

From A. J. Muste, national secretary of the Workers Party, comes further word of the tour he and James P. Cannon, editor of the New Militant, are making to present the program of the W.P. to the workers of the country. Reports indicate that Comrades Muste and Cannon's tour is a march of triumph.

By A. J. MUSTE
MADISON, Wis.—The University of Wisconsin is becoming more conservative. Phil LaFollette, of the new Progressive Party, is trying his hand at doing something for the masses with a reformist program. He has an alibi, however, since the Progressives do not control the legislature and so the moral may not be so obvious to the masses as it should be.

An old Brookwood graduate, though not a W.P. sympathizer, got up a meeting here at short notice. They planned to have it in a house but had to transfer to a hall because over fifty wanted to come. If the Chicago District got established, it ought to have little trouble in forming a branch here.

Here our first taste of northwestern cold begins. The train is due at 1 A.M. It crawls in about 3. We are due in Minneapolis at 8 A.M. and get there 5 hours late. Over 30 degrees below zero and a cutting wind. What a reception!

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—Those of us who have heard former C.L.A. comrades go into ecstasies over the Minneapolis strikes, Drivers Local 574 and the Minneapolis militants generally, have sometimes said to ourselves: "They may be good in Minneapolis, but they can't be that good." There must have been many, too, who have had a fleeting doubt as to whether Toledo and Minneapolis could live up to their reputations, whether the magnificent battles of 1934 had been a "flash in the pan" or were being followed up in a persistent and militant fashion.

Having now spent five days in Minneapolis, maybe I'll be accused of "putting it on thick." I must sing the praises of the movement here. Nothing is clearer than that both here and in Toledo our forces are stronger today, have a firmer hold in the unions, and are working harder than they were a year ago.

We tried to have a conference of the trade union members of our branch the other night and had to wait until nearly eleven because a class in Labor Dramatics, a conference of Bakery Workers and an organization committee meeting of Northern States Power employees were on, and our comrades and the 574 boys were taking leading parts in each. While waiting around, we had a session with a group of progressives from the railroad unions. The Northern States Power employees have a charter from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers under which they are building an industrial union of utility workers, including the office

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Latest Order By F D Hides New Threat

Section 7(a) Likely to be
Replaced by New
Legislation

By ZACK ELDER

WASHINGTON.—It was by no means extraordinary that the President should buckle under to the newspaper publishers by ordering the National Labor Relations Board to keep its hands off the Jennings case.

(Jennings, a reporter on the San Francisco Bee, a Hearst paper, was fired for his attempts to organize the newspaper men of this paper into the Guild. The case was brought before the San Francisco Regional Labor Board which took sides with the employer. It was subsequently brought before the National Labor Board and made a test case. Richberg allied with the publishers but the decision of this Board was favorable to the Guild.—Ed.)

Buckling under to the open-shop employers is the one talent which the President has never failed to manifest throughout the tortured history of Section 7a. He gave in to the automobile employers when he set up the ineffectual Wolman Board. He gave in to the iron and steel employers by handicapping the Steel Labor Board in the exercise of its theoretical election powers. He gave in to the cotton textile employers by enjoining the striking workers in the meaningless recommendations of the Winant Commission. The President is thoroughly aware on which side the loaf of capitalism is buttered.

NATIONAL RUN AROUND'S NEW MANEUVER

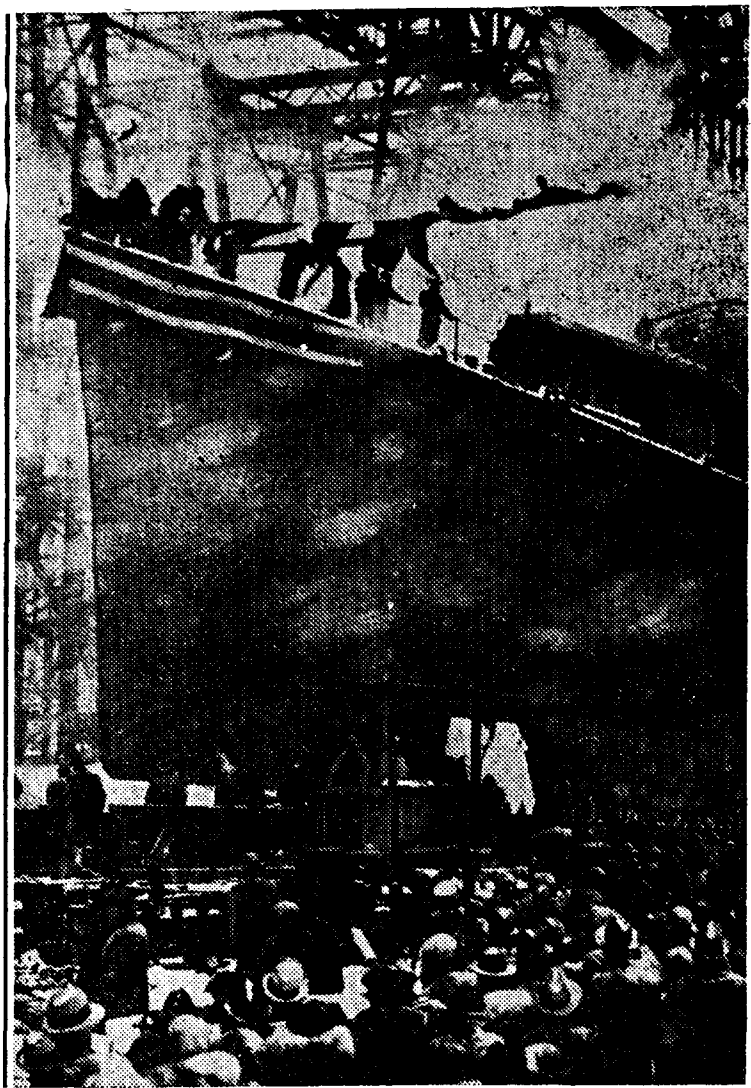
But the President's order conceals a new maneuver on the part of the National Run Around. While the strike wave ran high, during 1933-1934, it was convenient to smother labor unrest by blanketing it under a whole series of industrial relations boards. The ostensible purpose of these boards was to govern industrial relations in accordance with Section 7a—trade union recognition, collective agreements, and the rest.

Their true purpose, however, was to end and avert strikes by spinning out endless miles of administrative red tape, and by giving workers into the belief that the government would see that justice was done to them.

As strike-breaking agencies the boards did their best. Woe befell the wage-earners who were simple-minded enough to walk into the

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New Deal Launches Another Gunboat



The 1,500-ton destroyer Dale is shown above as it slid down the ways of the Brooklyn navy yard. It's the latest product of the navy's building campaign, and the money came from New Deal funds. Washington observers predict that a large part of the new unitemized \$4,800,000,000 relief fund will also go for war preparations.

Liberty of 18 Jeopardized As C.P. Splits Defense

SAN FRANCISCO.—The liberty of the 18 defendants in the Sacramento criminal syndicalism trials has been jeopardized by the action of members of the Communist party when under orders from New York they repudiated the united front agreement reached January 15.

The agreement, signed by the Socialist party, the Workers Party, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Shipyard and Allied Workers Industrial Union, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the International Labor Defense, Machinists Local 68, Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union and the Communist party, was a result of the agitation begun by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense after some of the prisoners and the Berkeley subsection of the C. P. had voiced dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Communist party and the I.L.D.

Between the first meeting of the general united front committee and the meeting Saturday morning, the Stalinists managed to sabotage the united front mass meeting scheduled for Feb. 1 and to violate the agreement in other ways. At Saturday's meeting they came out in the open, repudiating the united front agreement, rejecting all compromises and took a line which forced a break.

By this action the leaders of the Communist party have once again demonstrated their complete callousness with respect to the fate of the 18 workers now facing long terms in San Quentin and took on their shoulders full responsibility for destroying a united mass movement of defense.

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense, immediately after the Stalinists had destroyed the united front, set the wheels in motion for a reconcentration of all honest labor and sympathetic elements into a militant united defense. On Monday night the united front committee will reassemble minus the disrupters, and will take up unhampered the practical questions of the defense fight.

For months after the arrests in July the C.P. and I.L.D. developed no publicity around the Sacramento

DOLL AND TOY WORKERS USE FLYING SQUADRON

Five hundred workers of the Doll and Toy Federal Union, New York local, struck Wednesday against sweatshop conditions, wages below the NRA minimum of \$12 per week and to extend unionism in the industry.

On the first day of the strike flying squadrons of militant workers pulled out several hundred unorganized workers in the stuffed toy department.

The workers demand union recognition and a wage scale from a maximum of \$50 per week for skilled cutters to a minimum of \$18 for general help.

94 Strikers Arrested in Fargo N. Dakota by 300 Vigilantes

4,000 Subs by May 31 Is Our Goal-Here's How

THE campaign for New Militant subs opens today. It opens on a new note—Prizes! Yes Sir, we are offering prizes.

Our goal is four thousand new subs in four months, one thousand per month, two hundred and fifty per week. If we are to make the mark you will have to help us out with thirty-five new sub every single day from now until May 31.

The Prizes—Ah! There are 12 separate, magnificent prizes. For the individual who collects the most subs every month during the campaign there will be a prize of two dollars in books from the Pioneer Bookshop. A chance for you every month.

For the individual who collects the biggest number of subs for the

entire four-month period a prize of five dollars in books.

For the branch which sends in the greatest number of subs and the biggest bundle increases, paid up, there will be a prize of ten dollars in books (branches will be judged on a membership basis), a second prize of five dollars and a third prize of two fifty, all in books.

Comrades consider—If we each and every get one new sub every two weeks we will reach our mark. If each and every one of us get a sub every week we will have a circulation of at least fourteen thousand by May 31. If we each got a sub every day we would have a circulation of sixty thousand! That's just to give you an idea.

Progressives Seek National Organization

(By Special Correspondent)

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—Vigorous, hard-hitting resolutions, one condemning reactionary union leaders and going on record for a national organization of militant and progressive union forces, the other demanding a genuine Workers' Security Program, were adopted at the one-day meeting of the Northwest Unity Conference, held at the headquarters of Drivers' Local No. 574. Fifty delegates, from unions numbering 10,000, attended the conference. The security program adopted was the program advocated by the National Unemployed League.

The resolutions follow in full:

"Whereas, the workers of the U. S. have demonstrated a determination to organize and a willingness to fight desperately for the right to organize and against the whole campaign to put them on a pauper basis; and

"Whereas, the masses will find no support but only new betrayals in outworn craft unionism and autocratic union leadership which bases its policies in collaboration with employers and the government, who are the enemies of the working class; and

"Whereas, the militants and progressives can carry on the battle for the organization of the unorganized and against false, corrupt, and reactionary leadership only if they are firmly organized and unite their efforts; and

"Whereas, this is a national problem and local groups cannot meet the need and will in fact be smashed by reactionary elements in the labor movement; and

"Whereas, this Conference has begun the organization of the progressive forces in the northwest region; therefore be it

"Resolved, that we declare for a national organization of the honest militant and progressive elements in the unions and instruct the officers of this Conference to make contacts with similar groups in other parts of the country and in every way to advance the movement for a national organization."

Resolution on Workers' Security Program

"Whereas, the great problem facing the American working class is economic security; and whereas, numerous persons and groups, including employers and the government, are proposing various measures for a program of workers' security; therefore be it resolved, that this Conference goes on record endorsing the following as essential parts of a workers' security program:

"First, the national thirty-hour week;

"Second, an appropriation of not less than ten billion dollars for public works which will benefit the masses, such as housing for wage-workers, farm electrification, etc., this sum to be expended immediately, and workers on all public projects to be employed on the basis of the thirty-hour week and a minimum wage of thirty dollars per week and at union rates above the minimum;

"Third, enactment of the Lundeen Workers' Social Insurance Bill;

"Fourth, Cash relief, pending enactment of unemployment insurance, at not less than twelve dollars per week and not less than three dollars additional for each dependent."

Speakers Will Bare Hearst's Labor Record

NEW YORK.—A mass anti-Hearst meeting will be held in New York Sunday, Feb. 3 at 8 P.M. at the Central Opera House, 205 East 67th Street.

The speakers, many of them attacked by Hearst in his anti-Red campaign, will uncover Hearst's record.

Heywood Brown will speak on Hearst's attitude toward his own newspaper employees.

Prof. Sidney Hook, chairman of the Department of Philosophy of New York University, and Prof. James Burnham, of the same department, will answer the attacks on them in the Hearst papers.

Prof. George S. Counts of Columbia University will speak. He discovered recently that prospective "students" were Hearst reporters. His exposure of Hearst's tactics caused the most prominent educators in the country to demand a Congressional investigation of Hearst's anti-labor activities and his attacks on education.

Felix Morrow, secretary of the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, under whose auspices the mass meeting will be held, will tell of Hearst's activities in California, and the Hearst press role in the Sacramento criminal syndicalist trial now going on.

Truckmen Stay Injunction

One-Day Strike Prevents Judge from Issuing Writ - He Postpones Decision Until Next Week

The one-day strike of the New York truckmen on Jan. 28 sets a new pace for the American labor movement—it was a strike called for the sole purpose of jamming an injunction down the judge's throat.

On Jan. 2, Justice B. J. Humphreys, a well-known labor hater, issued an opinion, on application of the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce, that opened the way to an injunction restraining the Longshoremen from cooperating with union truckmen by refusing to handle scab goods. The injunction, if issued, would result in the wholesale laying off of union truckers.

Last Thursday the rank and file truckmen in a secret meeting elected a strike committee of 25 and determined on a walkout for Monday, the day set for the injunction.

This action was taken over the heads of the so-called union leaders, Michael Cashed of the Truckmen, and the notorious Joe Ryan, who tried to sell out the San Francisco strike last summer. These alleged union leaders were all for taking the injunction lying down. Both Ryan and Cashed disclaimed any responsibility for the strike, and laid it to "communist influences."

T. E. Smith, one of the rank and file strike committee, pointed out that the only "communist influences" involved were the rank and file, who knew damn well that the injunction would result in the firing of at least five thousand union truckmen immediately.

The Monday strike was a success. Taking a hint from the Minneapolis strike, squads patrolled the loading area, both rail and boat, in trucks. All interstate trucking was stopped. Those interstate truckmen who

Take Town In Effort to Break Strike

FARGO, N. Dakota.—Three hundred deputized vigilantes swept down on the headquarters of General Drivers Local No. 173 on Sunday, tear gassed strikers, their wives and children, and arrested 94, including William Cruden, president of the union, and W. W. Hughes and C. R. Schwalde, union officers. They were charged with rioting and inciting to riot, bail was set at \$500 to \$1,500 for each unionist arrested.

The strike of the coal, ice, and transfer drivers has been on since the middle of January. In spite of the sub zero weather the Fargo drivers, using the militant picketing technique developed by General Drivers Local 574 in Minneapolis, had the city of Fargo sewed up tight. The strike was called for union recognition and for the reinstatement of two men discharged for union activities.

Today the entire town of Fargo is in the hands of vigilante thugs, who have set as their goal the crushing of the local labor movement, for years a negligible force—until Miles Dunne, one of the leaders of Local 574, was loaned to the Fargo drivers as an organizer. A warrant has been issued for the arrest of Dunne, charged with inciting to riot.

The rest of the Fargo labor movement is weak; most of the unions have small membership, although under the stimulus of Local 173's organization drive, their milk drivers' strike of last fall and their present strike, several hundred workers have come into the unions.

The terrorism in Fargo is part of an organized campaign against labor which the reactionaries are preparing in the Northwest. During the past four months tremendous funds have been put behind the American Legion, hundreds of chapters have been formed or revived. In Minneapolis special police posts of the Legion have been formed.

Every trade unionist in the Northwest should realize that the Fargo strikers are waging a fight for the labor movement of the whole Northwest, and should give every possible support to Local 173.

When It Snows in New York

Magnificent Chance for Jobless Men - - Alderman Who Gets \$100 an Hour Raps Shovelers

On January 23 and 24 a blizzard descended on New York, 17 1/2 inches of snow fell, the temperature dropped to a few degrees above zero.

Commissioner of Sanitation T. W. Hammond (\$10,000 per year) ordered out 11,000 home relief men, registered for snow removal, on the evening of the 23rd, but as only four inches had fallen by then, they were sent home, after reporting at headquarters in the zero weather.

On the 24th the snow continued to fall and traffic was badly tied up, all 23,000 registered home relief workers were ordered out.

Alderman John Cashmore (it has been calculated that New York City aldermen receive \$100 per hour for sitting on the Board of Aldermen) sharply criticized the relief workers, claimed they were not reporting, they were shirking, they were not taking proper advantage of this magnificent opportunity.

A "Liberal" Paper

The New York World-Telegram, a liberal paper, (editor probably receives \$20,000 per year) took up the noble civic cause in a headline: "Relief Workers Shun Snow Cleaning Jobs."

The reluctance of the relief workers was ascribed by some to the fact that, although they were promised 50c per hour for a 10 hour day of snow cleaning, actually they received only 25c per hour, the remaining 25c being subtracted from their relief allowances.

Reports from various papers for Jan. 24:

"Thomas McClintock, 60, a relief worker of 80 Herkimer Street, Brooklyn, died while shoveling snow in Prospect Park. Cold and exertion were given as the causes. "An unidentified man in Queens

told dead from overexertion while shoveling snow."

On Jan. 25 Alderman Cashmore (\$100 per hour) requested that the committee investigating home relief in New York (which has to date succeeded in removing a few doubtful cases from relief rolls, at a cost to the city of \$25,000) look into the snow removal business.

The World Telegram reported: "City Forced to Hire Many Thousands Not On Relief Rolls," and became extremely self-righteous.

How to Keep Warm

The Department of Sanitation (Comm. \$10,000 per year) issued a mimeographed sheet of instructions to snow removal workers:

"If your fingers or ears get numb and look white or frostbitten put the frostbitten hand inside your vest, notify your foreman, and go to clinic, 103 Lafayette St.

"Don't walk, ride in subway, trolley or 'L'.

"If both hands are frozen put colder one inside vest and keep the other in your pocket.

"Things to wear: A pair of woolen mittens, mittens are much better than gloves; a pair of woolen socks; shoes with thick soles; cap with ear muffs."

A tour of inspection by your reporter revealed that many relief workers had the audacity not to obey the instructions, although the temperature hovered around five degrees above zero. To say nothing of mittens, many were not even wearing gloves; and as for thick soled shoes and woolen socks, there was flagrant violation of the Department of Sanitation rule.

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE
NEW MILITANT.

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suggested symbol



What is it? What is that lightning bolt across the world? It's a suggested symbol for the Workers Party.

What do you think of it? Do you like it? Good! Or have you any ideas for a better one? This is the time for all hidden talent to blossom forth. immortalize yourself as the creator of the revolutionary symbol of America.

Send all suggestions, drawings, etc., to the Political Committee, National Office, New York.

LIVELY MEETINGS MARK SPEAKING TOUR FOR WORKERS PARTY

Enthusiastic Crowd Cheers The New Party in Chicago

CHICAGO, Ill., Jan. 20.—The interest in the formation of the Workers Party is such in Chicago, that over 350 workers turned out to hear Comrades Muste and Cannon speak at the Capitol Building on the program and aims of the party. The audience responded with frequent outbursts of applause.

Muste and Cannon laid down an analysis of the present economic and political situation which necessitated the formation of the new party. They showed that the Workers Party, armed with a realistic revolutionary program, with connections in the trade union centers throughout the country, with a powerful unemployed organization and a well circulated press, bids fair to become THE revolutionary party of the American proletariat.

Communists Behave

A large number of left Socialists listened attentively to the speakers. The Communist Party was also represented by about twenty members, who, surprisingly as it may seem and for the first time, behaved themselves in an orderly fashion and did not attempt, in their usual manner, to disrupt the meeting.

Following the speeches a collection was taken. Over \$70 was collected and \$25 pledged.

The chairman announced that a speaker from the S.P. and the C.P. might take the floor and present their party's point of view. A prominent section leader of the C.P. got up and set forth to damn and slay the W.P.

Brought Down the House

Much to the amusement of the workers, this worthy deplored the fact that the program of the W.P. was really a communist program stolen from the C.P. on a dark night. He literally brought down the house when he referred to "comrade" Muste (not Mr. Muste) and stated that he regarded him as an "honest man who had made contributions to the American labor movement".

God Forbid!

A left Socialist next took the floor and argued that the W.P. should be in the S.P. today, helping to reform it and revolutionize it. He pleaded that the W.P. should follow the example (God forbid!) of Albert Goldman and enter the S.P.

Comrade Cannon replied to this. Deflating the big talk of tremendous mass contact, he showed how the actual left wing was very small and had no reason to look scornfully upon the W.P. The W.P., he stated, did not deny the existence of a developing left wing. But the best way to help the left wing was precisely by forcing it to fight the S.P. old guard, with a view to split with them and then of uniting all revolutionists into one party.

Describes Zig-Zags

No less effective was Comrade Muste's reply to the C.P. speaker. He evoked great laughter when he

showed the recent zigzags of the C.P. both with regards to the class struggle in general and with the characterization of himself as an honest man, whereas up to recently he had been classified as a black-guard and left social fascist. Muste threw into the teeth of the Stalinists the challenge to defend their policy of terror in disposing of political opponents in the Soviet Union, after the Kirov assassination. He concluded with an appeal for support of the Workers Party.

WAUKEGAN, Ill.—Despite bad weather, 55 workers gathered to hear James P. Cannon explain the program of the Workers Party. The speech was the opening gun in the drive of the Waukegan Branch for new members.

DETROIT.—About 150 workers, representing every important political tendency in the labor movement, heard A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon, outstanding leaders of the Workers Party at Jericho Temple Jan. 18. The meeting was the first held by the new party in Detroit. The response was enthusiastic.

In the audience were Socialists, several of them new members who

had joined, hoping for a new revolutionary policy in that party; there were one or two lone Lovestones, who are still hard at work "reforming" the local Communist party; and a handful of Stalinists. Present also were some of the leading members of the Detroit Branch of the Proletarian Party, many of whom are the most active militants in the Mechanics Educational Society of America, a union of some 20,000 tool and dye makers.

Twenty new contacts were established for the Workers Party at the meeting.

NEW CASTLE, Pa.—A. J. Muste spoke to 80 persons here on Jan. 15. The question and discussion period centered around the policies of the Soviet Union; the collapse of the Second and Third Internationals and the necessity for the Workers Party.

Following the meeting an organizational meeting of the Branch was held. Rocky Lewis was elected branch organizer.

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—Comrades Muste and Cannon helped us get the new party off to a fine start in this city.

Quite a number of youthful, healthy elements of the Cleveland working class were present. The new party is being discussed in every hall and center where workers meet throughout the city.

Textile Strike Looms - Will It Be Another Betrayal by U.T.W. Leaders?

By FELIX GIORDANO

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—The wave of militancy which came over the textile workers last year, and which culminated in the general strike of last September, is far from being dead.

The betrayal of that strike at the hands of the vacillating and inept leadership arouses the workers now more than ever.

It will be remembered that the last convention of the American Federation of Silk Workers, in spite of the top clique, had to promise strike action in case (!) the report of the Industrial Relations Committee appointed by the Winant Board should not be satisfactory.

No report has been made public. But the report may have already been made, and may be now in the hands of the national officials of the U.T.W. and of the American Federation of Silk Workers, without the organizations making it known to the members.

Delegates to Meet

This possibility assumes gigantic proportions in view of the fact that a meeting of delegates from all over the silk industry has been called suddenly for next Sunday in AL-

lertown to discuss the possibility of strike action on a national scale.

It seems, then, that the report has been made, and—naturally enough—it is not satisfactory.

But if that is the case, why call a meeting of delegates to talk about it? Why not let the membership of the organization know about it first?

A burning question now confronts the silk industry. Is this strike to be a repetition of the debacle of last September? Is the same group of bureaucrats that were responsible for that shameful betrayal, going to be in charge of this strike?

Francis Gorman, the official head of the last strike, has recently made utterances to the effect that the textile workers have been betrayed in the confidence they put in the Government.

That sounds very much like an attempt to rehabilitate himself with the workers.

It suggests that the silk-rayon strike, which seems quite certain, may be only the prelude to a new general textile strike to follow either immediately or closely after it.

The question comes up: Can the present U.T.W. leadership conduct another textile strike?

The workers who saw their fellow-workers die in the deep South and in Rhode Island only to have the strike called off when it was still on the upswing, and without any gains, will they forget the lesson of only a very few months ago, and again follow the same kind of leadership? Can they be rallied to follow a general who is so ready to sound the retreat?

On the other hand, there is no

possibility to change now, even mildly, the leadership of the U.T.W. If a strike call is issued, the same men will be at the head of it.

Way Through Strike Committee

It appears evident that if any results are to be obtained by the next strike, be it in the silk-rayon or in the whole textile industry, the only way is through a militant, progressive, clear-sighted Strike Committee—ready to follow the U.T.W. leadership so long as it shows firmness and militancy, but ready to continue the strike in spite of the U.T.W. when the same officials show—as they will—weakness and uncertainty, and lose from sight the situation.

This Strike Committee must be representative of the membership and close to it, coming immediately from its ranks. It must be composed of the most clear-sighted elements in the unions, ready to push on the fight when the fighting is good. This does not mean that it should be composed of adventurist elements, who—mistaking a defeat for a victory—will continue (or try) to push on a fight that has lost morale.

These are the two evils between which the textile workers must steer.

Weakness and reactionary tendencies on the part of the leadership will prove to be the workers' own defeat.

But romantic adventurism will prove equally as destructive by distorting the truth, pushing when retreat would be wisdom, giving hopes to the masses in the face of doom.

Will the textile workers be able to secure such leadership? Only if such leadership is theirs can they hope to achieve any gains.

Sop to Akron Labor Hides Company Aim

AKRON, Ohio, Jan. 26.—Good-year, Goodrich and Firestone threw Akron rubber workers a bone in the form of a three cent per hour wage increase last week.

This was hallyhooed by the companies as having come through the tireless efforts of the company unions.

The announcement came as a surprise to the red apple boys whose first knowledge of the plan came from the evening papers.

At the same time, tire production is rapidly shooting toward the 1929 peak.

The rubber barons are obviously trying to stave off union militancy with the wage sop while building up a huge inventory toward the time when strike action breaks out.

Meanwhile Dr. Coleman C. Clarity, head of the A. F. of L. rubber workers' council, continues to play the old shell game with an angry and impatient rank and file.

A few more passes like sabotaging the Firestone strike vote, which was lost by only 25 votes, and palavering with the National Labor Relations Board—especially after its own confessed impotence in labor disputes, and the Firestone rank and filers are going to take the medicine show out of his hands.

And once they do that, they aren't going to fool.

WHAT TO ATTEND

Notices for this column should be sent in as long in advance as possible, and if destined for a particular issue, must be on the editor's desk by Tuesday morning.)

New York City

Feb. 2, Saturday night—District Housewarming Party, 2 West 15th Street, (third floor). Jazz band. Refreshment and drinks. Members, friends and sympathizers invited.

Feb. 7, Thursday evening—Benefit Theatre Party, "Sailors of Cattaro". Tickets from Frances Drake, chairman, or through branches.

Feb. 8, Friday 8 P.M.—Ludwig Lore, "Two Years of Hitler's Rule", 1776 Pitkin Ave., cor. Stone Street, Brooklyn.

Feb. 16, Saturday evening—Gala event. Revue and dance. Germania Hall, 16th St. and Third Ave. Professional show, games, supper and drinks. See ad about tickets.

Friday night forums at all branches. Sunday night informal open forum at Branch 6, Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn. Free admission.

Akron, Ohio
Feb. 4, Monday evening—Speakers: A. J. Muste and J. P. Cannon.

Columbus, Ohio
Feb. 5, Tuesday, 2 P.M.—Branch conference. Tuesday at 8 P.M.—Mass Meeting.

Los Angeles, Cal.
Feb. 5, Tuesday evening—Open Forum, 1785 First St. (cor. Boyle). "The C. I. Turns Right Again". Charles Curtis and Rae Ruskin.

Charleston, W. Va.
Feb. 6, Wednesday, 7:30 P.M. at Court House—"The Workers Party and the Trade Union Movement". A. J. Muste and J. P. Cannon. Chairman, B. A. Scott.

Pittsburgh, Pa.
Feb. 8, Friday, 8 P.M., Northside Carnegie Music Hall. "The Workers Party of the U. S.—Its Program and Purpose". Speakers: A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon.

BOOK SALE

DISCOUNTS UP TO 50%

One Week Only—Feb. 2 to 9

PIONEER BOOKSHOP

96 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C.

(One Flight Up)

Leaves Communist Party for Workers Party -- Tells Why

"To me it is becoming increasingly evident that the banner of proletarian revolution is now in the hands of the Workers Party," says Harold Smith, resigning from the Communist Party.

The letter of the section membership committee to Comrade Smith and his reply to the district committee are published below, without further comment.

Jan. 18, 1935

Comrade Smith:

Please call at Section 5 this Wednesday, Jan. 25, 7:30 P.M. to see the Section organizer about the statement that you made in our Section that you are in favor of Trotsky and that he is the only true disciple of Lenin. As this is the second notice that we are sending you, if you do not answer by Wednesday, you will be expelled from the C.P. and publicly exposed as an enemy of the working class.

Membership Committee, Section 5, District 2

Charles Krumbeln, District Committee C.P., U.S.A.

My reasons for resigning from your party I may state briefly.

1. Your party no longer applies the teachings of Lenin but the arbitrary decrees of Stalin and his picked crew. Your party is dominated by a bureaucracy and as a direct result, sectarianism keeps you separated from the working class.

2. Since the suppression of the beat minds and spirits of the revolution, your officialdom has accumulated a long list of failures. ***

3. The Party's trade union policy, its united front tactics, its amours with the League of (capitalist) Nations, its concessions to the French and American bourgeoisie, indicate too clearly the headlong march to the right.

4. When your apparatus grows, it swells with the pus of the petty bourgeois. The backbone is non-proletarian and flabby.

5. You are no longer capable of self-criticism, and having become inflexible, you no longer need polemics. You have very mysteriously caught the knack of avoiding any and all mistakes. Subsequent events invariably prove that the latest debacle of proletarian defeat shows the correctness of the party line.

These are some of my reasons. Your letter informing me that if I fail to see the organizer by Wednesday I shall from that day become an enemy of the working class, is a happy bit of humor. The simple fact of the matter is that by returning my membership book some two weeks ago, I resigned from the C.P.

It is known of course, that you do not recognize a resignation. But on this point there appears to me much discord, i.e. on what you recognize and what the workers are actually doing.

You say I will be "exposed". May I ask—exposed to whom? And exposed in what connection?

I ask my friends and comrades inside the C. P. to recognize the political surge when such sterling proletarian revolutionists as Zack, Strong, Taylor, Terry etc. are making the turn. I ask them to study the platform of the Workers Party so that they may really be able to judge. To discard the "disciple" bugaboo, and begin to study with free heads. To recognize that the monster Fascism can be destroyed not by blind obedience but by democratic centralism, by the widest polemics and by genuine individual initiative.

To me it is becoming increasingly evident that the banner of proletarian revolution is now in the hands of the Workers Party.

—HAROLD SMITH

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The real disunity is the disunity of working class leadership and the achievement of unity rests with these leaders—or with the workers, if they fail.

This is the basic problem within the unemployed movement and in every other section of the labor movement. It cannot be solved by "accommodations", "coalitions" or by "federations" of unemployed organizations in the name of an abstract autonomy, but only by the most thoroughgoing and uncompromising elimination of all differences in theory and tactic.

Confusing the Problem

The problem has been confused by the very natural inclination of every leader or body of leaders to lay their own plans and aspirations on the doorstep of the plans and aspirations of the workers.

Thus, in the very worst days of the "United Front from Below" when every minute of that practice pushed unity back a year, the C.P. leadership shouted that "the workers were crying for unity"—meaning thereby that the workers were crying for the "United Front from Below" and the subsequent destruction of every organization but the Communist Party!

And thus, every pompous manifesto of the socialist old guard speaks in the name of the "workers"—who are apparently not afraid to defy the bayonet and the machine gun in a strike but fear to oppose imperialist war even on paper because it might annoy the police!

Even the Weisbordites, all 6 of them, weave their incredible phantasmagorias in the name of those same "workers"—who are prevented from embracing Weisbord only because they are handcuffed by Gitlow!

Workers Cannot Deviate

The workers need a clear revolutionary program and a consistent revolutionary leadership. They are not concerned with deviations. The workers themselves cannot deviate, however much they may be led to bark at tinsel moons temptingly dangled over them by the Roosevelt, the liberals and the fascists.

In the end there is only one path that leads to the goal—the revolutionary path. When the workers realize this, they will set up the cry for unity.

But they will mean, not their own unity (for it is by the recognition of their own unity that they find the revolutionary path) but the unity of their leadership. The leadership will either lead the way to revolution and the workers world by the shortest and most direct route, or fall by the wayside with the thousand Kerenskys et al.

Nothing finally can destroy the essential unity of the proletariat. It is said that failure to unite against Fascism results in Fascist "unity"—that is, the concentration camp. This is true, but not final. The unity of the concentration camp can be destroyed, but the workers are indissolubly united by a single interest and a single goal. Unity can be delayed, obstructed, led into the linnate byways and the reformist highways—but it cannot be destroyed.

This is the conception of unity held by the National Unemployed League. It underlies the NUL program for achieving unity in the unemployed movement. But before we come to that program, we will review briefly the united front experiences of the NUL to date.

The Struggle for Unity

The experiences of the NUL in the struggle for unity may be classified for the sake of convenience as follows: a) the united front on specific issues, b) organizational and organic unity.

In reality, however, this classification is not altogether valid.

The united front is, or should be, a transition measure towards organic unity within a particular field, i.e., the unemployed movement, the trade unions, etc. (The S.P. practice, which strictly limits the united front to "specific issues" is comparable to the lady of high virtue who limits her lover to a single kiss. Neither lovers nor workers will stand for this sort of teasing, finally.) Nor is there any "specific issue" confronting the workers on which they can unite as separated from any other issue on which they, presumably, cannot unite. There are issues that do not immediately involve organic unity, but organic unity is the goal of every genuine united front.

The united front on specific issues is the preliminary to and the testing ground of organic unity. That has always been the understanding of the NUL. Thus, at the first Columbus convention a united front was entered into with the Unemployed Councils WITH A VIEW TO CALLING A UNITY CONVENTION. Failure to carry out the united front successfully would result in failure to achieve the unity convention.

Testing the Councils

At this time the famous open letter of the C.P. to itself in which the united front from below was seemingly repudiated had hardly dried off the press. There was to be no double-dealing, no stabbing in the back. Issues were to be met squarely. The right of criticism was not abrogated, but confined to the work at hand.

The NUL accepted this agreement in good faith, recognizing then as now that dualism in the unemployed movement was one of the greatest impediments to progress. But almost at once evidences of bad faith on the part of the Councils began pouring into headquarters.

In Columbus itself, Council leadership blithely continued to damn the leaders of the NUL as if there had never been a united front.

In Toledo, where the Councils and the Leagues had united to carry out a relief-work strike, the Council leadership promptly forgot about the strike and concentrated on printing exposures of the social fascists.

In Pennsylvania, a "red-herring" was deliberately foisted on the Allentown League which might have destroyed that organization.

Patience—Another Letter

When the NUL complained of this sabotage, the leaders of the Councils explained that the new tactic, i.e., the abandonment of the United Front from Below had not yet trickled down to the rank and file. Only time and patience were required. But in the weeks following, the back-stabbing and sabotaging increased rather than diminished and the patience of the NUL came to an abrupt end when a letter from the N. Y. district of the Communist Party to the Toledo Unemployed Council fell into its hands.

The letter called on the Councils to make every use of the united front, not to win the relief strike, but to smash the Leagues!

When A. J. Muste read this letter to the Cleveland Trade Union Conference that same year in the presence of most of the top leadership of the C.P., the only answer was their complete silence. Only a rank and filer in the rear of the hall was heard to mutter: "How in hell did he get that letter?"

FORGOTTEN MEN'S YELL

One, two, three, four. The last war was a bosses' war. Five, six, seven, eight. Rise and make a workers' state. —From "Voice of the Workers"

Real Story in Relief Paper

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—Angered by the Pollyanna relief paper put out by relief officials, transients in the Allentown Transient Shelter put out their own uncensored paper.

"The first two pages of the last edition were taken up entirely by those persons who are not on relief and who get a regular income," they wrote. "One article pleaded with us to have sympathy and tolerance. One stated that because Dawes, the banker, predicted an upturn in business, every transient would get a break—if he had the patience."

How do transients fare?

"They check us out for refusing to do insulting and degrading work; for being sick too often, for not taking 3 more shots after losing our medical card, for not seeing a notice on the Bulletin Board within an hour after it is posted, for not signing food and lodging orders on the specified hour, for telling the truth, for knowing too much, and for non-cooperation, which can mean a multitude of things," the uncensored paper said.

WORKERS' EDUCATION FOR ALLENTOWN

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—A united front between unions and unemployed Leagues was instrumental in obtaining a State Emergency Relief project in Workers' Education for Allentown. Classes will meet in union and League headquarters and will start Feb. 4. Courses will be offered in Public Speaking, Writing, English, Labor Dramatics, Labor Problems, Labor History and Current Events. A workers' library and reading room is to be opened, all Allentown labor organizations co-operating in its upkeep.

The project, which calls for 14 teachers, is under the supervision of Bill Reich, educational director of the Lehigh County Unemployed League and former instructor of Labor Education at Commonwealth College. An enrollment in excess of 500 is expected.

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Garage Strike Ends in Gains

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—On Saturday night, Jan. 19, the membership of Local Union No. 382, Garage Mechanics, voted to accept the strike settlement as drawn up by committees from the employers and the union. The settlement terms are approximately the same as those upon which the St. Paul strike was ended; a minimum of 65c an hour for mechanics; a minimum of \$18 weekly for washers, greasers, runners and attendants; time and a half for overtime; 30 hours a week guaranteed; union recognition; no discrimination, etc.

The settlement represents real gains for the workers in Minneapolis garages and auto body shops. Not every one of the demands was won with this strike, but with the relationship of forces it was certainly the best agreement that could have been obtained. Hundreds of workers, furthermore, have come into Union 459 and 382 during the last two weeks. Both organizations now have a firm foothold in their industry.

Act Against Chiseling

On Sunday an overflow mass meeting of garage workers was held at the General Drivers Local 574 auditorium. Among the speakers were Bob Cramer, editor of the Minneapolis Labor Review, Herman Husman, International representative, Henry Schultz, secretary of the State Employees Assn. and Farrell Dobbs, business agent of Local 574. A broad committee was elected at the meeting to check up on the bosses, beginning early Monday morning, to see that no chiseling on the workers takes place.

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NO REVOLUTIONARY labor organization has ever been able to make any progress by the efforts of its members alone. Without their devotion, self-sacrifice, zeal and activity, the movement would of course be inconceivable. But while they bear the greatest part of the burden of work, they cannot assume the whole of it. The rest must be taken off their shoulders by—the sympathizers, the unaffiliated friends of the movement.

The number of sympathizers a working class party has and the vigor with which they come to its aid—these are the tests of the party's success. The response of sympathizers to the appeals for support which the party must make from time to time, indicates the influence the party has radiated and the prestige it enjoys.

Answering the most urgent need of the hour, some of the best forces in the American revolutionary movement have joined hands to launch the new party. They do not include altogether "green hands", amateurs, dilettantes, but men and women who have given their best years to the working class movement. In it, they have gained a vast store of experience and ability which is now at our disposal. Not only do they incarnate the best and richest traditions of the revolutionary movement in this country, but they bring to the Workers Party the living proof of its ability to lead stormy struggles of labor. Minneapolis, Toledo, the battles of the unemployed—which directly preceded the formation of our party—are symbolic of the work which is going to carry on in coming days.

And what magnificent prospects for work there are! Reports which come to us every day from all parts of the country speak eloquently of the inexhaustible possibilities. Our meetings are larger than ever before. Our organizers are insufficient in number to meet the growing demand. Automobiles, steel, rubber, mining, transportation—the big and basic industries of the country—are sending in urgent appeals for assistance in organizing, in preparing for the great battles with which the year 1935 will be filled. Our press is leaping forward in circulation and ever increasing numbers of workers are proving the favorable impression that our party's views and activities are making on them.

How shall we meet this growing demand? How are we to profit by the splendid opportunities that confront us? How are we to satisfy the requests for more speakers, tours, organizers, literature?

The wheels of the party machinery must be lubricated for greater speed and efficiency. Our Party Foundation Fund campaign is calculated to do just that.

Every party member is called upon to make the maximum sacrifices. They must pay their dues regularly. They must do their union work. They must do their work in the organizations of the unemployed. They must assure the regularly increasing distribution of our press and periodical literature. They must organize our meetings. They must arrange special affairs. They must contribute special donations from time to time, running as high as two-days' wages in the present campaign.

They accept these burdens cheerfully. The revolutionary movement is their very life's blood and they are always ready to do their utmost for it. But the need is greater than even their efforts suffice to meet. And that is why we must appeal for supplementary aid from our sympathizers who, for one reason or another, are unable to join our party.

Do we need to labor the point? We don't think so. Every friend of our movement, we feel confident, will respond generously and speedily to our appeal. The money is urgently required. Your contribution will help make it possible for the party to accomplish all those jobs imperiously facing it. And the speedy giver—gives doubly.

Booker T. Washington—He Pleased the Bourgeoisie

By SIMON WILLIAMSON

Booker T. Washington, the founder of Tuskegee Institute, and the chief promoter of industrial education for Negroes, did much to curb the militancy of the Negro worker in this country by making him contented with existing economic conditions.

Washington taught that if the Negro were to better his condition in America he must become an efficient workman through education of his hands as well as his brain in the use of the crafts and remain willing at all times to render a "fair day's" work for a "fair day's" pay. However, he was always to content himself with a wage lower than that received by the white workers in the same craft. His philosophy was somewhat the same as that of Samuel Gompers in the American Federation of Labor. He sought to make black labor subservient to white labor. He advocated job consciousness in place of class consciousness.

Helped Exploiters

The white bourgeoisie of the South and North accepted Washington with open arms and heralded him as the champion for the advancement of his people. They saw in him a man capable of suppressing militancy and enabling them to continue in peace their schemes of robbing and exploiting the Negro and white masses. Washington was, moreover, cognizant of this fact.

Tuskegee, the school that he founded, teaches the use of technical crafts that have been replaced by new technical devices. It is endowed by millions of dollars coming from the coffers of white millionaires in this country, who profit through the exploitation of Negro toilers in the South.

Washington represented the corrupt type of Negro middle class leadership that came to power during the reconstruction period. Unlike Douglass and Pinchback he put up no fight for equal citizenship and the right to suffrage for the blacks. He was apparently happy and contented with the grand-father-clause laws that deprived the

Negro workers of their right of franchise in the southern states. In the midst of it all he told the Negro toilers to be contented and "cast down their buckets" where they were. He encouraged them to become property owners and businessmen despite the hostility of the white landlords and business men of the south.

Got Additional Glory

In speaking once of social equality for Negroes, Washington said: "In things industrial we can be as close as one, but in things social as separate as the fingers on the hands."

This pleased his white financial masters and they covered him with additional honor and glory in the form of more endowments for his institution. They well knew that so long as such ideas were shored down the throats of the Negro and white workers there would be little danger of unity and their position as robbers of the American workers, would be secure.

Washington later sought to strengthen the position of the Negro middle class through organizing the Negro Business League for the purpose of discovering new means of robbing the Negro toilers of whatever the white bourgeoisie failed to take from them. From this movement grew the philosophy of the petty Negro bourgeoisie of patronizing, by Negro workers, businesses owned by Negroes. They knew the glories that could be derived from segregation by the individual once they could win the confidence of their group.

He Twisted History

Washington falsely interpreted history. He taught, in the face of the Negro participation in the struggles of the Knights of Labor in 1869 and in 1890, that the Negro's interest was "purely economic" and had nothing to do with politics. He ignored the fact that in those years Negroes had led a determined struggle for political equality and the rights of suffrage.

He modelled Tuskegee after Hampton, the school from which he graduated, and sought to develop a skilled and efficient Negro labor that would remain loyal to its

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR

Pacifism No Aid, But Helps the Militarists - Only through the Class Struggle Can War be Fought

By JOHN WEST

(Ed. Note: This is the second in Comrade West's series of four articles. The remaining two—"The League Against War and Fascism" and "The United Front and War"—will follow in the next two issues of the New Militant.)

Even a brief study of the nature and causes of modern war proves that war is an essential part of capitalism. The inner conflicts of capitalism lead and must lead to war. All Marxists, and in fact many pseudo-Marxists or even liberals, accept this conclusion.

Nevertheless, there have been the most serious misconceptions in following out the consequences of this conclusion so far as they apply to the struggle against war.

The most serious mistake made in the attempted struggle against war comes from the wide-spread belief that this struggle is somehow "independent" of the class struggle in general, that a broad union of all sorts of persons from every social class and group can be formed around the issue of fighting war, since—so the reasoning goes—these persons may be all equally opposed to war whatever their differences on other points. War is thus lifted from its social base, considered apart from its causes and conditions, as if it were a mystic abstraction instead of a concrete historical institution. Acting on this belief, attempts are made to build up all kinds of permanent Peace Societies, Anti-War Organizations, Leagues Against War, etc.

TO END WAR WE MUST REMOVE CAUSE

This kind of attitude is about as effective as it would be for doctors to treat the high fever in acute appendicitis by putting the patient in an ice-box. The only way actually to get rid of the high fever is to remove the cause of the fever—that is, to take out the diseased appendix. The same thing is true for war: the only way to get rid of war is to remove the cause of war.

Putting screens around the rotting supports of a building will not improve its foundations. It will, in fact, do just the opposite—it will divert people's attention from the need for new foundations, and therefore make it all the more likely that the building will collapse.

War is not the cause of the troubles of society. The opposite is true. War is a symptom and result of the irreconcilable troubles and conflicts of the present form of society, that is to say, of capitalism. The only way to fight against war is to fight against the causes of war. Since the causes of war are part of the inner nature of capitalism, it follows that the only way to fight against war is to fight against capitalism. But the only true fight against capitalism is the revolutionary struggle for workers' power.

It therefore follows that the only possible struggle AGAINST war is the struggle FOR the workers' revolution.

Marxists must be absolutely clear on this point. There is no "separate" or "special" struggle against war. The struggle against war cannot be divorced from the day-to-day struggles of the workers so far as, in their historical implications, these lead toward workers' power. No one can uphold capitalism—whether directly, as an open adherent of the capitalists, or indirectly, from any shade of liberal or reformist position—and fight against war, because capitalism means war. Only a revolutionist can fight against war, because only a revolutionist takes the road to the overthrow of capitalism.

To suppose, therefore, that revolutionists can work out a common program "against war" with non-revolutionists is a disastrous illusion.

Any organization based upon such a program is not merely powerless to prevent war; in practice it acts to promote war, both because it serves in its own way to uphold the system that breeds war, and because it diverts the attention of its members from the real fight against war. There is only one program against war: the program for revolution—the program of the revolutionary party of the workers.

SOCIALIZED ECONOMY WILL END CONTRADICTIONS

The workers' revolution can and will eliminate war because, by

white master. To accomplish his objective Washington bowed to all of the prejudices of the bourgeois South. Knowledge of the peculiar problems of the wage earners has never been taught in either Tuskegee or Hampton. They specialize in the philosophy of the white master class.

Although the Negro Business League was practically a failure by 1900 the false philosophy of Booker T. Washington's "education" still penetrates large sections of the Negro masses and must be eradicated before large sections of Negro workers in the South will enter the ranks of organized labor in a struggle to annihilate capitalism.

overthrowing capitalist economy and supplanting capitalism with a socialist economy. It will remove the causes of war. Under socialism there will no longer exist the basic contradictions that lead to war. The expansion of the means of production, under the ownership and control of society as a whole, will proceed in accordance with a rational plan adjusted to the needs of the members of society. Socialism will remove the limits on consumption, and hence permit the scientific and controlled development of production. Thus, under socialism, war will disappear because the causes of war will have been removed.

PEACE PLANS AND PACIFISM

Since this is the basic nature of the struggle against war, the attitude of a Marxist toward any "official" bourgeois "peace plans" is self-evident. The World Court, the Washington Treaty, the Kellogg Pact, the League of Nations, whatever their pretensions, are actually expressions of the irreconcilability of the imperialist conflicts. Far from being instruments of peace, they are, in fact, part of the preparation for imperialist war, stamping grounds where the great powers can jockey for the most advantageous position for the start of open conflict. If at times they seem to settle a war situation "peacefully", this is only because the interest of the dominant powers is against an immediate outbreak. Postponement serves only to assure a greater conflagration when the time comes. They serve, in point of fact, as additional means whereby the great powers can carry out their imperialist aims.

This is above all true of the League of Nations, which was formed to preserve the Versailles Settlement (that is, formed as an instrument of aggression against, and subjugation of, the defeated nations) and as a pact of imperialist unity against the post-war revolutionary drive of the workers, and which is utilized now to maintain French hegemony on Continental Europe and the world position of France and England. How meaningless it is, is well enough illustrated by the withdrawal of Germany and Japan at the first real issue.

The League will keep peace as long as peace is to the interests of the powers that control the League. It is into this den of imperialist robbers (as Lenin called it) that Stalinism has led the Workers' State!

But if Marxists must separate their position sharply from official bourgeois peace plans, they must distinguish themselves no less clearly from all forms of pacifism. The revolutionary struggle against war—the struggle for workers' power—is at an opposite pole from pacifism. A Marxist is against any and every war undertaken by the capitalist state of course, just as the Marxist is the implacable enemy of the capitalist state—the political representative of the class enemy—on every occasion.

But it is the business of the Marxist, upon the outbreak of imperialist war, to work to turn that war into a class war, a war of the masses under the leadership of the working class for the overthrow of the capitalist state and the establishment of the rule of the working class.

Likewise, it is the business of the Marxist to support actively the revolts of colonies against their imperialist oppressors, and the uprisings of all oppressed and exploited races and nations, since these are directed against the power of the imperialist states—just as he supports strikes and any other manifestations directed against the capitalist class or its government.

War is not an abstraction; wars are a social institution, concrete historical phenomena. The final aim of Marxists includes the elimination of wars of all kinds. But they know that this can be accomplished only through one particular kind of war—the class war—since only through the class war can capitalism be overthrown and the causes of war thereby removed. This requirement is due not to the wishes of Marxists but to the actual historical situation.

PACIFISM AIDS WAR

Marxists must, therefore, expose and seek to prevent all kinds and forms of pacifism—all theories and organizations, that is, based on a mere "anti-war" program.

Pacifism is not merely powerless against war—since it is not based on genuine social organization nor a clear analysis of the causes of war. In practice it aids war: by spreading illusions about the nature of war and the fight against it; by shifting the energies of honest opponents of war to a fictitious fight against it; by sugar-coating the realities of capitalist society and thus making them—including war—more palatable; by subordinating the working class to middle class individuals and ideas; by preparing the betrayal of the masses in the next war, when outstanding pacifist leaders will decide in the crisis that this war is different—is for democracy, culture, God, or what not—and call for support of the government.

No, the pacifist way is not the way to fight war. In the struggle against war, properly understood, every militant demonstration, every broad mass labor defense fight, every well-led strike, every step in the workers' advance to power, is worth a thousand Peace Leagues.

By HUGO OEHLER

The post-war period has witnessed the rise of a permanent army of millions of unemployed workers in the leading capitalist nations. One after the other, these countries have been forced to adopt some form of unemployment and social insurance. The last to even consider, let alone adopt an unemployment insurance plan, is the United States. Although unemployment for the last four years has fluctuated around 16 million, the States and the Federal Government and the bosses have tried to keep unemployed relief on the basis of charity. They have attempted to ignore it as a social problem.

But the prolonged crisis, the failure of all relief measures, the failure to stimulate industry through government subsidy and the increased mass pressure of the working class has at last forced the capitalists and their government to consider the question of unemployment insurance. They hope to give as few crumbs as possible, accompanied with a press campaign that creates the impression that Social Security is at hand.

If concessions must be given—then give a fake unemployment insurance plan. That seems to be the slogan. The bosses hope, thereby, to hold off more important concessions, such as the six-hour day and the five-day week with no reduction in pay.

They Call It Insurance

The various plans of the bosses and their government revolve around bills which, when passed mean nothing to the workers. These bills have long waiting periods, short periods in which the relief is given, small and inadequate amounts of benefits with discriminating clauses, to be administered by the bosses, with many of the working class excluded, and funds to be obtained through a tax on the workers or the employers and the employees. Relief in name, but not in fact!

A few of the many plans are the Wisconsin Act, the Bill proposed by the N. Y. State Federation of Labor, the William Green Plan, the Wagner-Lewis Bill, the Roosevelt Plan and the Lundeen Bill.

With the exception of the Lundeen Bill, the plans are attempts to side track real unemployment insurance. The Wisconsin and Wagner-Lewis Plan and the William Green Plan endeavor to obtain the funds from the employers, but these bills have so many clauses that nullify the better sections that they are inadequate to say the least. All three bills exclude many classes of workers. The Wisconsin plan is for industrial workers only. All three plans have long periods of

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

A year of Struggle in France

February 6 will mark exactly one year since the political crisis that changed profoundly the course of the class struggle in France. On that date, utilizing as a pretext the Stavisky scandal that had stirred the masses to the depths, the forces of reaction accomplished by a coup d'état the overthrow of the "radical" socialist government of Daladier and its replacement by force by the Doumergue government. The rioting of the reactionaries on February 6 was answered by the tremendous demonstrations of the working class in the week following.

But the Doumergue government, aided by the capitulation of the petty bourgeois parties, remained in power and proceeded to establish a dictatorial, anti-parliamentarian regime. Doumergue, attempting to prepare the way for fascism more rapidly than class forces would permit, was in turn voted out of power by the attenuated parliamentary regime still existing, and his prototype Flandin took office as premier. Flandin carries out the function of opening the road to fascism.

The United Front

The course of events, the imminent menace of fascism, aroused among the masses a strong sentiment for militant action. The lessons of Germany and Austria were too near at hand for the workers

to permit a reactionary victory without strong resistance. By the pressure of the masses the two major working class parties—the Socialist and the Communist—were compelled to enter into a united front to combat fascism. The Communist League of France (Trotskyists) threw its forces into the French Socialist Party in order to exert its influence in the united front to counteract the opportunist policies of the bureaucracies of the two parties by proposing and fighting for revolutionary policies leading towards the defeat of fascism and the taking of power by the working class.

Alliance with the Bourgeoisie

The policies pursued by the leaders of the two parties in the united front have tended not to lead the masses in militant struggle, but on the contrary to lull them into inaction. Both bureaucracies, starting with a non-aggression pact not to criticize each other at all, are unwilling to aim at establishing workers' power—the only method of defeating fascism. Instead, the two leaderships prefer to uphold bourgeois democracy, the one because of its entire nature historically, the other due to the needs of Soviet diplomacy to maintain the French military alliance.

Recently the Communists took the initiative in adding to the united front the Radicals and the Radical-Socialists, both parties of the petty bourgeoisie. The Socialist Party, taking its cue from the C.P., has accepted this situation without much opposition. This is the surest way to give the victory to the reactionary forces and to bring about the bloody defeat of the proletariat. Under the guise of the common interests of the youth, the Young Communists of one Paris District have actually held meetings in common with the fascists organized in the Patriotic Youth.

The Anniversary

The French masses are waiting expectantly for February 6. It is possible that the fascist Croix de Feu and Francistes and other organizations may attempt, as they have threatened, to demonstrate their power anew on this date. This would undoubtedly bring a fresh current of struggle and resistance into the ranks of the proletariat. Unless the workers are aroused from the apathy into which they seem, on the surface, to have sunk in recent months, fascism may march forward at faster pace. The recent riots at Chartres give the first signs of renewed street battles which will take on a wider mass character in the days to come.

Sugar Workers Strike in Porto Rico

A dramatic strike movement grips the island of Puerto Rico, where the colonial slaves of Wall Street have again rebelled. The sugar plantation workers were the first to strike. One by one the majority of the sugar centers of the island have been paralyzed. Stevedores and truck drivers have struck in solidarity with the plantation workers. The movement is marked by great militancy: canteens are being burned; clashes between workers and scabs are hourly occurrences; many arrests have been made. On Jan. 19 six boats operated by scabs were scuttled. Finding the forces of capital and the colonial administration pitted against them, the strikers resorted to sabotage as a weapon of struggle.

The great number of strikes that have swept the Caribbean area since the outbreak of the Cuban revolution 18 months ago, indicates the increasing radicalization and organization of these toilers in Wall Street's colonial domain: the United Fruit Company's banana workers in Costa Rica and Colombia have been active and at the present moment, which is the period of the sugar harvest, the sugar workers of Cuba, Mexico and Veracruz are striking hard blows against their exploiters. The major weakness of the movements is the lack of coordination between labor in these countries.

Greater unity of action between the workers of the various countries is essential for victory.

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Sec'y, Provisional Committee for
Non-Partisan Labor Defense

HEYWOOD BROWN, Celebrated Columnist

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 8 P.M.

CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE, 205 East 67th Street, N. Y. C.
Audience: Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

First Year—Winter 1935. Beginning Feb. 18, 1935
MONDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Workers Party Fundamentals—B. Borkeason
MONDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Organizational Principles—M. Aherm.
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. Oehler
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.
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.

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with which is merged
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Roosevelt Program

If the workers needed any further evidence that the Roosevelt program is for the bosses and against the workers, the Social Security bill now before Congress promises such evidence in overwhelming abundance. Four billion dollars is to be appropriated for public works to be carried out under the President's personal and exclusive direction. Thus three and a half billion are to be taken off the relief rolls and put to work. We submit the following damning indictment of this program:

1. It makes scabs of those who take jobs under it. The President talks openly of paying \$50 per month, about \$11 per week, on these jobs. As a matter of fact, not enough money is being appropriated to pay that much. In many cases, therefore, especially outside the biggest cities, men and women will get as little as \$5 per week. That constitutes scabbing on the standard of the entire American working class.

2. By the same token, the program means the pauperization of the entire working class, while profits pile up in the hands of a few who are enabled by the grace of Roosevelt to luxuriate in Florida again as they did in the good old days of the Coolidge-Hoover boom.

3. Roosevelt is made a dictator over the lives of millions and enabled to proceed with building a mighty political machine.

4. Since no specific provision is made as to what the money is to be spent for, it will enable Roosevelt (i.e., the American imperialists) to go ahead with a big naval and military program.

Let the unemployed organize to fight the Roosevelt scabbery Pauperization Program. Let them demand the 30-hour week and \$30 weekly wage on all jobs. Let the employed workers, the unions, the farmers, the masses everywhere support the unemployed in

this fight!

Abject poverty, utter slavery, will be the lot of all unless the Roosevelt program is killed!

Hearst and the Bosses

WILLIAM Randolph Hearst is crusading against the "Reds" for the protection of his interests, his newspaper monopolies, his California barony and the honor of his movie queen.

The steel companies are fighting the "Reds" for the protection of their interests, their company unions, their untrammelled freedom to exploit labor and their right of making as much profit as possible with as little return as possible.

Michael Tighe, in common with all of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, is fighting the "Reds" in the steel unions for the protection of his interests, his right of controlling the union as he sees fit, his determination to avoid any kind of militancy even if it means the destruction of the union.

The "Reds" are the common denominator, the universal bogey for all these interests. Here is the proof.

The Duquesne Times, organ of the Carnegie Steel Company of Duquesne, Pa., reprints a Red-baiting editorial from the Hearst Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph with this note:

"The following article should be published in every loyal newspaper in the United States. And if results are not favorable communities should adopt the same method that for a time was in vogue in the early history of California. There are plenty of vacant trees, and hence these days can readily be produced." (Duquesne Times, Friday, Jan. 4, 1935.)

The Journal of the Amalgamated Steel Workers in its last issue publishes an editorial aimed against the "Progressive" movement in the union. It charges the movement with being a communist affair and calls on all workers to "stamp out the reds in your locals" . . .

In the one case the steel bosses are fighting the steel workers, calling them "Reds", trying to create a lynch psychology against them. In the case of Tighe, he is fighting the more militant steel workers, trying to create a lynch psychology against them by calling them "Reds".

In both cases, William Randolph Hearst supplies the philosophy and the ammunition.

That is how "Red" becomes the name of every worker who fights exploitation and labor-fakers.

As one of the Jones and Laughlin Mill steel workers expressed it:

"When they call us 'Reds' it only means that we are not dummies. When the steel bosses yell 'Red' it means that we are asking for union recognition. When Tighe yells 'Red' it means that we are fighting for union democracy. So why should we kick? That's what we are doing, isn't it? And the more they yell, the more we're going to do it!"

THE PARTY AT WORK

THE TOLEDO BRANCH

The Toledo branch is carrying out a program of action of its own.

This program was not formulated in exact terms on paper, but in real life every action undertaken brings the branch forward ever more as a distinctly leading political force in the class struggle.

In many respects it constitutes a model of an active party branch. In all important labor events our comrades are in the forefront, not merely in their individual capacities but in the sense of a unit taking its post collectively. And the important thing is that results are obtained.

Take, for example, the recent relief actions of the Wood County Workers and Farmers.

Strenuous efforts were made by the authorities to isolate our comrades who were in the leadership, and to single them out for special punishment. They did not succeed, because our comrades had made themselves a completely integral part of the movement and the determined reply: "If one goes to jail, we all go to jail," won the day. Not only did the attempts to single out for special punishment fail, but the demonstration settled some of the grievances that were pending.

After the demonstration the branch members took an inventory. How was the trial conducted by the defendants? Had they been sufficiently effective in their testimony? Was the demonstration sufficiently well organized to bring out the collective will of the participants and the full force of their unity of action? These subjects were analyzed. Lessons were drawn that will serve for action in the future.

The Toledo branch is prompt in reporting every event, the trade union progress in the city, the strikes and the position taken by the branch. With these comrades, the latter is not merely a theoretical question. What the Toledo branch says and does has important bearing on the course of the general movement there. Branch members continue to be the leading militants in practically all union actions.

The Auto-Lite union is gaining strength and has adopted a distinctly progressive course. Long ago the reactionaries, Ramsey and Bosler, were eliminated from office. Toledo is now the best organized automobile center and our comrades have played no small part in this achievement. The struggle with the Auto-Lite Company is not yet settled. But when the Meyers Regulator Company refused the other day to recognize the union committee or to have any dealings with it, the union was made ready for strike instantly. It became practically 100 complete strike. The company begged for negotiations and accepted a settlement satisfactory to the workers. The union showed it could act. The Toledo branch put its forces officially, publicly and actively behind the strike. The Unemployed League did the same.

To understand what this means, it is necessary only to refer back to the Auto-Lite strike of last summer.

The Toledo branch can deal in this way with the unions, act officially in its own name and make its actions felt because it has established a record by deeds.

It enjoys prestige in the general movement because the workers know that when it promises support in a struggle it also carries it out with telling effect. Our comrades have proven themselves to the unions as a political force, capable of charting a correct course and winning victories.

A Bold Policy

To build the union as a fighting weapon it is necessary to have a bold policy and carry it out courageously. Bean-shooters are of no avail. No reliance can be placed on the National Steel Labor Relations Board. Clarence Irwin, pres-

A Bold Policy for Progressives in Steel

Retreat Before Tighe Would be Fatal - Militants Must Organize Their Forces to Unionize Industry

THE call for a conference, issued by the progressive district leaders of the steel workers' union, to be held in Pittsburgh Feb. 3, is an act of significance. Much depends upon what this conference decides to do. No doubt it represents a culmination of resentment produced by a whole series of grievances that found no satisfactory solution, neither through the appeals made to the National Steel Labor Relations Board nor from any action of the official union leadership of Mike Tighe and Co. The necessity for this conference therefore grows out of the situation under which the steel workers live and work.

The rank and file steel workers demand action. They want a union that can serve as an effective weapon of battle against the powerful and rapacious steel trust. A serious responsibility rests on the progressives who have taken the leadership in organizing this conference.

This leadership has acquired many excellent attributes, but it suffers from weaknesses and shortcomings. Now it is called upon to propose a solution of the grievances of the rank and file and to blaze the trail for a union that can speak in the terms of power—the only terms understood and recognized by the steel bosses.

We feel that this progressive leadership will welcome suggestions merited by the experiences of the class struggle. Therefore, we venture these suggestions.

Organize Progressive Forces

Up to this moment the progressive forces have fought for their ideas and conducted their activities entirely through the officially recognized union machinery, proceeding in the main from their entrenched positions in the districts. This has served as a source of strength and enabled them to enlist widespread support from the union membership. But it has also led to certain weaknesses, owing to the fact that they lack cohesion, the discipline and above all the organization of a separate and distinct course.

Mike Tighe and his reactionary administration is in control of the central union apparatus. He has turned thumbs down on the conference. He will certainly attempt to strike a deadly blow at the progressives. Would it not be reasonable to assume that in a choice between this administration and the progressives the whole of the A. F. of L. officialdom, when called upon, will support Tighe against the latter, and reinforce the weight of the blow? Certainly, that can be expected, and it can be met effectively only through the power of organization.

We suggest, therefore, that the very first duty that the progressives owe to the union and to the steel workers is to organize themselves as a separate and distinct force within the union and each member of this movement accept the discipline imposed by majority decisions. This organization should extend throughout the local lodges with a progressive group organized in every lodge. Naturally this would require that the progressive movement establish a medium of publicity and propaganda, to win the union and build it up to embrace all workers in every steel mill in the country.

To build the union as a fighting weapon it is necessary to have a bold policy and carry it out courageously. Bean-shooters are of no avail. No reliance can be placed on the National Steel Labor Relations Board. Clarence Irwin, pres-

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By BILL SHERMAN

TITLE CONTEST

A number of readers have entered the contest for a new title for this column. The contest ends Feb. 15. We print below a few of the titles received, and then turn the column over to Bill Reich of Allentown, with the suggestion that if he continues contributions of this standard, the column shall have not only a new title but an additional contributor.

Suggested Titles

First a letter from M.B.: "Comrade Sherman: As to your headless column: Mopping Up, Mopping Up on the News, If You Ask Me, So They Say. Or, in the European revolutionary-literary tradition: Banging on the Teapot. Or, Coffee-Clutch. Or, What the Hell. Yours, M.B."

Other titles received: Punch Lines, Bull's Eye, Plainpeakin', In the Light, Have You Heard? What Next?, Clouds and Reality, Disinfecting the News, Debunking the News, Seven Days, Exposures, and many others. Please rush your suggestions.

NATIONAL JIG SAW Bill Reich Elaborates

Dr. S. A. Stauffer of the University of Wisconsin in a recent investigation found that 15 percent more babies are born to families on relief than to those not on relief. . . . In the U.S. the annual bill for contraceptives exceeds \$25,000,000. . . . The Cotton Garment Code sets a minimum wage of \$13 per week. . . . The Pennsylvania Bureau of Women and Children finds the average wage in that industry to be \$10.25 per week with 15 percent of the workers receiving less than \$5 per week. . . . Code administrators in New Jersey receive as high as \$12,000 annually. . . . The Pecan Shelling Code, which affects 15,000 workers, sets a minimum of \$6 for a 40 hour week. . . . Forty six men had incomes in excess of \$1,000,000 in 1933. . . .

Sixty bishops sign a petition opposing the payment of the soldiers' bonus. . . . Crippled soldier jailed for yelling "Give us the bonus" as President Roosevelt's heavily guarded car sped by. . . . Medieval whipping post installed in Wilmington, Delaware. . . . No prison walls are needed for 12,000 prisoners at Magnitogorsk, Soviet steel town. . . .

Henry Ford says: "Those homeless boys, those boys riding around in box cars. Why is the best education in the world for those boys, that traveling around. They get more experience in a few months than they would in years in school." . . . Young boy with torn rectum taken to hospital from Allentown Transient Shelter after being attacked by pervers. . . . Transients in Minot, N. D. are forced to work improving the Country Club golf course at \$1 per week. . . .

"Labor Shortage Bared by NRA" headlines the New York World Telegram. . . . American Federation of Labor estimates the jobless at 14,525,000. . . . Child Welfare League of America recommends 27 cents per child per day as a minimum food allowance for orphans in institutions. . . . Duke Endowment finds an average of 10 cents per day food allowance for children in Negro orphanages. . . . Dukhobar girls imprisoned for going nude have been reformed by giving them movie magazines, says prison matron. . . .

A nudist colony is the most popular spot in Hollywood, according to press report. . . . Winthrop Aldrich, millionaire director of Chase National Bank, urges the elimination of work relief in favor of direct relief. . . . Direct relief in Oklahoma averages \$8.53 per family per month. . . .

William Randolph Hearst's pet elephants, camels, kangaroos, etc. in his private zoo at San Simeon cost over \$100,000 per year to maintain. . . . Jobless on relief are urged by authorities to get rid of pets that consume part of the family food allowance. . . . The election in the Saar plebiscite cost in excess of \$3 per vote. . . . Referring to those who voted against Hitlerizing the Saar, Herman Roehling, Nazi industrialist remarks: "We have promised not to do them harm, but we have not promised to do them any good" . . . Secretary Ickes, Department of the Interior, upon numerous occasions has said, "There will be no graft in the administration of funds under my control."

House Democrats move to insert a provision barring Secretary Ickes from administering President Roosevelt's 4 billion dollar relief fund. "Secretary Ickes has not been courteous to congressmen," says one. . . . "The unemployed, by and large, are getting enough," says Harry Hopkins, administrator of relief. . . . The Journal of Commerce estimates dividend payments for 1934 at \$6,340,000,000.

Father Coughlin says: "Labor should have a voice in the management and in the social conditions of the factory. I say you should have a voice, perhaps not the loudest voice. You shouldn't demand wages that are too high but a voice in the management that will enable more profits to be made." . . .

Across Country with Cannon, 'AJ'

(Continued from Page 1)

force. It looks like the next big achievement for Minneapolis.

A regular and a special meeting of the party branch, a party mass meeting well attended in spite of 80 below zero weather, a rousing banquet at which sympathizers contributed a substantial sum to the Party Foundation Fund, a meeting of several hundred students and faculty members of the University of Minnesota, a forum in St. Paul and another in Minneapolis, a meeting of the Northwest Unity Conference, the organization of militant unionists in these parts—these items contributed a part of the speaking schedule here! But as suggested above, the weather was cold and bracing, so we have survived.

In fact—we had better make it public lest the comrades conclude that Comrade Cannon and I have gone plutocratic or that the party has come into a fortune—we look like new men. Some of the trade unionists here clubbed together and fitted the two of us out with brand new suits, union label and all!

At the Branch E.C. meeting Sunday morning twelve new members were enrolled. It is expected that a party office will be opened soon. Our stay here ended as might have been expected in this region where one strike follows on the heels of another. Eight or ten of the comrades were in my room at midnight for a last chat. The telephone rang. Miles Dunne was

A BEQUEST, AND A MATTER OF BUSINESS

Will all subscribers and literature agents please note that a new Business Manager for the New Militant, Hawthorne Winner, has been appointed by the Political Committee, and that from this issue on all business matters concerning the paper should be taken up directly with him.

I hereby bequeath to him all complaints, mistaken addresses, renewal pleas, lost postage stamps, a depleted cash box, the coming subscription campaign, a stubby red pencil, a ledger full of bundle bills (local agents please note!) AS WELL AS a new addressing outfit, new headquarters, a growing circulation, and a file of correspondence from comrades all over the country which continually brings fresh inspiration to those who sit behind the desks in New York wrapping papers and filing cards.

Comrade Winner deserves your fullest cooperation in the task of building the party press. Such cooperation and renewed enthusiasm for the big job ahead is urged from all former supporters of Labor Action and the old Militant. Meanwhile I shall be out sending in snubs towards that 10,000 circulation! Everybody on the job!

Fraternally,
CARA COOK,

wanted. Fargo, N. D. was calling.

Miles has organized the drivers there. They are on-strike for union recognition. The call was from a newspaper man in Fargo and conveyed the news that a few hours before the police force, which has sworn in 300 special deputies in that town of about 25,000 inhabitants, had appeared at union headquarters with warrants for Miles Dunne and two local leaders. The union men refused to open the doors and give up their leaders. So the police shot tear gas bombs through the windows, rounded up 94 strikers and threw them into jail. They did not arrest any of the women and children of whom a considerable number were in the hall. The warrants against Miles Dunne and the other leaders charge rioting and inciting to riot. Thus our gathering was transformed into a council of war. Strike and defense plans were mapped out.

The Workers Party, Local 574 and the other unions in Minneapolis, the organized farmers around Fargo, will get those drivers out of jail and call the bluff of the Fargo reactionaries who think that terrorism can stop the militant labor movement of the northwest. The Non-Partisan Labor Defense may be called upon to help.

C P Jeopardizes Liberty of 18

(Continued from Page 1)

honestly this conference can succeed only in accomplishing a further split. This separate conference is to be held Feb. 10.

Already several A. F. of L. progressives who were ready to respond to an honest call have indicated that they will attend no conference on Feb. 10. The general disgust which will result from the Stalinist's behavior will undoubtedly weaken the whole defense movement. The N.P.L.D., however, is carrying on, and will build a united front of all honest militant elements.

Thus far the N.P.L.D. has succeeded in taking two I.L.D. prisoners out of jail, in bringing into the case Albert Goldman whose legal capacity and excellent courtroom judgment is proving invaluable in this difficult case, in popularizing the case as a whole, and in forcing the I.L.D. into the open on its various sabotaging and disruptive policies. If other organizations continue to back up this fight, the defendants may yet see a mass movement behind them and not be left to the tender mercies of their capitalist enemies or their Stalinist "friends".

At this moment the N.P.L.D. is badly in need of funds to pay the expenses of Attorney Goldman and other bills incurred in the Sacramento work. Answer the disruption of the Stalinists with a contribution to the N.P.L.D.'s Sacramento defense funds. Despite and against Stalinism, throw your weight behind an honest, fighting defense movement.

F D Order Bodes New Legislation

(Continued from Page 1)

trap! Witness the Weirton strike, the Budd strike, the Harriman strike, et al.

Their best was hardly good enough, however, to cope with the recurring and persistent upsurge of militant labor. No matter how hard the boards sat on the lid, the pressure blew it off. Thus the San Francisco, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, and Toledo strikes, the captive mine and the national textile walkouts. But in the performance of strike-breaking, their chief function, the boards were diligent and conscientious.

Unfortunately for their continued existence, the two major boards—first, the National Labor Board, then the National Labor Relations Board—took Section 7a at face-value. They not only sought to suppress strikes, they also issued decisions, which if put into effect, would have compelled employers to recognize and deal with trade unions. But the employers simply ignored them and the government made not the slightest moves toward enforcement.

By committing themselves to this point of view on Section 7a, the labor boards sealed their own doom. They would have to be scrapped, so the Administration became convinced. For the time being, it would now appear, the strike wave has exhausted itself (although forces are still at work in iron and steel, automobile manufacturing and cotton textile which may soon lead to new blowups).

In the belief that the strike movement will continue on the decline, the Administration is preparing to get rid of the boards, a useless luxury, which at the same time, spoils the works. The President's Jennings ruling is the first step in that direction.

NEW STRIKE-BREAKING LEGISLATION

Suppose, however, that the drive for labor self-organization breaks through the straitjacket of the National Run Around. What then? The most likely move is that an effort will be made to replace Section 7a by new legislation calling for the compulsory arbitration of strikes. The mask of voluntary partnership between labor, management and government will be dropped, the brutal truth of capitalist coercion will reveal itself full-face. The labor boards will be divorced from their powers (on paper) of telling anti-union employers how to behave, and will be restricted in function to one task alone: suppressing direct working class action. The necessary laws are already being formulated by draftsman official and unofficial. They will be launched as soon as expedient, under the smoke-screen, no doubt, of amending and perpetuating Section 7a.

ORDER W. P. PAMPHLETS NOW.

SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT

MASS MEETING

A. J. MUSTE

National Secretary, Workers Party of the U.S.

WILL SPEAK ON

Coming Gigantic Strike Struggles In Steel -- Auto -- Rubber

Comrade Muste who is at present touring the mid-West, has studied the situation at first hand. He has met and conferred with the leaders of last year's great labor struggles in these regions.

GREAT STRUGGLES IMPEND Hear the Message of the Workers Party

Sunday, February 10th 3 p. m.

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