillon's performance at Flint on the picket lines that day hooted with derision at Mussolini Dillon's attempt to whip up a red scare against the W.P.

4. The next most important factor in the partial undoing of the Chevrolet strikers was the organizational and political inexperience of the strikers themselves and their leaders. Of the marvelous battle put up especially by Jimmy Roland and some of his colleagues we have already spoken. Nothing can dim that achievement, yet there were defects which must be avoided in the future. The importance of making a fight for a militant daily bulletin was not sensed and the Strike Committee backed down on it too readily when the union executive at Dillon's behest vetoed the idea. Technical details such as regular strike committee

meetings, secretarial service, etc. were neglected. The calling of a conference of all striking locals was too long delayed. When Roland for the Strike Committee at last got the call out, Dillon was in a position to countermand it. The power of the reactionary forces in the labor movement, and the length to which they would go in betrayal, was underestimated. Strike Truth was the greatest weapon of the strike. It was a fundamental error to allow it

to be suppressed.

5. What next? For the Chevrolet workers, loyalty to the union. No tearing up of union books. Closing of ranks, so that General Motors will understand that they are dealing with workers who have been tested and hardened in the fires of experience, who intend to build an ever stronger union, and who will fight at the drop of the hat against any attempt to discriminate against active unionists or to revive a company union. We know that this is the spirit of the Toledo workers.

For the militants in the Toledo Auto Union and especially those in the Chevrolet plant who in a few days were developed into such an intelligent, courageous, dashing force, the task now is solid organization. That organization must not be merely local. Through the contacts they have made in other centers, a national organization of progressive automobile unionists must be built. The time is ripe for it This will give notice to Dillon, to Fred Schawke, the business agent who buckled under pressure, and all their ilk that this was the first round and that in the next they will not merely be hanging on the ropes but down for the count. No lesson of the General Motors strike, so brilliant yet so far from attaining the results

Stalinis The working masses are searching the political line which will prevent war, or if the war break

out in spite of the efforts of the which is responsible for war, and substitute the socialist regime for

We wish to show merely by quo tations from l'Humanite, the daily paper of the Communist Party of France, which can easily be veri fied by anyone, what is the real political line of the Communist In ernational toward war. The international line of the 3rd

nternational is thus defined in the sixth condition of admission:

"All parties desiring to affiliate with the III International must denounce not only social patriotism, but social pacifism with its falseness and hypocrisy as well; they must systematically reveal to the working class that without revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international tribune of arbitration, no debate on the reduction of armaments, no democratic reorganization by the League of Nations, can preserve humanity from imperialist war." That was the line of yesterday. Today, since the C. I. has been econstructed (after the expulsion of the Leninists) on the dogma of Socialism in one country," that i o say, independently of the world revolution, the international line of he 3rd International is the follow ng:

Defense of the peace policy of the U.S.S.R., consisting of proposals to disarm addressed to the imperialist nations, and mutual assistance pacts against "any aggressor." The Peace Policy of the C. I.

The political line is based on the ollowing premise: there are imper alist nations interested in peace, Big Crowd At

and others interested in war "We must know," says Péri in l'Humanite, April 11, 1935, "if the powers who are not interested in war will assure peace through promises of mutual assistance, or if they will fall into line with the plans for a new division of Europe conceived by A. Hitler."

From this flows the whole lin of the C. I. Take Péri again in 'Humanite, April 16, 1935:

"What formula alone can make warlike enterprise most difficult under the present system? The best formula, it is evident, would be the general or partial disarmament proposed and defended by the U.S.S.R., but opposed by all the other powers. Failing a general reduction of armaments WHICH THE U.S.S.R. HAS NO INTENTION OF RENOUNCING the Soviet government and the proletariat of all European countries with it believes a system of pacts whereby the signatories agree to boycott an aggressor nation, would place the greatest obstacles in the way of war. We must see things as they are and realize that any other contractual formula is vain or dangerous." Under these conditions what is the task of the C.I.? To join Soviet that the courage and spirit of the workers had diplomacy in an attempt to con-

Some Startling Quotations from l'Humanite of Paris

wish to conquer war. (l'Humanconsideration, the system inventite, April 4)' Péri and Pertinax

Blum rates Pertinax, of the Echo might carry on its Eøstern pro le Paris, among the "awkward jects, that France would lend no friends" of the U.S.S.R. (Populaire, assistance, but at the same time would offer no opposition." April 21) because, bourgeois real-Humanite, April 4). ist that he is, he considers the ques-

boast of having obtained the sup-

port of Poland and of Germany

"Well, without a second thought

we can say, this system has noth-

ing to do with peace. Those who

support it would precipitate the

very rule of cannons which the

masses wish to avert at any cost.

aged if the sole risk to the ag-

gressor is the risk of not being

actively assisted. Passivity by

itself is an encouragement to ad-

"In the concrete case under

"Aggression will not be discour-

for this system.

ventures

vrites :

tion of an alliance with the U.S.S.R. Peri and the C.P. of France, from the point of view of the national from the point of view of relative interests of the Soviet bureaucracy force, without attaching any importance to vague promises. Perand Pertinax from the point of view of the national interests of the bourtinax is solely concerned with If he were géoisie advance, in fact, the same 'French'' interests. political line. olely concerned with "Russian" in-

If, as Thorez has informed us erests he would no doubt write as since July 1934. it is the Commun-Péri, true Friend of the U.S.S.R. sts who love their country well, it "Others believe that M. Laval follows that those who do not love together with John Simon would their country, the bourgeoisie, are

be disposed to replace the project 'the traitors." of an Eastern Pact by an Air Al This is just what Cachin informs liance open to all the signatories us in an article for April 10, in of the Locarno Treaty, the U.S. which he concludes: S.R., and the Little Entente. They

"We shall tear off the masks of the exploiters of the country, the worst enemies of the French people, without failing in our duty of defending the peace and bread of their victims.

Cachin, who is a past master when it comes to traitors, is not fully understood by the true patri ots as appears from his denuncia tion of Taittinger:

"Taittinger, the fascist, divulges with impunity official diplomatic and military communications which he receives in his official positions on the various committees in parliament. Thus he furnishes Hitler with new arguments for rearmament, and carries coals to the fires of fascism across the Rhine. A 'patriot' who conducts himself in such a treasonable manner, at the same time

advocates repression against the anti-fascists!" From which we conclude that the country, at present under the lead-

ership of the bourgeoisie, does not lie. P. Vaillant-Couturier moreover makes no effort to conceal it from the country, he undertakes a crusade "To the rescue of French cul-

"If the proletariat, according to Marx, 'has no fatherland' they have now as internationalists something to defend: that is the cultural patrimony of France, the spiritual wealth, the works of its artisans, its workers, its artists, and its thinkers." (L'Humanite,

April 13) In other words: if the proletarat has no fatherland, nevertheess for l'Humanite it has had one or some time—the French patrinony. "Conquer the country" for Cachin and P. Vaillant-Couturier neans to reconquer, by means of

rainstorms in l'Humanite, their positions of 1914. The Announcement of Treason

the socialist fatherland; we will support, in case of counter-revolutionary war against the socialist fatherland, the red army of the Soviet Union by every means, and we will struggle for the defeat of GERMAN IMPERIAL-ISM AND ITS ALLIES, for the defeat of every power that engages in war against the Soviet Union.

"We will aid by every means, even by the sacrifice of our lives, the victory of the Soviet Socialist Union in its war against all those who attack the land of socialism." The proletariat is no longer to struggle for the defeat of its own mperialist government, but for the defeat of "German imperialism and its allies.

In other words: the French proetariat will go to war hand in hand with its own bourgeoisie against German imperialism for the defeat of the latter. That is what is known as national defense.

The appeal of the C.P.F. on the occasion of the municipal elections confirms us (l'Humanite, April 21) : 'The most sacred duty of the

proletarians of the entire world is the defeat of aggressors against the Soviet Union and the defeat of all the aggressor's allies.

"The communists want the UN-IFICATION OF ALL FRENCH-MEN, who work in the factories, docks, offices, stores, laboratories, schools, universities, and the workers of all nationalities and races who share the same suffer-

ing and the same hopes." There we are, twice warned. Blind are the workers who do not mmediately draw the correct lesons and the consequences thereof, ---(From La Verite, Paris)

Stalin-Laval Communique

(Continued from Page 1)

relentlessly that no resistance is to be offered when war begins. The Social Democrats of Germany and France voted for the war credits of their respective Governments on the Fourth of August, 1914. Following that they became recruiting sergeants for the war.

The Social Democrats carried out their historic betraval under the slogan, "Defense of the Fatherland." The Stalinists march on the same path under the banner of "Socialism in One Country." The content of the actions and the results are the same.

Lenin in his time denounced the League of Nations as a "thieves kitchen" and the Versailles Peace as a brigands' peace and the breeder of a new From such equivocations can war. Stalin joins the League come nothing but treason. Happily of Nations and pledges the Red

established by the Versailles

Lenin said: turn the imper-

ialist war into a civil war.

Stalin says: Do not interfere

with the military operations of

Down with perfidious Stal-

Long live the watchword of

Karl Liebknecht-the watch-

your own capitalists.



comrade James P. Cannon speak on understand where its real interests Where Is the A. F. of L. Going?" The lecture was interrupted several imes while additional chairs were prought in the accommodate 'at

irrivals. Comrade Cannon reviewed recent ture. levelopments in the labor move ment—the expansion of the A. F

of L. unions since the inception of the NRA, the contradiction between the needs of the workers in th mass production industries and th craft form of organization, the be rayals o the A. F. of L. leadership nd the new expulsion campaign against the militant and progre ive elements, the threat of Lewi o secede and form a new federation of industrial unions. After an anallysis of the Lewis maneuver and ifter showing that the progressive elements had no reason to identify hemselves in any way with Lewis comrade Cannon put the question. Should the radical workers lead a movement for a new federation of

labor,

also in the fight against expulsions

as in the present cases of the steel

vorkers and Local 574 at Minne

In connection with this question

comrade Cannon took occasion to

point out again that the trade un

on policy advocated by comrade

Zack is not the policy of the Work-

ers Party. "A party that wants to

be taken seriously in the labor

movement today," he said, "must

raise the slogan: 'Deeper into the

A. F. of L. unions!' The policy

represented, for example, by com-

rade Zack, who joined the Workers

Party, is not and cannot be the

policy of the Workers Party. An

impression was sought to be created

clear if there is the slightest mis-

polis.

earned, is more basic than this that the pro- vince the various imperialisms gressives in the unions must learn, must discipline themselves, must organize, must become an independent force.

In the eyes of General Motors, of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, of the press of the nation, the Workers Party is in the vanguard of the battle for unionism in the automobile industry. We must, we shall, meet the challenge which that implies. Branches in the auto centers must redouble their work, recruit, project themselves into the struggle. New branches must be built where we have as yet no base. The National Committee must map out a comprehensive plan of action based on careful and constant study of the industry. All of us must toil and sacrifice to raise the material resources needed for the task and to make ourselves the trained revolutionists who can eventually lead the workers of the United States to the assault upon the citadels of company unionism and

The Pulitzer Prize for Poison Pens

The Sacramento Bee wins the |sel had threatened "red terror" in | the swarm of loathsome creatures whose hissing and buzzing domin-Pulitzer prize for the year's best the event of convictions! ated the jurors' "deliberations." The closing argument by Attornnewspaper reporting. The prize is For its efficiency in wielding a awarded by a board of editors and ey Albert Goldman of the Non-Parprofessors of journalism, on the ad- tisan Labor Defense so profoundly reactionary poison pen and bending to its ends the talents of its kept vice of the publishers of big capi- affected several jurors that they talist newspapers, such as Adolph held out against convictions for 66 reporters, the Bee gets the Pulitzer S. Ochs of the Times, whose recent hours. When he concluded, he was Prize and thousands of capitalist given a hand-written note by a Bee editors envy the achievement.

death, Karl Radek of the Commu-There can be no over-estimation nist International tells us, should reporter explaining that "for reasons which will be obvious," the be mourned by "newspaper men of report in the Bee would not repreevery class.' sent what the reporter really

Not even Hearst's notorious San Francisco Examiner printed more lies per column-inch about the recent Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial than did the Bee.

it was afraid of awakening sympathy for the defendants. The campaign of lies against the defendants, their ideas, organiza-

For example, when the defense to Viper! tions and counsel, created the at*i*counsel told the jury that a convicmosphere in which reactionaries on tion would be used by reactionaries to renew terrorism against workers | the jury could bulldoze Juror Mc-Intire into a horse-trade which sent (a prophesy which came true a few days after when the cops told Mike | innocent workers to prison and gave Plesh, an acquitted defendant, to an impetus to reaction. The Sacrain Hartford. Conn. get out of town or be beaten up), mento Bee, which might better be

He called the boss a skunk. the Bee reported that defense coun- called the Sacramento Viper, led



"Everything indicates that Lavate weekly reports, gave a true and complete picture of the Sacramento trial. Build the New Militant and help scotch the Sacramen-CLASSICAL LANGUAGE

A Yale student specializing in

classical languages has been arrested at the Colt Arms picket line

"which are interested in peace" of the necessity of mutual assistance

The following shows how the organ of the French C.P. goes about the task (From l'Humanite, April 2.1935):

pacts

"But what then does the National Union Government of France think of the attitude of the National Union Government of Britain? It is no longer a secret that Laval is lending his ear to Hitler's propositions. Does he believe that an accord with the Nazis against the Soviet Union would benefit French imperialism? Is he forgetting that the mass movement against war and for the defense of the Soviet Union is much stronger in France than in England?

"Has he already forgotten the time, not so distant, when the French imperialist government was able to pacify the mass movement of the workers and soldiers for the dictatorship of the proletariat only by stopping immediately the war against the Soviets?"

In other words, if French imperialism wishes to survive the war, let it lend an ear to the advice of a pact with the Soviet Union.

To help Laval "understand," Péri becomes positively lively and at ali. pressing to say very decisively that the opin-

"In the name of the Franco-British Entente, Pierre Laval has lent himself to those criminal evasions which we have so often denounced here and which we must denounce today more vigorously than ever.

al has given up the Eastern Pact and mutual assistance. The Minister of Foreign Affairs has deliberately renounced the only formtion are the generalizations of a ula capable of preserving peace and putting a stop to armament. His deplorable attitude earned him the felicitations of the Volkische Beobachter yesterday. But it will rouse against him the anneeded." ger of all those who sincerely

The speaker said this question for the proletariat, the C.I. and its Army to defend the status quo must be answered decidedly in the various sections have just advernegative. In support of this contised their treason, without any tention he cited the lack of any equivocation or shame. serious movement among the work ers in this direction and said that

The duty of the proletariat in such a policy would only isolate the radicals and deprive them of the

possibility of influencing the real "We salute .the progress made development of the labor movement. The militants must fight the reacionary policies of the reactionary officialdom, but this can best be lone by fighting at the same time for the unity of the trade union movement. This policy holds good

case of war is outlined in the following appeal of the European C. P.s of April 18:

in the military field by the only workers' land, the progress in reinforcing the red army of workers and peasants, a true guarantee of peace, we salute every strengthening of the frontiers of

(Continued from Page 1)

A certain Republican hack, Mr

Easterday, the City Engineer, decid-

ed to cut a gas line with scab labor.

were a sight for sore eyes.

the daily strike paper:

We quote:



nism!

Treaty.

Election Battle In Minneapolis

(Continued from Page 1)

He arrived on the day in question sembly and organization for the at the pit where the cutting was to workers: use of public places for be made with a carload of police, meetings and demonstrations withand a scab plumber, a certain Shaw. out police interference.

Follows an analysis of the Farm-"Meanwhile the scab had gone er-Labor Party, its inability to fulthe pupils of Stalin, let it conclude that Zack's entry into the party down and another Union Brother fill the tasks of the working class, signified the adoption of his trade standing on the opposite side of the the attainment of the socialist sounion policy. This is not the case ditch tried to persuade Shaw not ciety. "The Farmer Labor Party is to scab. Easterday thereupon lost not truly a revolutionary workers

"I want to take this opportunity his head, and running around to party, nor can it become one. It where this brother was standing, will not serve the workers when ions expressed by comrade Zack in he tried to push him into the ditch. the big bosses decide to take away his controversy with the C. P. on He succeeded in upsetting his balthe rights which are looked upon the trade union question are not our ance, but went down into the ditch by the people as 'constitutional position. This ought to be made with him; and whereas this Brother guarantees.' The Farmer-Labor landed on the water main. Easter-Party puts its faith in parliamentary debate, which the capitalists conception about it, for the trade day flopped right into the mud hole union question is indeed the key at the bottom of the ditch. A seab have shown they will abandon the question of the approach of a revo- made a rush at this Brother and moment it goes against them."

lutionary party to the masses. Our made a pass at him with a sledge "Workers of Minneapolis: Elect conceptions the trade union ques- hammer. The Brother, sitting asthe Farmer-Laborites to office but watch their every move, do not trust tride the water main, saw him comvery extensive experience in the | ing and let go with both feet, catchthem. They will serve the workers' American labor movement, as well | ing the scab square in the face and movement only if the workers' or ganizations force them to."

as in the international field. The sending him reeling into the mud position of the Marxists on this hole with City Engineer Easterday. The leaflet concludes with an apquestion have been tested a thou- When these two worthies final peal to join the Workers Party, to sand times. No new inventions are waded out of the mud hole they build the revolutionary party and the revolutionary International.

War and the Stalin-Laval Agreement

Sunday, May 19th, 8 p. m. Irving Plaza, 15th st. & Irving Pl.

of the importance of the workers' own press to counteract the poison pens of the bosses' kept journalists and kept journals. The New Milithought. The Bee did not dare report Goldman's argument honestly; | tant alone, with its honest, accur-