

NEW MILITANT

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

VOL. I, NO. 6

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 19, 1935

PRICE 3 CENTS

LENIN

ELEVEN years have elapsed since the death of Lenin. But even though great changes have come over the face of the world and the labor movement that Lenin knew, everything that has happened has served only to verify and strengthen the ideas and achievements with which the name of this greatest of modern revolutionary leaders is so inseparably connected.

Lenin's ideas are more potent and sure-footed today not because of the futile attempts to convert the dead leader into an infallible god who must be worshipped, whose words must be mechanically repeated in and out of season. Rather have they gained in influence because the events of the last decade, whether they have brought advances or setbacks to the working class movement, have demonstrated with a growing force the truth that the exploited and oppressed masses of humanity are to be liberated from the social order that strangles them, only by following in Lenin's footsteps.

LENIN was primarily and above all a proletarian revolutionist. He was animated by a central idea and a single ideal—the liberation of the oppressed and exploited from the chains of slavery. In his youth he became imbued with an ineradicable hatred of czarism and capitalism. He set his life's course towards the goal of ridding the world of modern slavery, beginning with the overturn of the czarist autocracy in the Russian empire. His principal instrument—the principal instrument of the working class as the only consistently progressive force in modern times—he conceived to be the revolutionary party, as had Marx and Engels before him.

To advocate stubbornly the idea that even in backward Russia the future of the masses lay in the hands of the working class, required that deep conviction of the correctness of Marxian theory and a power of penetration into the realities of social and economic development, that made Lenin outstanding even in the select ranks of the revolutionary movement. If that spirit of concrete realism, which is an essential part of Marxism, made it possible for Lenin to deal practically with every situation, to seek allies in every progressive force regardless of how short a distance they could march in common, it also made it the central part of his work to cement together an iron regiment of revolutionists into the Bolshevik party.

LENIN'S party stood aloof from no struggle, regardless of how little developed might be the masses who engaged in it, no matter how conservative might be the shell in which the struggle was first contained. Where the workers sought a wage increase of a few cents per hour, or an improvement in their conditions, Lenin and his party placed themselves automatically on their side—asking nobody's permission to cooperate and putting no conditions for the assistance they rendered. Where the workers chafed under the yoke of imperial despotism and sought a means whereby a more democratic regime might be established, Lenin's party stood in the forefront of the struggle. Where the peasants rebelled against the misery and poverty of their lives under the rule of the feudal lords, the Bolsheviks were by their side, explaining, in the course of the fight, the indispensable need of allying their efforts with those of the workers in a common struggle. Every event was utilized by the Bolsheviks to direct attention to the need of overthrowing the monarchy and making way for the final struggle of the masses against capitalism and for their own emancipation.

Lenin directed his blows not only against the enemy of the working class outside its ranks, but also against the foe, well-meaning or malignant, on the inside. If the Bolshevik party was able, in 1914, to withstand the ravages of social chauvinism which swept the Second International into the trenches under the banner of imperialism, it was because it had been prepared in advance for its internationalist position by the struggle against the "Populists," the Mensheviks, and all other forms of reformism and compromise. If the Bolshevik party, further, was able in 1917 to lead the masses of Russian workers and peasants to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the first successful working class government, it was because it had been steered and tempered in a thousand preliminary battles against the ruling class and against conciliators in the labor movement.

LENIN is an immortal of the working class, therefore, not only because of his ideas, not only because he dug revolutionary Marxism out from under the refuse heap with which the bankrupt Second International had buried it, but because he succeeded in incorporating his ideas into the two great living realities of his time: the Russian workers' republic and the resurrected Revolutionary International.

The cruel death which snatched him prematurely from the ranks of the class to which he had devoted such a magnificent life, made it impossible for Lenin to complete his work. The wave of reaction which set in after his death brought to the surface, and then to the helm, elements against whom he had contended all during his lifetime and especially during the latter part of his life. His greatest misfortune occurred not during his lifetime but after it. His ideas were disfigured and then canonized into a contorted and lifeless dogma. In place of the working class democracy for which he had fought was placed a disintegrating bureaucracy. The internationalism with which his life's work was literally drenched was replaced by a narrow-minded nationalism. The Soviet republic which he led in founding and building up was weakened, sapped and thrown into a mortal danger by those who usurped his leadership. The Third International which he led in organizing and consolidating as the general staff of the world revolution, was undermined, disemboweled, and eventually destroyed as a revolutionary organization.

Not discouraged by these events, but rather continuing to draw our inspiration from the tenacious and confident struggle he carried on for the ideal of the world socialist society, the revolutionists of today have once more raised his banner. We want to commemorate the anniversary of Lenin, not by fine speeches and articles, but by strengthening our determination and increasing our activity to accomplish in this country what Lenin achieved in Russia. The Workers Party, which stands on the foundations of Lenin's work and ideas, and adopts his methods, proudly proclaims its goal to be the working class struggle against the iniquities of capitalism, against exploitation and misery, against war and Fascist barbarism, the working class revolution to smash the cursed system of capitalism and replace it with the new order—world socialism!

In the spirit of Lenin, the thinker, the guide, the man of action, the proletarian revolutionist! For the working class—first, last, and always! For the Fourth International, the rightful heir of Lenin's work and aspirations! For the international socialist order!

W P Moves National Office Takes Floor at 2W. 15th St.

Comrades! Friends! Sympathizers! We have done our part; we have moved to the new headquarters—the entire third floor of 2 West 15th St., replete with spacious, well lit offices. Room for the National Headquarters, for the Workers School, for the District Office, for trade union and unemployed work, and for the new Pioneer Bookshop.

An expanding party must have large headquarters. But alas! Headquarters do not grow on trees. Now it is up to you. Come to our support; send us money—nickels, dimes, quarters, half dollars, dollars, five and tens. This is the critical moment, we must have funds.

In addition to the new office, we have the cost of moving, the necessity of expanding our printing plant, of obtaining a new press to take care of increased New Militant and New International circulation, the cost of our growing trade union and unemployed work, of the new school and the bookshop.

Shame us for having underestimated you; make the foundation fund go over the top. Pay your pledges, and pledge again. Don't miss this opportunity, abash us, baffle us, astonish us, overwhelm us—subscribe and over-subscribe. Make the foundation fund go over the top.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

Trotsky Answers Indictment

The FEDERAL BUDGET

(From Washington Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—Just what is it, when the capitalistic state writes in the agonies of depression, which "unbalances" the Federal budget? If we listened to the President, if we heeded the daily press, we might get the idea that relief expenditures are to blame; whence, the conclusion is drawn, cut down on relief.

Let us, instead, look at the record as displayed in the recent Treasury report and set forth in the President's budget message. During 1934, the Federal government paid out 7 billion dollars and took in 3 billion; for the difference, the public debt was augmented.

Billion for Bondholders

How was the money spent? Some 750 million went to meet interest on the public debt; 350 million more to retire part of the debt outstanding. In short, over a billion dollars was devoted to the support of bondholders.

War Expenditures

Pensions to World War veterans accounted for another 500 million. The Army and the Navy took between them another half billion dollars for the current needs of the military and naval establishment; so far, that is, as the direct data show. We really should add to this sum many hundreds of millions of dollars hidden away under the PWA appropriations and elsewhere. In sum, considerably more than 2 billion dollars was expended upon the luxuries of imperialist war, past, present, and future.

This is not the end of the story. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration expended almost 300 million as a reward to farmers for plowing under crops and taking toil out of cultivation. The Farm Credit Administration laid down \$150,000,000, not to rescue farmers, but to salvage the holders of farm mortgages. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation chipped in at least 500 million to prop up the top-heavy and tottering structure of private debt. To preserve the institution of private banking, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation dug down into its purse for 150 million. And so it went.

In sum, considerably more than one billion dollars went to encourage wanton destruction of the means of livelihood, to maintain the solvency and income of mortgage holders, and to help keep the banks safe for private profit.

Recapitulating, the federal government spent a good deal more than 3 billion dollars on anti-social purposes. Hundreds of millions more should be added to allow for less readily ascertainable expenditures of the same type. Cut out these sums, and the budget would almost balance without taking a penny away from relief. Better

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Bosses Pay Prosecutor In Sacramento Red Trial

BULLETIN

The Independent Union of All Workers, with headquarters in Minnesota, has sent the following telegram to the Sacramento defense:

"IUAW protests against prosecution of 18 cannery and agricultural industrial union members and use of action in attempt of Industrial Alliance and Growers' Association to smash unionism. View criminal syndicalism law as vicious. Favor its repeal. Organization represents over 5,000 workers in 13 cities or states."

SACRAMENTO, Jan. 16.—The trial of the eighteen workers indicted under the Criminal Syndicalism Act opened here this morning in a tense atmosphere hostile to the working class defendants.

League Men In Conference In N.W. Ohio

(Special to New Militant)

TOLEDO, Ohio.—Over 100 elected delegates, representing 25 locals of the Unemployed League in Northwest Ohio with over 5,000 members, met at the headquarters of the Lucas County Unemployed League in Toledo, January 13, for the first N.W. District Conference of the Ohio Unemployed League. Although the first League in this district is only a year and a half old, the delegates were already veterans of the class struggle, having participated in scores of strikes, marches, demonstrations in the past year. Sam Pollock, vice-president of the N.W. District of the Ohio Unemployed League, presided.

Delegate after delegate gave reports, showing the powerful growth of the Unemployed Leagues in this area under the leadership of members of the Workers Party. It was a remarkable and stirring account from the lips of the workers themselves of a constant and courageous struggle for better living conditions.

The delegates, in an enthusiastic and intelligent fashion, laid out their plans for their coming fight against the new national slave program advanced by Roosevelt, analyzed the militant mass action tactics to be used, and pledged themselves to a finish fight against all fascist programs including those of Father Coughlin, Huey Long, Alfred Lawson and William Dudley Pelley.

The conference lasted from 2 in the afternoon until 9:30 in the evening without pause, every problem being analyzed and clear and comprehensive decisions reached, decisions spelled in terms of greater mass action.

ORDER W. P. PAMPHLETS NOW.

Despite the fact that public sentiment last week had apparently succeeded in ousting former District Attorney McAllister from the trial—the trial was to have begun a week ago, but the newly elected District Attorney Otis D. Babcock asked for a week's delay in order to prepare himself for the case—McAllister appeared today as the prosecutor. McAllister was responsible for the original arrests and indictments and had been defeated for re-election. The local capitalist press and the businessmen's associations had been demanding that special funds be authorized to retain McAllister, and they have now succeeded.

Leo Gallagher, attorney for the International Labor Defense, raised constitutional objections to McAllister, but the judge, Del M. Lemon, waved them aside. Albert Goldman, attorney for the Non-Partisan Defense, pointed out to the court the evidences of mob spirit, but the motion was denied.

Gallagher charged that McAllister's apparently small salary is being supplemented by funds raised by the local bankers among themselves.

Gallagher, for the International Labor Defense, and Goldman, for the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, are cooperating in the courtroom, consulting together and dividing the work between themselves. The Communist Party and the Socialist Party have accepted proposals made by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense for setting up a joint committee on which all the political and defense organizations will be represented and which will take over the conducting of the case. Final settlement of the character and scope of the joint committee will be made at a meeting on Saturday.

3,000 in N.Y. Biscuit Strike

Three thousand workers of the National Biscuit Company, New York branch of the Inside Bakery Workers Federal Union, are out on strike to break the union splitting tactics of the company. The strike was called in sympathy with the Philadelphia workers and now includes the York, Pa., the Atlanta, Ga. and Newark plants, some 7,000 workers in all.

Every Man Out
The New York strike is a fighting strike. Every man in the plant is out, including the truck drivers, whom the company unionized by its own cheating tactics. The workers are showing remarkable militancy for an eight months' old union. A strong picket line has the factory sewed up, picketing has been extended to stores throughout

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Links G. P. U. with Kirov Assassination

The following article by Leon Trotsky, dealing with the Kirov assassination and the infamous attempts of the Stalin regime to connect Trotsky with this assassination is of the utmost significance and should be carefully read and studied by all revolutionary workers. It throws the searchlight on the system responsible for the assassination of Kirov and the subsequent execution. The remarks made concerning the French Stalinists and L'Humanite can be applied with equal force to their American counterparts and the Daily Worker.—Ed.

By LEON TROTSKY

After the inevitable day's delay, I received a Paris newspaper of December 28, containing extracts from the indictment, with a commentary by one Duclos. As both the extracts and the commentary originate from the G.P.U. there is no need to enter into a discussion with hired lackeys. It will suffice for us to disclose the plans of their masters.

Just as one could have expected, the indictment doesn't mention the Zinoviev-Kamenev group by so much as a word. In other words: the initial amalgam fell apart into dust.

However, concurrently it has fulfilled its task by psychologically preparing for another amalgam: in the indictment there emerges suddenly—suddenly, for naive people—the name of Trotsky. Nikolai, he murderer of Kirov, was—according to his confession—in contact with a consul of a foreign power. During one of Nikolai's visits to the consulate, the consul gave him 5,000 roubles for expenses. Nikolai adds, "He told me that he can establish contact with Trotsky, if I give him a letter to Trotsky from the group." And that is all. Period!

The indictment does not subsequently return to this episode. It must also be remarked that Nikolai made his first avowal concerning the foreign consul and his offer to transmit a letter to Trotsky only on the 20th day after his arrest. Manifestly, the examining magistrate was compelled to assist the terrorist's memory in the course of twenty days in order to extract from him such precious evidence! But let us skip that. Let us allow that the evidence is authentic. Let us moreover allow that the consul in question does actually exist in the flesh. Let us allow that he established contact with a terrorist group (there have been such instances in history). But how and why does my name suddenly appear here?

Is it, perhaps, because the terrorist group was seeking contact with Trotsky? No, even the G.P.U. does not dare to assert this. Perhaps Trotsky was seeking contact with the terrorist group? No, the indictment does not dare say this either. The consul himself was the one to assume the initiative and while giving Nikolai 5,000 roubles on the eve of the terrorist act which was being prepared, he requested a letter addressed to Trotsky. This is the sole deposition—a truly astounding piece of evidence made by Nikolai.

The personality of the "consul" at once stands revealed in glaring light. The "consul" is wide-awake! The "consul" is at his post! The "consul" requires a tiny document, a letter from the terrorists financed by him to—Trotsky. Did the con-

Bosses' Cop Shoots Three
On Jan. 9, in Minneapolis, three members of the Garage Mechanics Union were shot in cold blood by Jay Perkins, one of the bosses' special cops. Claire Hogan of St. Paul had his right leg broken by a .45 slug, Burns Powers was wounded in the leg and Everett Lindfors in the face. A committee of pickets was about to enter the McDonough-Gilligan Garage to confer with the employer when Perkins blazed away. The boss press reported one

In St. Paul the garages are still closed 100 percent and the bosses are negotiating for a settlement. In Minneapolis, however, the bosses have unleashed a campaign of terror and vilification. The two unions are cooperating perfectly, with St. Paul strikers on the Minneapolis picket lines.

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Muste, Cannon In Canada; Find Workers Party Active There

Making a couple of preliminary visits in Canada, A. J. Muste, national secretary of the Workers Party of the United States, and James P. Cannon, editor of the New Militant, have launched their tour to present the W. P. program to the workers of the country.

First reports from Comrades Muste and Cannon tell of a growing militancy among Canadian workers, and of Tory Premier Bennett's "new deal" gestures to try to halt this ferment.

In Toronto the Workers Party of Canada, sister organization to the W. P. of the U.S., has an important and widening influence. In Hamilton, Ont., where labor has long been conservative, and in Tonawanda, N. Y., where as recently as last year a Democratic politician dominated the unemployed organization, workers listened eagerly to the message of the Workers Party.

From week to week the New Militant will follow Comrades Muste and Cannon in their tour across the country.

By A. J. MUSTE
TORONTO, Ont.—The first stop Comrade Cannon and I are making on our tour to present the Workers Party program to the workers of the United States is in Canada! This we may take as a symbol of

international working class solidarity and a prophecy of an international Workers' Republic.

Speak to 400

For our mass meeting here more than 400 workers crowded the Labor Lyceum, notwithstanding the fact that the Communist party staged a rival meeting. The workers stayed until almost midnight, asking questions. They showed intense interest in recent events in the Soviet Union; Comrade Cannon's replies completely silenced the Communist party members of the audience.

The Canadian Worker admits that two Ukrainian workers who went to Russia, one deported from Canada for C. P. activities, were recently executed by the Communist party in the S.U.

The Workers Party of Canada has a flourishing branch here, another in nearby Hamilton, and in Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver, with contacts in other towns. Its Program of Action includes: 1) a \$1,500 fund to enable it to issue a weekly organ; 2) a tour by Secretary Jack MacDonald in the spring; 3) a national conference following the tour.

Here in Toronto, our W.P. comrades are the leading influence in a promising unemployed movement. At the office of Vapaa Sana, a bi-weekly Finnish paper, we found

Comrade Eero Boman of New York translating the Declaration of Principles of the W.P.U.S., which is running in the paper.

Canada's "New Deal"

There is excitement here over radio broadcasts of the Tory premier, R. B. Bennett. His conservative politician is adopting a Rooseveltian tactics, declaring "laisses-faire, old-style capitalism" is dead and advocating social insurance, "fairer distribution of income" (without very specific suggestions), control of stock speculation, etc. The fact that a Tory must come out for such a program is a measure of the revolt stirring among the masses.

In the United States we have seen what a "new deal" really means to workers. Here Bennett seems to be taking the wind out of the Liberal party sails on the eve of election. Even the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, social-democratic farmer-labor party, finds it hard to criticize Bennett's program; there is even talk of a "national" cabinet, with the possibility that the C.C.F. leader, J. S. Woodworth, and Bennett will yet do a Stan'ey Baldwin-Ramsay MacDonald brother act.

Opportunity for W. P.
All this means there is a real opportunity for the W. P. of Canada, as the Marxist party able to anal-

alyze these issues clearly and keep the workers from being misled by vague promises.

There is a splendid group of young comrades here. After our meeting, when we were having coffee and tea (yes, both!) in a restaurant, they sang labor and revolutionary songs. The branch has a chorus. New York and other districts take notice!—That's an idea for us. And we should have a song book.

On for Hamilton!

HAMILTON, Ont.—This is the most highly industrialized town, in proportion to the population, in Canada. But the labor and radical movement is weak. The discontent of the workers expresses itself in voting for "friends of labor" of the A. F. of L. stripe.

Yet there is some radical activity: A small but lively branch of the W. P. of Canada vigorously pushes its propaganda. Our meeting here was not large, but the workers showed by their 25 questions after our speeches how eager they are for help in forming a revolutionary program.

TONAWANDA, N. Y.—Back to the United States! In a rather bleak hall in this industrial center hangs a charter of an A. F. of L. central trades council, and around it half a dozen local charters—of

union locals long since defunct.

Here an unemployed organization met last year, under the influence of a Democratic politician. A couple of our comrades were expelled, for being too radical. It, too, is now dead.

In this hall, on Sunday afternoon, we talked to a group of deeply interested workers about what might be in the U. S. and of labor's road to power.

When we had finished, one of these workers said, "Send a young comrade up here as an organizer, and I'll see that he gets a bed and three squares a day."

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE NEW MILITANT.

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—Business Manager

FROM THE FIRING LINE

Judge Wins Picket Trial

ALLENTOWN, Pa. Jan. 14.—R. W. Iobst, notorious anti-labor judge, upheld the police court conviction of four of the six workers arrested on Oct. 29 at the strike of the Freezer Shirt Co. when the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Unemployed League joined forces in mass picket lines to defy Mayor Fred Lewis' proclamation limiting picket lines to ten strikers.

Cases against Frank Kirsh and Bill Reich were dropped as the charges against them—"exceeding the number of pickets" and "organizing on the street"—were declared illegal when the similar case of Larry Heimbach was appealed to a higher court by the American Civil Liberties Union. The other men were charged with "disorderly conduct" and had been assessed fines of \$50 by the police court.

The case of John Beisel, Workers Party member, came up first. After hearing the evidence the Judge asked:

"Are you the Beisel that makes trouble at evictions?"

"I was formerly chairman of the Lehigh County Unemployed League Eviction Committee," explained Beisel.

"Verdict upheld," ordered the judge.

The verdicts against James Muthard of the Unemployed League and Joe Munick and Frank Benus of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers were also upheld but the fines were reduced from \$50 to \$10.

Police charged the defendants with calling them "rum hounds," "flat feet" and other abusive names. At the police court hearing, witnesses testified that a cop who was obviously drunk started the fracas by deliberately insulting pickets and clubbing them when they protested. The wrist of a 17 year old

striker was broken and several stitches had to be taken in the head of another.

Orin Boyle, defense counsel, pointed out that no complaints had been made against the strikers and since nobody except the police were annoyed by these remarks they could not be considered to constitute "disorderly conduct".

"We must uphold respect for our police force," said Judge Iobst, otherwise all government institutions might as well disband."

New England Welcomes NUL

NEW HAVEN, CONN.—The National Unemployed League, making its first appearance as a national organization in New England, received an immediate and hearty reception from unemployed and employed workers.

The first mass meeting of the New Haven Unemployed League was addressed by Anthony Ramagna, President of the N.U.L. and Warren Montross, N.U.L. organizer. Unemployed workers here have had sad experience with the Unemployed Council in various false faces—first as the Unemployed Council, then as the Unemployment Council and now as the Unemployed Protective Association.

Interest outside the ranks of the unemployed has been quickened by the entrance of the League into New Haven. Students in economics at Yale University and a joint meeting of all classes in the New Haven Labor College heard Montross explain the purposes of the League and appeal for support by the organized employed in two meetings held on January 9. Trade union support was speeded when a representative of the Rubber Workers Federal Union in Akron told New Haven trade unionists of the unity of employed and unemployed achieved in Ohio.

Stalinists On Firing - Line

NEW YORK.—Will you please print this as an item from the Firing Line.

The Communist Party made a flying start in its fight on capitalism in Harlem last Thursday, Jan. 10.

Two hefty members of that party attacked and beat up A. Gonzalez who was passing out leaflets for a meeting on "War and the Munitions Racket".

Gonzalez was standing near Fifth Avenue and 115th Street passing out the handbills on an anti-war meeting to be held the following evening at 143 E. 103rd Street, under the auspices of the Harlem branch of the new Workers Party, when the two men approached him from the rear and knocked him down. The men ran and disappeared in the Astoria Workers Club near by, where the Communist Party was holding a meeting.

League Pickets 13 Townships

BOWLING GREEN, Ohio.—Flying squadrons formed by the Wood County Unemployed League early Thursday morning, January 10, struck every relief project in Wood County, Ohio. Hundreds of relief workers, members of the Ohio Unemployed League, manned mass picket lines in thirteen townships of the county, in a demand for 15 dollars a week minimum wage on relief jobs, in the first drive against the new national forced labor program which is aimed at placing the unemployed to work for the equivalent or less of the present direct relief allowance.

Using the county house at Bowling Green as general strike headquarters, over 1,000 relief workers from all over the county met Thursday evening to lay the plans for the continuance of the strike and to arrange for mass demonstrations at the county relief offices to secure relief for the strikers. The meeting was addressed by Sam Collock, vice president of the N.W.

District of the Ohio Unemployed League. Ralph B. Kille, president of the Wood County Unemployed League, acted as chairman.

LEAGUE'S STRIKE IS FIRST ONE IN MONROE COUNTY

MONROE, Mich.—The first strike in the history of Monroe County was pulled early Monday morning, Jan. 14, when the Erie-Lasalle local of the newly organized Monroe County Unemployed League threw mass picket lines around two work relief projects in Erie Township and closed down the jobs 100 percent. From its very beginning the strike was marked by splendid militancy, women as well as men marching on the line and forcing the few scabs to lay down their tools. One woman was injured while trying to take a shovel away from a scab.

At two meetings held the previous night, which were addressed by Ted Selander and Art Preis, members of the Workers Party, the new League members voted 100 percent to close down the jobs, in a demand for a 20 percent increase in wages and the firing of Ray Gonyer, foreman on the Yeller Drain Project, who has appeared on the job on several occasions with a concealed revolver.

Freight car loadings the first quarter of 1935 will amount to just about the four and a half million cars loaded the first quarter of 1934, according to railroad authorities.

Does Industrial Food Union Support Dutch Shultz Gang?

By JOSEPH ZACK
The situation that prevails inside the Communist party is reflected in the unions it controls. The workers believe that the party fraction in the unions discusses their problems and then brings recommendations to them for approval.

In reality that is not what happens. The leader of the party fraction lays down the law, then there is more or less latitude in discussion—less in the needle trades and more in the foodworkers' unions.

Authority to decide policy is thus so concentrated that what results is a one-man union. Those who object are either "tamed" or eventually eliminated.

The only thing that Rubin, Gold, Potasch, etc., really have to worry

National Progressive Movement In Trade Union Is Party Task

By ARNE SWABECK
Trade Union Secretary of W.P.)

Definite trends in a progressive direction are apparent in a number of trade unions, and especially in the unions in the basic and in the mass production industries. In practically every instance determined support from the rank and file membership has followed spontaneously. But so far it is possible to speak only of trends, here and there taking on an organized form. The specific features that will give to these trends the character of a movement are still lacking. Unified plans and clear perspectives have not yet been brought forward. It is in view of these conditions that the Workers Party convention in its Program of Action laid special emphasis on the creation of a national progressive movement in the trade unions.

Progressives In Steel
In the steel workers union the progressive group which came forward last summer is now renewing its activities and it is now also enriched by one more valuable experience. The group is demanding that the union president, Mike Tighe, reconvene the convention adjourned last summer to force action on a number of grievances dating back to the Weirton case. Of

course, the essential issue is still union recognition; but the prospects that Tighe will agree to reconvene the convention are exceedingly slim. Apparently the progressive group understands this and it has therefore called its own progressive conference to be held during the first week of February. Reports indicate that the progressives feel that now is the time for action in view of the present upturn in the industry due largely to the heavy orders from the automobile manufacturers.

Auto Workers
From the automobile workers' federal unions, which have suffered a serious setback since the sell-out agreement was concluded last summer, comes word also of incipient revolts. Recently a number of Detroit federal locals decided, in face of an edict by William Green to the contrary, to get together in a conference and discuss their problems of organization. In other cities federal local unions have begun to make demands for the creation of city central councils of federal unions. Thus the direction of these trends is unmistakable. They tend in a progressive direction although still on a very elementary level. Clarity of perspectives has not yet been arrived at. But this is usually the way that progressive movements begin, centering at their inception around the most elementary issues of organization. With the pressure of economic necessity these trends are bound to advance toward a greater clarity of objectives and take on organized form. They are bound to spread because of the fact that everywhere the problem exists of finding a way out of the conditions of stagnation imposed by the trade union bureaucrats.

Period of Calm
At present the whole trade union movement is in a state of calm before the storm of new strikes and new struggles. Last year in some of the local strike situations, not only did the progressive tendencies become pronounced, but in Minneapolis, as one example, the truck drivers strike saw a conscious left wing in the leadership. Toledo followed this example and on the Pacific Coast the left wing forces had a powerful influence in the harbor workers unions prior to the San Francisco general strike.

Yet the reactionary trade union officials appear on a whole as strongly entrenched as ever. That is what appears on the surface. When looking beneath the surface to the undercurrents of rank and file discontent that breaks through from time to time it will become noticeable very quickly that the entrenchment is not so secure. This fact will undoubtedly become much clearer in the coming contests between progressives and reactionaries over the immediate and pressing issues of extension of union organization and of union recognition to be attained through the organized mass power of the workers—the only way it can be attained.

Fears of the Officialdom
Under the conditions of monopoly capitalism organization of the unorganized in the basic industries is possible only through fierce struggle against the owners of the powerful corporations and their government servants. In some instances the workers in these industries have already proven that they will respond most readily and that they do not at all fear the struggle. At the same time the trade union officialdom has demonstrated just as clearly its fear of any heavy influx into the unions of the healthy proletarian elements much more than it fears the aggressive onslaughts of the employers. It shrinks from organization of the unorganized in fear of the consequences of the struggle. The trade union officialdom knows that rapid growth and expansion of the unions also means a fundamental change in their composition and character, leaving room for demands for action and demands for leadership; leaving room for rank and file rebellions.

Counting on this officialdom to give leadership in the organization of the unorganized would be hopeless. May more, it would be inconceivable that the trade union organization of the basic industries can be undertaken seriously with this gentry in a position to block every move and to enter into treacherous agreements with the owners of monopoly capital of the kind that makes an aggressive policy of organization impossible. Certainly, unless there is an effective counterbalance created, an effective progressive movement, real prospects of success would be very slim.

The Job Before the Progressives
This is the job for the progressive and left wing elements to tackle. It is a job of large dimensions. The labor movement here reveals the charges as a frame-up. The labor movement here regards them as a blow at unionism itself, a major issue in this city today.

At first, when the entire local was arrested, the members were held on the warrant charging them with "obstructing business". Three weeks later Weiner is specifically charged with the murder on the belated testimony of Joseph Haftka, father of the slain youth, who has suddenly identified Weiner as the murderer.

sions and requires a fight on two fronts. It requires an intransigent fight against the reactionary officials who block the road and a determined fight against all the obstacles to organization laid down by the well-fortified employers. But it is necessary to repeat: The left wing and progressive forces will not get very far without a clear understanding that they are called upon to lead and that conditions are ripe for such a leadership. Now is the time for action. The progressive forces owe to the trade union movement that they organize themselves and work out their plans in common. Their movement may start on a local or otherwise circumscribed scale, but it is really effective it must be national in scope and unified in character, interlocking from industry to industry and from union to union.

The problem before them is first of all to chart a new course for the trade union movement and to gird up their loins for a serious struggle. A militant class struggle policy and leadership in the trade union movement is the objective. This the Workers Party will aim to sponsor. The party will endeavor to reach an agreement with the progressive elements to attain the elementary objectives, agreements honestly arrived at and with the pledge to carry them out in common action. Some of the progressives may falter and weaken in fear of reprisals by the hostile trade union officials, but this fear will be far outweighed by the needs for the building of the progressive movement and the pressing needs for action. Today there is not such a national movement in existence and its actual creation represents for us an unpostponable task.

WHAT TO ATTEND

(The New Militant will be glad to publish all notices of lectures, mass meetings or social events if they are sent in by branches and district offices, sufficiently in advance to reach the editorial department not later than Tuesday morning.)

New York City
Jan. 23, Wed. evening—Lenin Memorial meeting, Irving Plaza.

Feb. 7, Thurs. evening—Theatre Party, "Sailors of Cattaro". Chairman: Frances Drake.

Gillespie, Ill.
Feb. 1, Friday, 7:30 P.M.—Socialist Party Hall, Main Street. "The Workers Party." Speakers: A. J. Muste and J. P. Cannon. Chairman: James Cross.

Torrey (Christian Co.), Ill.
Feb. 2, Saturday, 2 P.M., School House—"The Workers Party." Speakers: A. J. Muste and J. P. Cannon. Chairman: C. H. Mayer.

Springfield, Ill.
Feb. 3, Sunday, 8 P.M., Carpenter's Hall, 5th & Monroe Sts.—"The Workers Party." Speakers: A. J. Muste and J. P. Cannon. Chairman: Gerry Allard.

Feb. 3, Sunday, 10 A.M. all day. Left Wing Conference.

Philadelphia
Jan. 20, Sunday, 8 P.M., Grand Fraternity Building, 1626 Arch St.—"Why I Joined the Workers Party." Speaker: Joseph Zack.

Waukegan, Ill.
Jan. 22nd, Tuesday, 8 P.M., Co-operative Clubhouse, 523 Helmholtz Ave.—"The Program of the Workers Party of the U. S. Speaker: James P. Cannon.

Minneapolis
Jan. 23, Wednesday night, Pythian Hall—"Program of the Workers Party of the U.S." Speakers: A. J. Muste and J. P. Cannon.

Jan. 26, Saturday night, Pythian Hall—Banquet.

Jan. 27, Sunday—Minneapolis and St. Paul Open Forums.

Boston
Jan. 25, 8 P.M., Byron Hall, 6 Byron St.—"The Workers Party Faces its Tasks." Speaker: Max Shachtman.

St. Louis
Jan. 31, Thursday evening, 8 P.M., Hibernal Hall, 3619 Finney Ave.—"The Message of the Workers Party—Its Program and Purpose." Speakers: J. P. Cannon and A. J. Muste.

Kansas City, Mo.
Jan. 20, Tuesday evening, Workers Library—"The Workers Party of the U. S.—Its Program and Purpose." Speakers: A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon.

Los Angeles, Cal.
Feb. 1, Friday evening, 8 P.M., Walker's Auditorium, 730 Grand Ave.—"The Message of the Workers Party." Speakers: Sam Meyers, Charles Curtis and Dave Harris of the National Unemployed League.

WEEKLY FRIDAY NIGHT FORUMS OF NEW YORK BRANCHES PROMPTLY AT 8:30
Branch No. 1—144 Second Ave.
Branch No. 2—Grand Palace, 90 Clinton Street.
Branch No. 3—112 E. 19th Street.
Branch No. 4—Harlem, 143 East 103rd St.
Branch No. 5—Bronx Branch
Branch No. 6—1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn.
Branch No. 7—1281 49th Street, Brooklyn.
Jan. 25, E. R. McKinney on "The Unemployed Movement" On Feb. 1, Dick Ettinger on "Roosevelt's Program"

The Party at Work

BOSTON BRANCH TAKES LEAD IN GETTING NEW MEMBERS

Reports from branches indicate that point one on the party convention Program of Action to double the membership in the next six months will be more than fulfilled.

Boston In Lead
The Boston branch appears to be in the lead. It is already very close within the actual doubling of its membership. The branch has worked out a program of public meetings under party auspices and it is making arrangements also for speakers to appear at workers groups and student group meetings. On January 25 Comrade Shachtman will speak at a Lenin memorial meeting. Sidney Hook is tentatively scheduled to speak before a student group on February 8 with the expectation to remain in Boston and to address a general public meeting the following Sunday.

In the middle west the Minneapolis branch is again in the lead. We have not yet a full report of the number of new members admitted since our party convention, but a perusal of reports on hand show several new applicants accepted at each branch meeting. At a meeting on January 3, seven applications were received.

"The branch is about to move into new headquarters and then to bring forward more effectively its program of public meetings and educational activities. It started off with a meeting addressed by Comrade Norris on the subject "Why I left the Socialist Party and joined the Workers Party."

Active In Strike
Most important, however, are the practical activities in the class struggle, a field in which the Minneapolis comrades have already attained a splendid record. All branch members were assigned duties in the present garage workers strike. Once again the labor movement of the city is animated by a strike militantly conducted and bitterly fought by the Citizens Alliance. Once again our Minneapolis comrades are actively engaged, doing their part in the leadership of the strike and taking their posts on the picket line.

L. A. BRANCH INCREASES 30 PERCENT AT EACH MEETING

LOS ANGELES.—Enthusiasm is running high in the recently fused branches of the Workers Party of the U. S. with an approximate increase in membership of 30 per cent occurring at every meeting. A new branch, to be known as the Southside Branch, is in process of formation in the Goodyear section of the city. Payments on the Party Foundation Fund are coming in promptly from friends and sympathizers of the W. P. as well as from members.

Plan Mass Meeting
A huge mass meeting is being planned for Friday evening, Feb. 1, at Walker's Auditorium. There will be several speakers including Sam Meyers, Charley Curtis, and Dave Harris of the National Unemployed League. Among the subjects

to be discussed will be "The Message of the Workers Party", a report from the delegates to the National Unity Convention and an address on "The Only Way Out".

Evening classes are now under way at the Los Angeles headquarters, 1785 East 1st Street. They include classes on "Working Class Economics" given on Thursday evenings at 8 P.M. by E. Everett, and at 8 P.M. on the same evening a class on "Imperialism—America in the World Arena".

DISTRICT COMMITTEE STARTS TRADE UNION CAMPAIGN

NEW YORK.—The New York District Committee has undertaken a campaign to organize the trade union work of the Party in this district. The first step in this direction will be taken at a general membership meeting to be held Sunday, January 20, at 3 P.M. at the Irving Plaza Hall. At this meeting the trade union policies of the Party and the concrete tasks before the New York district will be the subject for discussion. Only members of the Party can attend this meeting.

This meeting is to be followed, according to the decision of the District Industrial Committee, by a week-end conference of all the Party members who are members of trade unions, and also close Party sympathizers.

This conference will be held the following week, that is, Saturday afternoon, January 26 and Sunday the 27. Sympathizers who wish to attend this conference are to apply to the District Office for permission. The problems of the various trades in which our Party members are involved will be discussed and concrete policies elaborated.

LOS ANGELES

Mass Meeting

"The Launching of the Workers Party of the United States"

The first move towards revolutionary working class unity in 13 years, bringing new hope and inspiration to the workers everywhere.

Speakers:
DAVE HARRIS SAM MEYERS
CHARLES CURTISS
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 8 P.M.
Walker's Auditorium
730 Grand Ave.

Should Communists Build A Labor Party?

Speaker:
MAX SHACHTMAN
SUNDAY, JANUARY 27th, 8 P.M.
Irving Plaza
15th St. & Irving Place

Subway Men In Revolt Against Co. "Brotherhood"

What has happened to the subway workers who two years ago took a 10 percent wage cut without a squawk?
The company "Brotherhood" has turned out to be not so hot, after all!

The men on the subways of New York City are now engaged in organizing a union of their own, an independent union which will take in all who are employed in passenger transportation in the entire city.

From 1905 the subway men have tried many times to better working conditions and get more pay. Sometimes it was through company unions, sometimes through the A. F. of L., and at other times through no organization whatever. Several times they went out on strike, but without proper preparation or leadership. They were sold out by their leaders, Cochrane of the I.R.T. company union, who threw three or four hundred motormen on the street to look for other jobs, and by Shea of the Amalgamated, who collected the dues and disappeared.

Company "Brotherhood"
Subway workers are forced to belong to company unions. On the I.R.T. this union is called the "Brotherhood of Interborough Rapid Transit Co. Employees." This organization never did anything for the men as a whole, but the delegates take up individual grievances. If a man is punished by suspension, the delegate of his local may try to get the time cut down. Or if a man is fired, he may get back to work in two or three weeks, or get transferred to a different department. But when the company wants to put over anything on the men, it is done through the same delegates.

One afternoon, in December 1932, the men were going to their locker rooms to wash up after work. They saw in the evening papers the announcement that they had voluntarily voted themselves a 10 percent cut in wages, (\$2,750,000 annually) and that the I.R.T. Company thanked them heartily. They had not heard anything about the cut. It was the trusty delegates who had done the dirty work.

Another Example
Another example was the famous, or rather infamous Pension Plan of July 1934.

It seems that there were and still are several hundred old employees and company officials who are getting from \$4,000 to \$50,000 and even \$60,000 per year each, and they were old enough, or almost old enough to be retired on a pension. These few hundred men, although forming a very small percentage of the total number of employees (14,500) take up an enormous

percentage of the total payroll, due to the fact that they average five to ten times the yearly earnings of the regular subway worker.

How could the company pension off these men, and pay them any considerable percentage of their regular salary without it costing an enormous sum of money?

The answer was simple: Make the younger men pay for it.

And after eighteen months of discussion, the arguments boiled down to something like this:

Murray, the receiver, speaking: "But won't the men see through it? Won't they refuse to pay?"
Keegan, the President: "The men will see through it, but they will not refuse to pay into the Pension Fund. Why? Because we will tell them it is voluntary, and they know what that means. We still have the old reliable Brotherhood delegates. If there is opposition among the men we will send the delegates over the road and they'll put it over."

Putting It Over
Sure enough, it was done just that way, but with different results from those expected by Murray and Keegan. In the first place, many of the men were signed up without knowing what it was all about, especially in the track dept. This caused plenty of trouble later.

In other places, many were told by their supervisors or foremen that they had to sign or get out; this happened in the turnstile dept. "Skunk" DeWyall told the men working in his department that they must sign the pension or get fired on the spot. These are among the most miserably paid men on the whole road, and the worst treated. Even so, seven of them refused to sign at first, and only signed when forced to. One refused to the last, and was fired.

When the period of "voluntary" signing was over, one foreman had gone to the hospital with a "possible skull fracture", and it had become necessary for a couple of delegates to bring their dental work up to date, and a couple of Brotherhood officials "fell" down a stairway. In all there were two thousand men who refused to sign the Pension. Most of these were sticking together in small groups of ten to twenty or thirty, making it a little more difficult for the boss to fire them.

What had happened to the men who two years before had taken a 10 percent cut in pay without a squawk?

Next week I shall tell why this spirit of rebellion is spreading among the subway workers. Two years ago perhaps the most cowed group of workers in New York City, the subway workers are fast becoming ready for organization.

about is getting an O.K. from the top; that is, from Browder or Stachel (or Krumbeln, N. Y. district). Then the decision becomes a party law. The trusted ones in the party fraction may be taken into the leaders' confidence.

"The policy as a whole is then put into effect from on top, often without previous approval by the membership of the union. Even the fraction as a whole does not always have any part in this farce. The "leader" in the union may even put a few things over on the party. This has often happened in the needle trade union. Thus all kinds of "bootlegging" of policy are possible under such a system.

Knowing this, I was not surprised when a group of cafeteria workers came to me the other day with some very interesting information. With the whole swing to the right in the party's policy, it does not surprise me that there should be—as in 1925-26 in the needle trades—class collaboration politics once more in unions led by the C.P. Nor is it surprising that now, as then, the members should not know what is going on.

Inasmuch as it is our policy to build up the Foodworkers Industrial Union as a genuine class struggle union of the workers, we will give its leadership a chance to answer a few questions before we tell some of the facts in the next issue of the New Militant:

1. What is the role of the Industrial Union in building up the new Metropolitan bosses' association jointly with the Dutch Shultz gang which controls Locals 16 and 302 of the A. F. of L.?

2. Is the Industrial Union supporting the Dutch Shultz gang which engineered the organization of the Metropolitan in order to break up the old United bosses' association?

3. Can the Industrial explain how this kind of "unity" advances the cause of unionism and what, specifically, are the benefits the workers derive from it?

4. How is it that the Sherman Cafeteria's and others coming within this "unity" arrangement can hire and fire workers at will, dispose of militants individually and retain scabs at the same time? What is the actual agreement between these bosses and the union?

5. What is actually the "united front" agreement between the Industrial and A. F. of L. locals 302 and 16, and how is it that the rank and file of none of these three organizations know about it or are represented in it?

Finally, we ask what do Gold, Potasch, Rose Wortis, Mahlors and others who are with Rubin on the Trade Union Unity Council think about this?

Arrest Union Local In Labor Frame-Up

(Special to New Militant)

DETROIT, Mich.—In one of the rawest frame-ups the labor movement of this city has seen in many years the Prosecuting Attorney's office has charged Meyer Weiner, member of Jewish Bakers Union Local 78, with the murder of Harry Haftka, son of Joseph Haftka, operator of a Jewish bakery at 4232 Joy Road, against whom the union has been conducting a strike for several months. Harry Haftka was shot to death near his home on the night of December 13, 1934.

In addition to Weiner, seventeen other union men, practically the entire membership of the local, have been arrested. Four of those arrested reported to the court that they were severely beaten by the police.

The manner in which the war-

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

SUPREME COURT DELIBERATES DEBTS AND GOLD HUGHES IS SHREWD PERPETUATING RULE OF RICH

The judicial arm of the American capitalist government has played an inconsequential role during the period of crisis and the NRA. The august judges, than whom there would seem to be no higher authority but God himself, have felt rather aggrieved at being so completely eclipsed by the executive power in the hands of Roosevelt. But such power on the part of the executive authority becomes inevitable whenever a major crisis threatens the very foundations of bourgeois rule. There is nothing, in this respect, so firmly established concerning capitalist society, as that the boss class will violate every single law set up by itself, if these laws stand in the way of the fundamental interests of the ruling class. For that matter the ordinary "rights" won by the workers under bourgeois democracy are violated with impunity day by day. In regard to such violations of workers' rights by the exploiting class, the whole system of courts, including the Supreme Court when the interests of the class in power as a whole are involved, becomes merely a cloak for the proper veiling of class justice from the naive vision of the masses.

But the courts also exist, not merely in their role of judicial means of oppression of the exploited classes by the oppressors, but also to "keep the arena" where property interests come into conflict, causing, at times, deep-going differences within the ruling class itself. In such cases the Supreme Court may be called upon to render a decision generally in accord with the historic interests of the upper strata of the ruling class. The Supreme Court is now "deliberating" over the government's abrogation of its gold contracts when it went off the gold standard.

Case of the Gold Standard

It was to the interests of the capitalists, in order to maintain their power and to prevent an even worse collapse of their system than actually occurred, to scale down

the entire debt structure within American economy. It was also to the interests of the big financiers to lay the greatest burden of the crisis on the backs of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie. By depreciating the currency these aims were achieved.

Such depreciation amounted to wholesale expropriation of the wealth in the form of savings, common stock, insurance, etc., held by the small people. The big financiers were capable of protecting their own interests so that their wealth was not expropriated at all or to a minor extent as compared with the other classes. Furthermore, going "off gold" or depreciating the currency met the demands of competition for foreign trade due to the money manipulations of other countries. For the working class there was involved a subtle wage cut by this process.

In view of all these effects of the abrogation of the gold clause by the U. S. Government, corresponding to distinct needs of the bourgeoisie, can anyone be under the illusion that the Supreme Court would dare to declare the government's act unconstitutional?

Majesty of the Law

In reality the Supreme Court is putting on a show, is covering with the necessary amount of flummery and formality the foregone conclusion of its decision. Hughes has no intention to bring about the chaos that would result from an adverse decision.

The Constitution Itself

The Marxian who knows the history of the American Constitution itself, is well aware that this sacred document is nothing but the legalization of the capture of power after the American Revolution by the rich, exploiting section of colonial society, destined to become the modern capitalists. The Constitution was designed to protect private property, to prevent interference with this private property by the majority of the people. In short, the Constitution was designed to perpetuate the rule of the rich minority against any attacks by the future proletariat and petty bourgeoisie. Surely a "yardstick" to be respected by this same proletariat which it was designed to keep from attaining to power!

Huey Long's Labor Record; He Says Mussolini Indorsed His Plan

This is the third and concluding article on Huey Long, demagogue and dictator of Louisiana. Next week comrade Eastman will begin a series of three articles on Father Coughlin.

By DAN EASTMAN

It is not by chance that Huey Long, the most grasping of "practical" politicians, has a program distinguished for its impracticability. Huey Long is not interested in a real redistribution of wealth; he is only interested in appealing to the most ignorant prejudices of the backward sections of the population.

He is not interested in the welfare of the workers, but solely in the welfare of Huey Long.

To increase his power and influence, he is willing to promise anything—and does.

As for carrying out the promises? That's another story.

His Labor Record

Huey Long has never in any of his writings or speeches given support to union labor. He has never given support in his actions to union labor. So far as he is concerned union labor does not exist.

On the construction of the very roads and public buildings which Huey "gave" to the workers, scab labor was employed wherever possible.

During numerous strikes in Louisiana Long has never given support, or even sympathy, to the strikers. During the longshoremen's strike in New Orleans, last year, Huey Long courts issued the usual injunctions in restraint of the right to picket.

"Every Man a King"

There has been no improvement of the status of the working man in his state where "Every Man is King".

An example: In New Orleans cotton mills the wage scale was \$3.36 per 56 hour week before the NRA. The workers were forced to pay two dollars of this sum in rent for company owned shacks. After the NRA the scale was raised from 6c per hour to 20 to 30c per hour, but the hours were cut to eighteen. At the same time that wages were thus raised from \$3.36 to \$4.50 per week, however, the rent was raised from \$2.00 to \$3.00 per week, so that the total gain was 14c per week for the workers.

This example is a bad enough indictment of the NRA; but consider that Huey Long was dictator of Louisiana, both before and after the NRA. During that time he did nothing to aid the workers in the cotton mills, either when they struck or when they were at work. The NRA raised wages 14c per week; Huey Long raised them not at all.

Long's attitude toward union labor is best and most completely revealed in one incident.

Suppresses Pamphlet

Last year a New Orleans labor editor, whose name I omit, printed at his own expense a pamphlet on Long's labor record, an expose of the Kingfish. The pamphlet never saw the light of day.

Two racketeers threatened the editor with violence, not against his person, but against his printshop, the means of support of himself and his family, unless the pamphlet was destroyed. Rather than take the chance of becoming poor in the state where "Every Man is King" the editor, out of consideration for his family, complied.

One of the most oppressed classes in Louisiana are the Negroes, who number 750,000. They are subject to the most degrading conditions, to Jim-crow discrimination, they are excluded from juries, are prevented from voting, are deprived of even the smallest show in the government that oppresses them.

Huey Long has done nothing for the Negroes in Louisiana. They are still excluded from the law and from the vote. Long himself indulges in Jim-crowism.

For instance: During the so-called vice investigation of New Orleans, Long called a city wide conference of ministers. Two Negro preachers, who were naive enough to take him at his word, turned up for the conference; they were barred. There are plenty of other instances of actual personal discrimination by the Kingfish himself, against Negro reporters, doctors, etc.

Lynchings

There is no better index of the attitude of the state, and of the oppression of the people, both Negro and white, than the number of lynchings. In 1933, the last year for which I have complete figures, Louisiana tied with Georgia and South Carolina for first place in the number of lynchings.

Huey Uses Troops

There is no class poorer than the unemployed and the "unemployables". Of the latter there are 15,000 in the city of New Orleans alone. Last August they were cut off without a penny of relief. When a hunger march descended on Huey's capital it was met by the National Guard, the leaders were arrested, and the marchers dispersed.

Huey Long failed to approve a bill providing a measly \$10,000 (60c each) for these workers as a

temporary measure of relief. Instead the legislature, Huey Long's legislature, turned the care of the unemployed over to the parishes, unbundling the problem of the poor on the poor.

(President Roosevelt stole a trick from Huey when he returned 5,000,000 unemployed to state charity. It's all the old army game of passing the buck, with the workers getting it in the neck every time.)

Relief Is Low

New Orleans, now a Long city, has never provided one penny for relief (New York City pays some \$5,000,000 a month), every cent coming from federal and parish resources.

As a consequence of Huey's great concern for the poor man the average relief in Louisiana is two to five dollars a week; in a state where the legislature appropriated more than \$100,000,000 for the construction of vote getting roads.

Like all demagogues Huey talks big and does little.

What is Huey's future?

In an issue of The American Progress, his paper, there appeared a little box notice:

"Mussolini says Long is right on sharing the wealth. Premier Benito Mussolini, who has rapidly risen to the forefront among world statesmen (!) has given his indorsement to the Huey Long plan for redistributing wealth."

The quotation that follows, however, contains no reference to the Senator. The important fact is that Long's paper, and by inference Long himself, publishes with pride an indorsement from Mussolini.

There are points of similarity between Huey and the Italian murderer. Both are experienced politicians, both are ruthlessly ambitious, both are great popular orators, who conceal the continuing oppression of capitalism under a cloak of fine phrases about abolishing poverty. What Mussolini has is the backing of capital, and a completely crushed labor movement. What Huey Long needs is—

Mechanization In Steel Bodes Uncertain Future

Fewer Workets Needed in Modern High-Speed Mills -- Companies Contract for Eight More

By FRED RAYBURN

NEW CASTLE, Pa.—Fourteen steel producers, representing 83 per cent of the ingot-making capacity of the country, report an aggregate deficit of \$19,023,200 for the third quarter of 1934, indicating that the net deficit for the entire industry was close to \$22,919,000.

Steel workers in the Youngstown, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Gary and Detroit areas did not have to read these figures. They knew—not in terms of dollars or cents or trips to Europe, which is what the deficit means to steel mill owners. They knew in terms of bread and butter, of milk for their children, shoes for their wives.

A stagger system of one or two days' work a week, with the speed-up still operating full-force to keep down employment costs, brings full realization to workers of their plight under a dying capitalism.

See Uncertain Future

And now the steel workers, harried almost to the breaking point by the uncertainties of the past few years, must watch the steel mills carry on and increase the process of mechanization, and know that insecure as their jobs have been in the past, in the future they face the certainty that thousands of them will have no place in this industry.

If the mills were being operated to supply the needs of the workers, this would not frighten them. It would mean that the back-breaking work of the steel industry would be done by machines, and the men would be freed to provide other goods.

But as long as the mills are run with profits for the owners as the first and chief consideration, these workers know that this mechanization means only unemployment and misery; for with millions being replaced in other industries there is no place for them to go.

Erecting Modern Mills

Contracts for high-speed modern mills have been let by various steel companies. These mills, costing between \$6,000,000 and \$12,000,000, are capable through a continuous operation of producing 2,200 tons of 75-inch sheet steel in 24 hours, or 680,000 tons a year. Compare this with an ordinary hot sheet mill with eight plants, rated at 60,000 tons a year, and you have a clear picture of the future for those workers who as yet are employed in old-type mills.

Ford Motors has one of the new mills in the process of installation. The Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. is building one in Youngstown, Ohio. The Great Lakes Division of the National Steel Company has let a contract for a similar mill at Detroit; Carnegie Steel (United States Steel), at Youngstown.

Brings Loss of Jobs

It is significant to note that the Inland Steel Company, which reported a profit of \$1,108,358 for the first nine months of 1934, when most of the large companies showed deficits, is equipped with the latest in tin plate machinery, which not only produces much larger quantities with fewer men, but results in a higher quality. And this results, not in a better life for the workers, as it should, but in their losing their jobs.

The Bethlehem Steel Corporation is considering erection of one of these new mills either at Sparrows Point, Md., or Lackawanna (Buffalo), New York.

Steel Towns Passing

The conclusions to be drawn from these recent developments are that complete mills will become obsolete. The towns that grew around these mills will in turn become desolate and barren. These new type mills will employ a small working force, who cannot possibly work steadily as the available market for their

product is limited. Then, too, these mills, with their mechanical perfection, require very little experience to operate in contrast to the older types.

Inevitably, some firms will be forced into bankruptcy when they are unable to compete with these highly rationalized mills. The ranks of the unemployed will be swollen by thousands.

Thus what might mean greater comfort and leisure for workers will mean more profits for a few millionaire steel mill owners. The workers can save themselves only by building a society in which machines will be used to serve man—a workers' world.

The Boston Tea Party and The Fears of Sir Hearst

Through his chain of newspapers, William Randolph Hearst, multi-millionaire who lives in California, is engaged in a vicious red-baiting campaign against all who oppose capitalism.

The idea that the working class will lead the oppressed population in an uprising against the profit system has set Hearst off on a patriotic crusade. Like Hitler, Hearst wants to abridge workers' rights, and freedom of expression for everybody but the capitalists, and set up a fascist regime. Hearst is doing what every other millionaire and capitalist will do in time. He is speaking for his class—for Fascism.

The following letter, from a comrade in California, recalls some American history, and reminds us again of our revolutionary traditions. The Hearsts have good reason to fear for capitalism and their multi-millions taken from working people.

In the year 1773 the American colonists groaned and muttered under a yoke of taxes—stamp taxes, sugar taxes and the tea tax imposed by the wealthy merchants of England.

Today, in many of the States, sales taxes are a terrific burden to an oppressed working class who every time a loaf of bread is bought, must pay an extra toll to the capitalist.

The people of 1773 knew how to deal with their oppressors. In Boston three tea-ships arrived in the harbor. The towns people would not let the tea be landed. Gov. Hutchinson would not let the ships return without unloading. On the night of December 16, 1773, a party of men jumped aboard the ships, ripped open the chests, and dumped the tea into the harbor. This "Boston Tea Party" cost the East India Company about \$75,000.

The British Parliament took speedy action upon receipt of the news of the Boston Tea Party. Seventy-five thousand dollars worth of British property destroyed! That was going too far! The colonists must be shown their place. The port of Boston was to be closed until the tea was paid for, no town meetings held unless the governor o.k'd them, trials for British officers in England.

In 1934 when the longshoremen of San Francisco and the young men and girls in the textile industry struck for their rights against the employers, for better living conditions, what happened? Just like in the Boston Tea Party, the yellow press (owned by the capitalists) cried out: "The strikers are damaging property! Send the troops!" And just as the English troops were sent to quell the colonists, now the militia was called out in the interest of breaking the strikes and protecting the bosses' profits. Under the guise of "protecting life and property", company thugs shot and killed strikers.

In 1773 the Boston Massacre saw 8 colonists shot. Trials in England for English officers who killed the protesting colonists, today lackey-judges who do the bidding of the money lords, sentence workers to long terms in prison (like Tom Mooney), electrocute other men fighting for freedom (like Sacco and Vanzetti) and hastily dismiss, or in a circus exhibition, free the big robbers of the people—"Wall

FRANCE

PARIS SOCIALISTS

PROGRAM FROM "LA VERITE"

Ed. Note: An event of great importance in the struggle against Fascism in France was the adoption by the Paris District of the Socialist Party of the Program of Action sponsored by the Trotskyist group which recently entered the Socialist party. The members of this group, known as Bolshevik-Leninists, have conducted a vigorous agitation for their program of action in their newspaper "La Verite" and in the Socialist Party organizations. For the information of our readers we reprint this important document in full as it appeared in La Verite.

THE CRISIS

Capitalism is passing through a crisis against which it cannot stand up except by retrenching its productive capacity in order to adapt it to the capacity of consumption which is more and more narrowing. It has exhausted its possibility of reform.

The reactionary offensive and the utilization of fascism are not the results of a revolutionary offensive; in France they are the reply to socialist reformism, itself incompatible with the existence of capitalism if it is to be a "reformism" serious and logical. It is because it has entered the stage of retrogression and decadence that capitalism opposes us with a growing resistance. Capitalism is forced to substitute for a regime of parliamentary and bourgeois democracy a regime of strong force resting on the army, the police, the armed fascist forces, and to crush the democratic conquests, by the suppression of the rights acquired by the workers (organizations, press, demonstrations, meetings, etc.).

The ministry of Flandin is but a variant of this regime.

Under these conditions the task of preserving and extending the democratic conquests cannot be assured merely by parliamentary and democratic means. These methods must be paralleled by extra-parliamentary struggles of the masses. Either the reaction will crush the

workers as in Germany, Austria and Spain or the masses will overthrow capitalism and take power.

To expose the illusion that parliamentary means are sufficient for a defense of democratic conquests, to guide the will of the masses for preserving their conquests in a struggle for their own power—this is the task of the Socialist Party. The problem is posed whether socialism or fascism will arrive at power first.

The present parliament has betrayed the interests of the people who have chosen it. It no longer represents their will. It must go.

WE DEMAND ITS DISSOLUTION.

WE WANT POWER. How to Bring the Masses on to the Road of the Decisive Struggle for Power.

1. The party must be in a state of permanent mobilization: daily propaganda must be carried on (distribution of leaflets, meetings at factories, at workers' centers).

A parliamentary group must be at the disposal of the Federations for systematic agitation in workers' quarters and at factory gates.

2. The unity of the workers' front must be on the broadest basis. It is necessary that this unity be effected around central slogans common to large proletarian organizations and capable of rallying the big mass of the workers, of involving in the struggle step by step even the most hesitant layers (peasants and middle-classes) which will gain their experience in the fight, will abandon illusions and will rally to socialist solutions. That is why the 10th Section believes that the plan of the C.G.T. contains four slogans:—Nationalization of key industries; Control of production; Control of banks; 40 hour week—which should serve as a common basis for the propaganda of the united front, involve the CGT in this united front and give to the popular front an actively revolutionary content by realizing the bloc of all those who today are robbed and exploited by capitalism. The French Socialist Party must cease being the tail-end of the united front, but on this basis must put itself at its head.

To hasten the decisions, to give to the united front a content of action so that those who have to act in common become more firm and decisive, it is necessary:

1. To hold joint meetings between socialist and communist districts.

2. To break all resistance to trade union unity.

The strengthening of the unity of the front will facilitate the realization of the unification of the two parties for revolutionary action.

The Struggle for Power

The Socialist Party which poses seriously the problem of the struggle for power must know how to adapt its tactics and its preparation.

It is necessary that it know how to break the resistance no matter from where it comes.

For that the general strike is the best weapon. It will hinder the revision of the constitution by a capitulating parliament as well as hasten its dissolution.

Between the riots of Feb. 6 and the workers' answer of Feb. 12 too much time elapsed. The time may not be allotted to us in the future!

In the present state of tension the general strike will loosen the forces of the bourgeoisie against the workers. In order to defend themselves the working masses must organize the peoples' militia sufficiently strong numerically and materially to crush the reactionary bands.

The organization of the general strike and the organization of the peoples' militia must embrace volunteers from all the layers of the anti-fascist toiling population.

From this follows the necessity of creating (in accord with all other organizations which will accept it) shop committees and local committees for the general strike which organize local y the militia groups and prepare the days of proletarian power.

Necessity of the regional and national coordination of these committees.

The general strike must have for its objectives:—The Government of Workers and Peasants—the problem of which will embrace essentially:

a) Convocation of a Constituent Assembly chosen by all the inhabitants over 18 years of age;

b) Disarmament of bourgeois formations;

c) Arming of the workers;

d) Realization of the principal demands of the united front mentioned above.

We Socialists, we must prepare this gigantic struggle, organize the working class step by step so that it can lead it. We must make it understood that even under a hypothesis that a government results from universal suffrage, that once this government decides to apply reforms of structure capable of realizing the demands of the workers, small merchants and the peasant masses, that it will meet the resistance of the bourgeoisie which will not hesitate in violating its own legality to oppose by force the realization of these measures.

—BILL MONROE
California

The Party Fund

Building the new party is not a matter of choice. It is a duty imposed upon us by events.

The task is enormous, made more difficult by the disillusionment of the leftward moving elements who looked with hope to the Communist Party and the "Militants" in the Socialist Party. Misled and frustrated by these two parties, the class conscious workers are waiting to see what we, the Workers Party, are going to do.

We must prove our seriousness and earnestness. We must show by concrete work in the class struggle that we can and are willing to give correct leadership in the struggles.

We can do this. But we must have the full support of all who see the problem clearly and know how to answer it.

The first requisite is a party, organized on the basis of democratic centralism, with functioning units throughout the country.

We must bend all our energies toward this end. We must aim to keep organizers and speakers constantly in the field. We must build a national training school for workers. We must extend and strengthen the unemployment movement; organize the Left-progressive wing in the trade unions; help the Youth consolidate its organization.

HELP BUILD A MASS WORKERS PARTY. CONTRIBUTE TO THE FOUNDATION FUND.

REPORTS FROM BRANCHES

Waukegan, Ill.—The secretary writes: At our last meeting, the unemployed members pledged their 25c assessments and each of the employed members made their pledges. The total equals \$25, the sum assigned us by the national office.

Los Angeles, Cal.: Received a quota of \$100.00. Has definite pledges of \$91. No doubt the balance will be made up by local sympathizers.

Detroit, Mich.: Accepts the quota set, but will be a little late sending in the money due to unemployment in the branch.

The South: This branch has to function underground due to local conditions. However they accept their quota and will do their best to meet it as fast as possible.

Philadelphia, Pa.: Accepts the full quota and has already asked for \$70 worth of certificates.

Kansas City, Mo.: Will meet the quota. More than half already pledged.

New York: The following is a detailed report from the New York District. It gives the names of the members who paid on their pledges since the last report printed in the New Militant.

Branch 1	
Nash	\$ 3.00
L. Lewis	3.00
Rolene	2.00
Becker	5.00
Palmer	9.00
Sterling	1.00
Victor	2.00
Tanas	1.00
Brinkman	1.00
D. Morris	2.00
Marlen	3.00
Nelson	3.00
A. Berg	2.00
M. Wilson	2.50
Spithos	1.00
Branch 2	
K. Koster	3.00
R. Koster	1.00
Bord	1.00
Davidoff	1.00

Branch 3	
Eastman	2.00
Wasserman	3.00
Grote	2.00
Hollenbeck	.25
Green	4.00
Konikow	.50
Caswell	3.00
Jlee	1.00
Smith	1.00
Jswald	1.00
Wright	5.00

Branch 4	
West	20.00
Brode	2.00
Chertov	.50
Gonzales	.20
Jolay	.50
Copeland	2.10
Pollack	1.00

Branch 5	
M. Abern	4.00
L. Abern	2.00
M. Stern	.25
S. Greenberg	1.00
Grayson	2.00
Fox	2.00
Levin	1.00

Branch 6	
Klein	1.00
Podell	1.00
Schaap	1.00

Branch 7	
Vix	2.00
Levine	1.00
Brown	5.00
Sher	1.00
Brodwin	.25
Anonymous	.50
Total to date	\$329.95

RECEIPTS	
Previously reported	\$1,191.95
Pittsburgh Branch	15.00
Waukegan Branch	5.00
Friends of the Militant	
Club, Chicago	6.00
Mt. Carmel, Pa.	.25
Mike Osborn, New York	1.00
Steinberg, Spartacus	1.00
A Friend, Baltimore	3.00
A Sympathizer, Cambridge	10.00
Mrs. M., New York	200.00
Total	\$1,453.20

NEW MILITANT

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

Entered as second class mail matter at the Post Office
at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

In the United States \$1.00 per year; 50c six months.
Canada and Foreign: \$1.50 per year; 75c six months.
Bundle Rates: Two cents per copy.

Vol. 1 SATURDAY, JANUARY 19, 1935 No. 6

Workers' Security

THE Association of Railway Labor Executives, the leaders of the railroad labor unions of the United States, set a good example the other day when they told Railroad Dictator Eastman to go to hell after he had made a speech saying that putting the 30-hour week into effect would "ruin the railroads." Said the union leaders, responding to pressure from their membership:

"A million unemployed railroad men have to be put to work or they will be ruined."

The Workers Party of the United States supports the struggle for unemployment and other forms of social insurance. But it believes that making this almost the sole object of struggle today, as the Communist Party is doing, is a grave error. The capitalist system must be challenged much more directly and drastically today—challenged with the demand to give the workers jobs!

The Workers Security program of the Workers Party includes the fight for:

1. The 30-hour week at a minimum wage of \$30 per week, and in any case without reduction in present weekly pay.
2. Proportionate cash relief for all unemployed workers and farmers pending establishment of a satisfactory social insurance system.
3. A real public works program providing housing for the masses, electrification of farmers' homes, etc.
4. Credits to the Soviet Union which will put American workers to work making automobiles, tractors, machinery of all kinds for the U.S.S.R.

The 30-Hour Week

THE struggle for the six-hour day, the five-day week, with no reduction in pay is taking on new form and new life, and will be reflected in the Seventy-fourth Congress now in session. The agitation for this slogan among the working class in the whole past period of the crisis has gained momentum and now promises to be one of the major issues of the day.

Spokesmen for the exploiters of labor, who in the past raised a cry against immediate relief and social insurance, at last realizing that some form of fake dole will have to be adopted, now center their attacks upon the 30-hour week.

The press, the pulpit, the radio and the platform, to say nothing of the economic "experts", are being utilized by the capitalists to save the country from another catastrophe. They assure the people that nothing would be more fatal to recovery, to prosperity, to the United States, and to the welfare of the millions of employed and unemployed workers than the adoption of the 30-hour week. In fact, all of a sudden, they have forgotten their own selfish material interests and are championing the cause of labor—against the 30-hour week.

But we have heard all this before. In the thirties of the last century, just one hundred years ago, when the American workers were struggling against work from sun up to sun down and demanded the 10-hour day, these same arguments were used. Later, in the eighties when the eight-hour day movement gained momentum the same arguments were used.

In 1900 the average work week was 57 hours. By 1929 the process of technical improvement and the class struggle had reduced the average to 50 hours per week. In 1934 the average weekly hours for the country were reduced to 40. Before 1936 the working class should complete the first phase of the struggle for the 30-hour week. By that time the 30-hour week

must become a law and the practical gauge for the work week.

Practically the whole labor movement is behind the struggle for the 30-hour week. The only force that bungled the whole question a few years ago was the Communist Party which demanded the seven-hour day, and five-day week. They claimed that the slogan for the six-hour day, the five-day week, with no reduction in pay was counter-revolutionary, and was playing into the hands of Green and Company. Today they are climbing on the band wagon, first through their auxiliary organizations.

What is lacking in the struggle for the 30-hour week is UNITED ACTION. The labor movement is for the 30-hour week but up to the present, in the main, each organization has been fighting by itself, in its own way. The unity of this struggle and a powerful campaign will force through the workers' demands. Unless the workers drive toward this end the bosses and their government will give us a 30-hour week law, as a fake counterpart to their social insurance plan. We have had many laws passed, and many laws are on the statute books, for labor's rights—but these laws are not worth the paper they are written on.

There is no solution of the unemployment problem under capitalism. But immediate relief, social insurance, work relief, and a 30-hour week are needed to prevent the workers from becoming paupers. The most effective and far reaching immediate measure toward this end is the struggle to reduce the hours of work. It is a demand of both the employed and unemployed. It is a demand that readily unites the struggle of the employed and unemployed.

Even in the most promising days of prosperity before 1929 production could not be run 100 percent. Labor was being displaced by the millions. Declining American capitalism will do less.

The reduction of hours is one of the most effective immediate demands. It is realizable, and at the same time involves the exploiters of labor in the greatest contradictions.

Let the working class give notice. Let the working class unite and celebrate the 100th anniversary of the struggle for the 10-hour day by the realization of the 6-hour day, five-day week, with no reduction in pay.

The Saar Plebiscite

IN the plebiscite last Sunday the population of the Saar voted ten to one in favor of reunion with Germany. Out of the total vote cast 476,089 favored the return to Germany, 46,613 favored the status quo and 2,083 voted for France. Accordingly this territory, rich in coal and iron, will return to Germany and come under the ruthless Nazi domination.

What this will mean to its working population is already indicated in the extended arrests of Nazi opponents and the preparations for concentration camps. It is clear that the Nazi hordes will proceed exactly as in Germany, crush all opposition with fire and sword and wipe out all semblance of working class organization, rights and liberties. Another heavy blow has thus been struck against the international working class movement.

Let us not misunderstand this situation, however. The working class itself voted by a majority for reunion with Germany. It is especially significant that Voelkingen, the seat of the Herman Roeblings steel dynasty and a population consisting in its overwhelming part of steel workers, voted ten to one for Germany, casting its ballots as follows: 20,657 for Germany, 2,208 for the status quo and 135 for France.

How is that to be explained? Claims that these workers voted for the Nazi regime are preposterous and ludicrous. It is far more correct to assume that this vote represents a desire to return to what these workers still look upon as their fatherland.

But this is at its best only a partial explanation. It must be remembered that these workers felt themselves left in the lurch, with no force capable of showing the way out. Even the united front between the Social Democratic and the Communist parties that finally came about in the Saar could not show the way out. These parties had failed before.

When the Nazis knocked at the gates in Germany the issue was presented squarely: Accept the continuation of capitalism plus the rule of this tyrannical horde or fight to the end for a Socialist system of society. Both parties of Socialism failed miserably and had nothing but abject surrender to offer. This is the crime that in the Saar plebiscite had the effect of condemning these parties to impotency in advance. This is the crime for which the workers of the Saar now have to pay the heavy price. May it speed the day when they learn to build upon the ruins of the past, to build a new party capable of leading the way to the Socialist revolution.

000; customs duties, more than \$300,000,000. As for the increases in the public debt, that merely served to build up future claims by bondholders to be supported out of the public funds.

It is a lovely and touching tale which the budget spreads out before anybody with a taste for fiscal data. In order to induce prosperity, in order to maintain relief, the New Deal has set the poor to picking one another's bones; which, after all, is just what used to happen under the Old Deal. Yes, the New Deal has redistributed the national wealth and income as the President said it would. There is only one catch: in accordance with the immemorial rules of the racket, the New Deal has taken from the poor and given to the rich.

In his budget measure, the President never bothered to touch upon

these indicate facts. He was shocked, instead, at the idea that the government might be expected to continue supporting those of its members for whom capitalism cannot find jobs. Don't give them relief, he urged, for that will warp their moral fibre. Make them work for their dole, but never, never commit the mistake of employing them in some useful occupations or of paying them too much.

The President is speaking as the defender of an economic order which has long since outlived its usefulness. It is not balancing the budget which will make the United States a country worth living in for its workers and its farmers. Nothing short of revolutionary reconstruction will do that.

Biscuit Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

the city, and an automobile brigade has been formed for flying work.

The company is reported frantic. Attempts to palm off stale biscuit and to ship in biscuit from other cities have failed. Threats against union leaders have been met with the formation of a bodyguard. An independent grocers association has boycotted National producers, according to reports.

The company is unable to ship biscuit out of the port of New York to foreign and colonial customers.

The workers have many grievances, including the practice of firing men when they reach 45, no matter how long they have worked for the company. (One man was fired after 20 years' service). The truck drivers were originally forced to buy their own truck chassis. The company, however, maneuvered them out of the ownership of their trucks. The drivers who then became eligible, immediately joined the drivers union and struck.

(Continued from Page 1)

sul obtain this letter? One should imagine that this question would be of paramount importance.

But it is precisely on this score that we cannot gather a single word from the indictment as it is printed in L'Humanite. Is it conceivable that neither the examining magistrate nor the prosecutor became at all interested in this fact? For not the exploits of a consul unknown to anybody are of interest but the question of the relations between the terrorists and Trotsky.

What Happened to the Letter?

Were there such relations or no? Was the letter written and transmitted? Was a reply received? To these unavoidable questions we get no answer. Is that surprising? Only to naive people. The G.P.U. could not permit the prosecutor any indiscretion within that sphere over which it has been compelled to draw the curtain of silence.

One need not doubt for a moment that the letter was never written because if the terrorists knew anything at all about Trotsky—and they couldn't but know—my irreconcilable attitude towards the adventurism of individual terror which runs like a red thread through my 37 years of revolutionary and literary activity could have been no secret to them. (see several dozen articles in my *Collected Works*, published by the State Publishing House).

However, an admission that the terrorists could not see the slightest reason for seeking contact with Trotsky, and for this reason did not respond to the kind offer of the "consul" would be tantamount to the immediate bungling of the entire amalgam. Best keep quiet about it!

Let us, nevertheless, make momentarily an eloquent provocation suggestion; the eloquent provocateur did actually succeed in obtaining the letter which so interested him. But what happened to it? Of course the temptation would have been great to transmit such a letter to Trotsky and . . . to receive from him some sort of an encouraging answer for the Leningrad "supporters", even if without any reference to terror.

But his inspirers, if not the consul himself, understood only too well the risk of such an enterprise: the previous attempts at provocation, which it is true, were on a smaller scale ended in inevitable fiasco. The letter—if it had been written, we repeat, contrary to all likelihood—would have to simply remain in the archives of the G.P.U. as a weapon unsuitable for its purposes. But this cannot be said aloud without confessing by this very fact that the consul is a second cousin to the Wrangel officer (see below).

The Mystery of the 'Consul'

Is it possible, however, to conceive of a consul in a role of an agent provocateur? We have no means at all of knowing whether a real or a fake consul is here concerned: the resources for fraud in the given instance are illimitable. But even genuine consuls bear very little resemblance to saints. Some of them engage in smuggling, with illicit deals in currency and fall into the hands of the police (not only of the G.P.U., of course).

Such a compromised consul may be offered not only forgiveness for his sins but also some entirely legal coin in addition, should he be so obliging as to perform a few trifling and innocent services. There were, there are, and there will be such cases. . . . as long as there exist consuls, customs, currencies, intermediaries male and female, and police.

The version we have adduced which unflinchingly flows from the indictment itself, if one is able to read it, presupposes consequently that the G.P.U. itself through the medium of an actual or fake consul, was financing Nikolaev and was attempting to link him up with Trotsky.

Complicity of the G.P.U.

This version finds its indirect but very actual confirmation in the fact that all the responsible representatives of the G.P.U. in Leningrad were kicked out immediately after the assassination, and the investigation subsequently kept marking time for a protracted period, faced with the obvious difficulty of what variant to choose in order to explain what had happened.

We do not mean to say that the G.P.U. in the person of its Leningrad agents, premeditated the murder of Kirov, we have no facts for such a supposition. But the agents of the G.P.U. knew about the terrorist act which was in preparation; they kept Nikolaev under surveillance, they established contacts with him through the medium of trumped-up consuls for the double purpose of capturing as many persons as possible involved in the matter, and at the same time of attempting to compromise the political opponents of Stalin by means

of a complex amalgam.

Alas! an amalgam much too complex, as the subsequent course of events proved: before the "consul" had succeeded in preparing the political blast against Trotsky, Nikolaev pulled the trigger at Kirov. After this, the organizers of the surveillance and the provocation were thrown headlong from their posts. And in writing the indictment, it became necessary to painstakingly steer around the sandbars and the submarine reefs, to leave the "consul" in the shade, to wipe away all traces of the activities of the G.P.U. and at the same time to save as much as possible of the shattered amalgam. The mysterious delay in the investigation thus finds an entirely natural explanation.

But why was the consul necessary? There was no getting along without the consul. The consul symbolizes the link between the terrorists and Trotsky with world imperialism (although the consul represented, one should imagine, some very petty and backyard state: that is the least dangerous way).

The consul is serviceable in another connection: because of "consideration of diplomacy" he cannot be named in the indictment nor consequently called as a witness. Thus the mainspring of the combination remains behind the scenes.

Finally, the consul himself—if he really exists in the flesh—runs no special risk: even if recalled by his government. Out of considerations of diplomatic politeness, he returns home as a distinguished hero who suffered in the service of his passionately loved fatherland; moreover, a certain supplementary sum to his modest salary would be found in his pocket for a rainy day, and there is no harm in that either.

The White Guard Dodge

The character of the machination is easiest understood if one is in the least bit acquainted with the preceding history of the behind-the-scenes struggle of Stalin against "Trotskyism". I shall mention only three instances.

As early as 1926, the hired journalists broadcast through the entire world the report that the Left Opposition had been implicated in relations with . . . White Guards. We were bewildered. It turned out that the G.P.U. had sent one of its official agents to an 18 year old youth unknown to anybody, and sympathetic to the Opposition, with an offer to assist in spreading Opposition literature. Some six to seven years previously (the G.P.U. agent it appears served in the army of Wrangel (which, incidentally, was never verified). On this basis, Stalin publicly accused the Opposition of making a bloc with . . . not an agent of the G.P.U. but White Guards.

On the eve of my exile to Central Asia (Jan. 1928) a foreign journalist made me an offer through Radek, to transmit secretly, if need be, a letter to my friends abroad. I expressed to Radek my conviction that the journalist was an agent of the G.P.U. However, I wrote the letter because I had nothing to say to my friends abroad that I could not repeat openly. The very next morning my letter was published in the Pravda as proof of my secret connections "with foreign countries".

On July 20, 1931 the yellow sheet Kurjer Codzienny, of Cracow, published a gross forgery under the signature of Trotsky. Despite the fact that my literary works are banned on the pain of severest penalty in the U.S.S.R. (Blumkin was shot for attempting to bring in the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition), the article from the Kurjer was reprinted in the Moscow Pravda—in facsimile. The most elementary analysis proves that it was manufactured by the G.P.U., with the assistance of the well-known Yara-

slavsky and printed in the Kurjer (one should imagine at the regular advertising rates) only in order to be reproduced in the Pravda

Stalin's Lackeys Inform French Authorities

I am compelled to leave aside a number of other combinations and amalgams which are more clarifying in order not to cause harm, by premature revelations, to other people involved. In any case, the type of this sort of creative effort is clear from what has been said above. The triangle composed of Nikolaev, the "consul" and Trotsky is not new. It resembles a dozen other similar triangles and differs from them only by being on a much bigger scale.

It is necessary, however, to point out that the Soviet press, as is evident from the cable extracts in the very same L'Humanite makes very circumspect use of the latest amalgam in relation to Trotsky and does not go beyond inferences concerning "the ideological inspirers". In return, however, L'Humanite speaks about my participation in the murder of Kirov with almost the same assurance with which the Mat'n recently wrote concerning my participation in the murder of King Alexander and Barthou.

The difference in the conclusions drawn by L'Humanite and the Pravda is to be explained not only by the fact that the idiosyncrasy of the Nikolaev-"consul"-Trotsky amalgam is much more obvious in Moscow than in Paris—but also because by its very essence this part of the amalgam is destined for foreign consumption, primarily for France. Its direct aim is to exert an influence of the necessary kind on the French workers through the medium of the united front, and to exert pressure upon the French authorities. Hence, the unbelievable tone of L'Humanite!

The Soviet authorities were compelled to openly admit that the participation of Zinoviev, Kamenev and others "was not proved": The governmental dispatches generally made no mention of me at all. The indictment refers only to the anxiety of the "consul" to obtain a letter to Trotsky—without making any conclusions. The lackeys of L'Humanite write that Trotsky's participation in the murder of Kirov was "proved"

Postmarked for the 'Best Disciple'

This article as I have already said is addressed not to the lackeys but their masters. However, I cannot leave unmentioned here the fact that one of my first sharp conflicts with the "troika" (Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev), came as a result of my protest against their busy efforts during the time of Lenin's illness, to corrupt the more pliant "leaders" of the labor movement in the West, particularly by means of bribes. Stalin and Zinoviev replied in rebuttal, "Doesn't the bourgeoisie buy the leaders of trade unions, members of parliament, and journalists—then why shouldn't we do likewise?"

My answer was that by means of bribes one could disintegrate the workers' movement, but that one could not create revolutionary leaders. Lenin used to warn against selecting to the Comintern "obedient fools". There has been added to this the selection of cynics who are ready for anything.

Ready for anything? Up to the first serious danger. People who have neither honor nor conscience cannot be trustworthy revolutionaries. In the moment of difficulty they will inevitably betray the proletarian. My only counsel to workers is that they remember well the names of these shameless villains, in order that they may verify this forecast.

December 30, 1934

Garage Strike In Twin Cities

(Continued from Page 1)

bullet was fired and ricocheted. Must have been some bullet.

Perkins of course was not arrested. Instead Ed Grosslein, union member, was framed. When a charge of inciting to riot proved too strong for even the frame up machine, he was accused of "unlawful entry."

"Bloody Mike" Busy

Chief of Police "Bloody Mike" Johannes has issued instructions that all pickets are to be booked on the most serious charge obtainable by the frame-up machinery.

On Jan. 11 guns belched again in answer to peaceful attempts of strikers to interview employees at work in the Tri-Moto Garage. This time the president and vice president of the firm did the shooting. Bufort Eastman was shot through the thigh, H. W. Collins in the hand, and Louis Le Meaux in the leg. Undaunted, the committee disarmed the gunmen. The wounded are members of Garage Mechanics Union No. 382, Minneapolis.

Thirteen strikers were arrested last Tuesday, charged with disorderly conduct while peacefully pick-

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By BILL SHERMAN

NEW TITLE WANTED

The editors don't like the title of this column, so they got together with the business manager and I am asked to announce that a year's subscription to the New Militant will be given free to the reader suggesting the best title. The editors to decide. Titles must be in by February 15.

By reading the Daily Worker, I gather that Lindbergh, acting for Wall Street, conspired with Hauptmann, a Nazi adherent, and William Randolph Hearst, to kidnap and murder his own son for the purpose of launching a big campaign of publicity to befuddle the workers so that they could not grasp Earl Browder's latest zig-zag on the Labor Party and the united front.

That the Home Relief Office at 25 Sheriff St., New York, is a fire trap; that it was originally certified for 25 persons but was used for as many as 800 applicants in addition to the staff; that there are four lavatories for 300 employees and none for the relief applicants; electric circuits overloaded, switches fused; the floor above occupied by a paint company, with turpentine dripping through the Relief Office—such was the testimony of William J. Desmond, clerical supervisor, to an Aldermanic committee. And that testimony reveals the attitude of the "liberal" administration of Mayor LaGuardia and the class he represents, to the unemployed.

Not in backward China, but in up-to-date, progressive, rugged individualist U.S.A. An INS item reports that federal investigators in the Ozarks found 31 persons "living in a one room shack . . . several families made up the 31." Eight hundred applicants for relief crowded into quarters certified for 25 in New York City, thirty-one men, women and children living in one room in the Ozarks, surely Roosevelt's "more abundant life" is spreading all over God's country.

Real News in Hauptmann Case

Fifty Western Union messengers at the Hauptmann trial pulled a sudden strike, and won \$1 to \$1.50 pay increases, and in addition the removal of the charge for uniforms. Bartel Reasoner, one of the messengers, who was fired for complaining about conditions, was reinstated.

Militant Progressive Unionism

Here is the meeting schedule of General Drivers Local 574 for the month of January, as reported in the Minneapolis Labor Review: Friday, Jan. 11—Stewards Meeting. Monday, Jan. 14—Full membership meeting. Tuesday, Jan. 15—Independent Truck Owners. Monday, Jan. 21—Coal Workers. Friday, Jan. 25—Stewards Meeting. Monday, Jan. 28—Full membership. Tuesday, Jan. 29—Taxi Drivers. Night shift, one P.M. Day shift, eight P.M.

The same issue of the Labor Review contains a report made by Herman Husman, international representative of the Machinists Union in the Garage Mechanics strike—"Husman said words should not express the gratitude of the strikers to the leaders and members of Local 574, who were giving tireless and most valuable assistance." The schedule of meetings and the assistance given to the striking mechanics together show that the leadership and membership of Local 574 are not content to rest on the laurels of the great strikes of last year, but with the widest democracy and most militant spirit, are preparing for the greater battles ahead.

Mass Telephoning

The just passed-by plebiscite in the Saar, with its disastrous results for the future of the German and international working class, naturally has again brought into the forefront the question of Fascism. It is therefore interesting to pick up a little booklet published by the International Labor Defense in the U. S., and see what means they say they use in order to fight Fascism. Most startling tactics, a most unusual contribution to the arsenal of working class struggle! They boast that time and again, they have so swamped the desk of the German consul with telegrams, and have kept his phone so busy, that he could not conduct his regular work. Evidently the trouble in Germany was that Hitler did not have a phone. . . .

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE NEW MILITANT.

LENIN MEMORIAL MEETING

Speakers:

Max Shachtman Joseph Zack Nathan Gould

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23, 8 P.M.

MUSIC REVOLUTIONARY DANCE GROUP SONGS

IRVING PLAZA HALL
Irving Place & 15th Street

Admission: Workers Party of the U. S., New York District

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

First Year—Winter 1935. Beginning Feb. 18, 1935

MONDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Workers Party Fundamentals—B. Borkeston

MONDAY, 8:40-10:00 P.M.—Elementary English.

MONDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—American History—Felix Morrow.

WEDNESDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Marxian Economics (vol. 1)—H. Ohler

WEDNESDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—American Labor History—A. J. Muste.

WEDNESDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—History of the Three Internationalisms—M. Shachtman.

WEDNESDAY, 8:40-10:00—Organization Principles.

THURSDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Trade Union Strategy and Tactics—A. Swaback.

THURSDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Philosophy of Marxism—Grote.

FRIDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—History and Problems of the Youth Movement—N. Gould.

FRIDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—A B C of Marxism—Jack Weber.

FRIDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—History of the Russian Revolution—Wm. Duncan.

Ten sessions for each course; one evening a week.

Fees: \$2.00 per course, payable in three installments: \$1 at time of registration, and two 50c installments within 3 weeks.

The International Workers School is ready to give any additional classes if a minimum of fifteen workers request it. For further information regarding the school, get in touch with Joseph Carter, School Administrator, at 2 West 15th Street, New York City.