

# NEW MILITANT

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## ONLY A SPARK IS NEEDED!

THE inevitable world carnage is drawing near with a speed and precision that is reminiscent of the months that preceded July 1914.

Hitler Germany has taken the last defiant step in denouncing the provisions of the Versailles Treaty which were calculated to keep the vanquished foe of the Allied powers in a state of virtual disarmament. Not only has Der Fuehrer proclaimed that universal conscription is once more to be introduced, but he now openly demands of the other powers the right to increase Germany's heavy ordnance, to legalize her secret air fleet and expand it, and to make her a dominant sea power once again, at least in the North Sea.

Fascist Italy, using its African punitive expedition and the highly charged European atmosphere as its pretext, has announced that it intends to put additional hundreds of thousands of armed men in the field.

Schuschnigg, chancellor of Austria, has asked the European powers for the right to multiply the armed forces of the country to the point where it will have 200,000 men at its command, with corresponding increases in arms and equipment.

The French Chamber of Deputies has voted almost unanimously for a sharp increase in military credits.

Once more the fuse has been lighted that may blow up the powder barrels of the Polish Corridor, for which Germany is now renewing its claim, and Memel, where the antagonism between Germany and Lithuania is only a formal expression for a deeper antagonism among all the rival imperialist powers of the Old World.

The whole continent is being overrun by the diplomatic advance agents for the more substantial and ominous armed forces. From London to Paris to Berlin to Vienna to Budapest and the Balkan capitals and to Warsaw and Moscow—the lines are being kept feverishly busy with the activity of wire-pullers who are setting the stage for the impending war, jockeying for most favorable positions and the greatest and most potent set of confederates.

The imperialist rulers, themselves subject to laws of development beyond their control, are plunging headlong into a new world war, and dragging the masses of the working people along with them, as the cannon fodder to be sacrificed on battlefields in order to determine which of the imperialist bandits, or which set of them, shall exercise the more dominant position in world finance, in world markets, in world politics. The friction among the competitors for leading position has reached that overheated stage where the tiniest spark throws the accumulated tinder into blazing flames. Yesterday, the preliminary shifting for position exploded a bitter civil war in Greece. The day before yesterday, an incident provoked a full-sized military expedition against Ethiopia. Tomorrow, the contest for Memel, or an episode in an even more obscure locality, may prove to have the significance of a Sarajevo—the last straw to break the back of the hitherto maintained armed truce, which is the closest that world capitalism can ever come to a peaceful situation.

With striking force, which must cut to the very heart of every workingman, it is being demonstrated that modern imperialism cannot even approach a solution of the social and economic problems that wrack it, without flinging the million-headed masses into a horrible massacre carried on with all the cruel refinement of a diabolically exterminative war technique.

No longer is the "coming war" to be visualized as something that may or may not appear in the remote future. The "coming war" is at the very top of the order of the day in Europe.

How it will start is really a matter of little moment. Capitalism is naturally pregnant with war of conquest. Any spark may touch it off at any time. The fact that Hitler asks for re-armament rights in the name of the Holy War against Bolshevism, that he pretends to put himself at the service of world imperialism in the role of a super-Wrangell, that he really wants to begin Germany's imperialist re-expansion by exterminating the Workers' State—does not mean that if the war started as a reactionary crusade against the citadel of revolution, it would end that way. Quite the contrary. The conflicts in the camp of the imperialists make a war among themselves inevitable, regardless of the manner in which the hostilities commence.

Nor is it conceivable that the imminent war could be confined to the Old World. The first lesson of the last world war was that there could no longer be a purely European war. The evolution of world politics since 1914 has only accelerated the tendencies which draw every nation inexorably into an interdependent world system from which none of them can escape. In the first place, no war in which the Soviet Union's existence would be at stake, is thinkable without the participation of Japanese imperialism. In the second place, no war of such scope is thinkable without the participation of the world's mightiest imperialist power: the United States.

There could be no greater self-deception practiced in the American working class than that which consoles itself with the illusion that the United States will not enter the coming world war! American imperialism has interests in Europe and Asia far too vital to its preservation and expansion for it to allow them to be affected by the outcome of a new world war without its own, that is, America's active and direct intervention.

It is precisely in this connection that the direct problem of the American working class arises. In the struggle against imperialist war, as, basically, in all other important struggles, the central axis of working class policy revolves around the need of fighting its own ruling class. More than ever, imperialist war puts the question of the principles and policies of this fight in the most acute and inescapable manner. Evasions and half-heartedness which are sometimes possible in "normal" times, become impossible in the struggle against war. Every party, every group, every tendency, is here put to its highest test!

It is in the struggle against imperialist war that a firm

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## Strike Struggles Grip Toledo

### Akron Workers Set For Siege in Rubber

**Bosses Import 3 Thousand Hired Thugs  
As Union Girds for First  
Test in 20 Years**

#### BULLETIN

AKRON, O., March 28 (By wire).—Big three unions are delaying strike action pending approval from A. F. of L. on overwhelming strike votes at the Goodrich and Firestone plants.

The Goodyear has been granted the right to take a strike vote this Sunday.

3,000 deputies have been sworn in by the companies and organized into Vigilante committees. The bosses are preparing for a long siege.

#### By JACK WILSON

AKRON, March 24.—Akron's rubberworkers' unions were swiftly mobilizing their growing forces this week for a walk-out on Monday, April 1, in what promises to be the most bitter struggle of labor for its rights since the great strikes of last spring and which should mark the rise of a great strike wave this year.

Unions at Goodyear, Goodrich and Firestone plants, the big three of the tire industry, have made strike plans and are preparing to be the spear-head of an industry-wide fight against the arrogant and notoriously open shop rubber bosses.

The unions are demanding recognition, abolition of the company unions and a 30 hour week. These have been insolently turned down by Goodyear. Firestone and Goodrich are expected to follow.

A simultaneous strike is expected to begin at Los Angeles, Cal., where the big three companies maintain their most important plants outside of Akron.

#### Scabs Ready

The companies have already hired thugs from strike-breaking agencies in Youngstown, Ohio, supplied the sheriff with a large stock of tear gas bombs, and are planning to run in scabs, if necessary to smash unionism once and for all, company spokesmen have admitted.

Although the peak production season of the tire industry has passed and hundreds of workers have been laid off, the unions are determined to make a stiff resistance to any attempts to smash them and it is openly predicted by spokesmen that the battle will be a real one.

The fact that the unions have not more than fifty percent of the 30,000 workers involved in the three factories in their membership is expected to be overcome when the walkout is begun since the plants work in three shifts and militant pickets can prevent anyone from entering on the second or third shift with the picket lines being established on the first shift at 7 A.M.

#### City Tense and Expectant

The city is tense. The entire city, predominantly union labor in character, can be swung to firm solidarity with the strikers if a determined and militant course is pursued by the strike leadership.

Highly-bribed "company union" scabs will try to work and will be guarded by the out-of-town thugs. A call for National Guards is felt to be a matter of a day or so after the strike is called. And this will

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### General Strike Shuts Down LA Hat Industry

**Morale of Workers High  
As Strong Picket Lines  
Surround Shops**

#### BULLETIN

LOS ANGELES, Cal. (by wire).—After four days of picketing the morale of the milliners is sky-high and the strike in an excellent position.

The militant work of the blockers' section has proved very effective in keeping shops closed.

Support has been promised by other labor unions in town. Fulfillment of this promise would guarantee speedy victory.

An effective demonstration organized by Sam Myers in the Downtown shopping section gave testimony to the power of the strike front. It also called forth loud squeals from the bosses and their scabby friends.

#### By SAM MYERS

LOS ANGELES.—When this story sees daylight 1,200 milliners will have quit their benches in a general strike for union recognition and better working conditions.

After several weeks of negotiations with the Millinery Manufacturers Association it became obvious that the bosses never intended to renew the old agreement or come to a new one. The milliners had but one resort—the strike. They have taken it and mean to win.

The militant strike of a year ago wrested an agreement from the bosses.

On March 20 this agreement expired. Emboldened by vigilante activities throughout the state and the promises of Captain Hynes' "Red Squad", the bosses broke off the agreement in dispute over the right to hire and fire at will. Equal division of work is another right refused by the bosses although incorporated in last year's agreement.

Negotiations with the bosses have come to naught. Last minute efforts of the Regional Labor Board have proved futile. The workers are on their feet and will set them in motion on the picket line with the firm conviction that strike action alone will force the bosses to terms.

### Dan Tobin Rats on Fargo Drivers But Ranks Remain Firm

FARGO, N. D.—Last week the charter of General Drivers Local 371, Fargo, was revoked by Daniel Tobin, president of the Teamsters International. At Tobin's suggestion, the striking union was also expelled from the Fargo Trades and Labor Assembly; and to top Tobin's attack on the workers, the labor-hating Fargo Forum, at Tobin's request, printed statements

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### 4 Unions on Strike

**Joint Action Committee Established  
"March of Labor" Takes the Field;  
W. P. Members Active**

#### BULLETIN

TOLEDO, Ohio, March 25.—The eight-day old milk drivers' strike ended late tonight when 350 union men voted 277 to 48 to accept the agreement drawn up earlier in the day by the Toledo Milk Distributors Association, Union representatives and the Toledo Regional Labor Board. The agreement provides for increases of wages ranging from 14 to 24 percent for the lower paid men. Adjustment of the wages of the higher paid men is to follow. The worse feature of the agreement is a provision leaving the re-employment of strikers arrested and convicted on charges arising from their strike activities to the "option" of the employers. Under such a provision the most militant strikers can be victimized.

The failure to develop the sentiment for sympathetic strike action and to secure a better agreement can be attributed to the pressure exerted by the conservative section of the Central Labor Union and representatives of the Teamsters' International. AN-

other factor was the inexperience of the leadership of the Milk Drivers Union, which is a comparatively new body, and their failure to understand the possibilities of the situation. An organized progressive force in the Central Labor Union could have successfully mobilized support for the idea of broadening the strike along the lines advocated by members of the W.P. and the Unemployed League. The organization of the progressive labor forces will be given an impetus by the present experiences.

TOLEDO, Ohio, March 21.—Toledo is seething with labor revolt. The cauldron of discontent which caught the eyes of the entire country last year is overflowing again. Five strikes are in progress at this writing:

1500 FERRA workers in a general walkout on all projects—  
800 milk drivers in 23 dairies—  
650 metal workers closing down the four plants of the American National Co.—

500 building trades men working on the docks of the Empire Construction Co.—  
25 grocery employees of the Overmyer Wholesale Grocery Co.

At the suggestion of members of the Workers Party a Joint Board of Strategy was set-up to coordinate the activities of the various strikes and direct picketing. This Joint Board of Strategy includes representatives of the striking unions and Sam Pollock of the Joint Action Committee of the FERRA strike. The FERRA Joint Action Committee previously established is composed of 7 members from the Building Trades Council, the Lucas County Unemployed League and the Relief Workers League.

"The March of Labor"  
Flying squadrons, the battering rams of the Minneapolis and textile strikes of last year, are the official strike method in the current Toledo strikes. Here, however, they are called the "March of Labor".

This "March of Labor" which might also be called the "Drive for Victory" consists of a mass picket line which concentrates on all the vital and danger points of the various strikes. In two run-ins with professional strike-breakers employed by the Overmyer Grocery Co. and the large dairy establishments the "March of Labor", under the leadership of Comrade Sam Pollock and other W.P. members, and Tim McCormick, militant Socialist and a leader of the Relief Workers' League, success attended their efforts. The scabs were physically driven from the job and the plants closed.

On Saturday a giant mass "March of Labor" is being called. All of Toledo union labor will parade through the city. The morale and

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## Starvation Faces Million New York Jobless

### Relief Inadequate, Conditions Appalling Is Finding of Mayor's Committee

One of every three wage earners employed in New York City in 1930, one year after the crash, is now totally unemployed!

This is only one of the truly appalling figures revealed in the report of the Mayor's Committee on unemployment made this week.

The survey shows that there were approximately 1,000,000 unemployed wage earners in March of last year. With small increases the figure remains substantially the same. Let us quote the report: "There are approximately one and a half workers in an average New York City family, so that the 1,000,000 unemployed wage earners live in 666,000 families. The size of the average New York family is a little over four. Thus the number of persons directly affected by the unemployment of these wage earners must be estimated at 2,644,000—37 percent of the entire population of New York City!"

To date, the report further re-

veals less than half the unemployed have applied for relief. On Feb. 4 this year there were only 245,000 families on relief as compared with a possible total as seen above of 666,000.

To quote again: "Approximately 325,000 families in which wage earners are unemployed but not on relief constitute a reservoir of a constantly increasing number will, as the reserves of these families and their friends and relatives are exhausted, be forced to seek relief."

The Mayor's Committee made a further report on the quality of the relief now extended. We shall quote without comment, none is needed, the treatment that part of "the reservoir" which has already come to the attention of our benevolent government receives:

"Private agencies use their budgets as guides with the provision that a case worker must in each

cash determine the actual needs of the family. The Home Relief Bureau uses its budgets as inflexible schedules, regardless of the facts of the case. . . . In addition, part of the home relief budget is still paid in voucher rather than cash which discounts its value to the client.

#### Malnutrition Rife

"When the Home Relief Bureau was first set up a committee of expert nutritionists drew up a schedule of minimum food allowances which would maintain health standards if every penny were well spent. Due to lack of funds the Bureau could not apply the schedule, and frequently granted only one half the minimum requirement. In October 1933 a new food allowance was set up which allowed the then current minimum standards. . . . This schedule has been continued up to the present time, although a committee of experts recommended on Jan. 22 that the food allowance be increased to meet the 11 percent increase in the retail food costs. . . .

"Interviews with the administrators of the thirty-four precincts throughout the city showed that in only one precinct was the

food allowance adequate for maintaining health standards, that it was found barely adequate in three precincts, and inadequate in the remaining thirty precincts. . . .

"Under the present food budget the allowance to each person is eight cents per meal. . . .

The report includes a table showing the percentage of malnutrition (starvation in plain words) found among school children. It is startling to find the figure 13 percent even in 1927. It increases to 21 percent in 1932, with a slight drop in the last two years.

Quoting again: "Under a ruling made in the past year an additional allowance for food is made to individuals for whom a special diet has been recommended either by a physician or a clinic. The extra allowance, however, is based on the assumption that the basic home relief food allowance is adequate, so that here again the actual increase in the cost of food is not met."

#### The Sick Allowance

Perhaps the full meaning of these formal phrases is not quite clear. In plain language: the re-

lief allowance for healthy persons is not sufficient to maintain their health. They become sick. The allowance which originally destroyed their health is then used as the basis for their sick allowance. Thus the insufficiency of their allowance is twice visited on them, once while they are healthy and once when they become sick. This system is nicely calculated to drive a person either to death or insanity.

"The thirty-four precinct administrators with one exception reported that the home relief rental allowances were not sufficient to meet the average rentals in their districts. . . . The maximum home relief rental allowance is \$25, while average rents in most districts were reported to be from \$30 to \$40 a month.

"To get an accurate picture of the housing situation the homes of 2,201 home relief families were studied. The survey disclosed appalling conditions. Many of the houses were old law fire traps. "The survey showed that 883 of the 2,201 families studied had no private toilets, 647 had no steam

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# Need for Unity Is Leading Issue at Coming Steel Workers Convention

## Trend of Steel Union Depends On Action of Progressives

On April 23 the sixtieth annual convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers is scheduled to convene at Canton, Ohio. It will have before it issues of unusual importance. Chief among them is the question of whether or not to make a serious attempt to organize the industry. Of course, this question involves the fate of the union itself. It is now split wide open by the expulsion actions of the union officials, and any approach to the problem of organization would of necessity be connected directly with the issue of restoration of unity.

In these as well as in a number of other questions that are pending before the convention the progressive forces are naturally particularly interested. Much depends on how well they are prepared.

We need not expect that the official union leadership of Mike Tighe and his cronies will be deeply concerned about the organization of the industry. All past experiences have refuted any such expectations. Nor can it be expected that they should show any interest in restoring the unity of the union. For them the present situation means the elimination of a militant opposition, many of the regularly constituted lodges now operate under a suspended charter as a result of the high handed action taken by the Tighe administration following the Feb. 3 progressive conference.

A total of 78 local lodges were represented at this conference, called jointly by several district organizations of the Amalgamated Association. All were since declared liable to expulsion. A much smaller number have been actually expelled; but they were the ones operating in the most important steel mills. Most of the leading progressives have been read out of the organization.

All indications so far point to the strenuous efforts being made by the union officials to unseat all delegates coming from these lodges. If successful that would remove from the agenda any serious consideration of the organization of the industry.

So far Tighe has succeeded in dealing the union a heavy blow. From its promising revival and growth last year it has been reduced to the old negligible tin mill division. However, the issue is not yet finally settled. Much still depends on what the progressive forces are ready and able to do.

### All Promises—No Action

Those who looked to the A. F. of L. for any support to the organization of the steel workers' union have been disappointed. Nothing has come of its much heralded San Francisco convention decision to organize the steel industry. It is reported that plans for organization were laid before the February Executive Council meeting; but the craft union officials insisted that not one penny of the A. F. of L. funds be spent on any campaign which did not assure separate unions for the machinists, pattern makers, electrical workers and the other crafts. The plans were shelved.

Still the organization of the

steel industry remains a key question for the trade union movement. Upon the solution of the problem it presents depends the firm establishment of unions in other basic and mass production industries.

**Unity Chief Issue**  
But the organization forces are divided owing to this open breach between the Tighe officialdom and the A. F. of L. Executive Council on the one hand and the progressives on the other. Without the progressives nothing will be done about organization, and there is little inducement for the steel workers to join the union. The progressives therefore have as their main duty the fight to restore the unity of the union. Unity in this case means to fight for reinstatement.

In our opinion there can be no evasion of this vital issue. Any attempt to obscure the fight for reinstatement can only introduce new confusion. This appears to be the case in the announcement coming from the sixth district, calling upon the steel workers to join the rank and file Amalgamated Association. It falls entirely to make clear to the steel workers that the first job is to fight for unity of the union forces. It attempts to put before the steel workers something that is unreal, when it is necessary to name things by their right name. When speaking to the steel workers today in the name of the locals that have been declared expelled, or calling upon the steel workers to support them, it is necessary that the support be conditioned on carrying on the fight for reinstatement, that is, carrying on the fight to restore the unity of the union.

### Stalinist Parades

The other policy will become only a duplication of the sorry role played by the Stalinists in the extent to which they influenced recent events in the steel workers' union. They were chiefly interested in parade maneuvers to further their own momentary aims with no concern for the actual organization of the steel workers. In this they became a purely disruptive force preventing the progressive movement from attaining a genuine mass basis.

Only a movement having a genuine mass basis can appeal effectively to the steel workers. A union to be successful in the industry must show that it can mobilize the power of solidarity and of united action of the workers. The Amalgamated Association leadership has not shown this at all. But the progressives have the opportunity still. Their fight has just begun. It should have reasonable prospects once they solidify their own ranks and establish a genuine mass basis which is easily possible. The first step toward an accomplishment of this objective is to take up an effective fight for restoration of unity of the union, that is, to fight for reinstatement while keeping the expelled locals intact as the force to back up the fight.

The fight for unity will have to be instituted inside the Amalgamated Association, through the still existing lodges and the organized districts as well as through the contacts available in the A. F. of L. city central bodies and all the way up to the Executive Council.

## Solidarity Forever

By FLORENCE WYLE

The interesting story printed below is written by a participant in the Los Angeles Millinery Workers Strike reported elsewhere in this issue. The characters are written about living strikers.

...  
The tiny line moves slowly 'round and 'round. From tired throats comes a weary wisp of song. It is very early. Only strikers with eager hearts would venture forth this cold California morning to watch and see that no scabs go through.

A voice is raised. Big Tony shouts and the line straightens; weary voices are refreshed anew as they sing their song of strength and unity...

... Solidarity For-e-e-ver!

**Tony**  
Big Tony gave the shout. Big Tony is a blocker. He takes the felt and straw, and steams and shapes them and brings forth the lines in the hats that later on saleswomen will gushingly call—"Panama", "Bolero", "Rumba". Tony is a good blocker. In the old days he made his eight to ten dollars a day. But Tony sighs. He works much harder now and faster. His once proud shoulders are bent and lifeless. His boss has cut his wages down 'till Tony does not know how he can ever feed the many mouths at home. So he is out on strike. At home his poor bambinos cry some more—but Tony is on strike!

"Little Annie"

The line is filling. Big Tony raises a hand in welcome. Annie, the little floor girl is here. Little is right! When the boss first saw her he was glad because he thought that he could brow-beat her. And

so he could—and did. But Annie's brother is on the bum now that he is black-balled after the seamen's strike and Annie's father can still be called upon to tell the story of the Railroad strike—so Annie knows the ways of bosses and when they called the strike Annie stopped her endless scurrying between the various benches and went out with the others. Her boss yelled and raved and then was dumbfounded because she didn't listen. Annie is on strike!

**The Old-Timer**

The line is full now, even to old Morris. Morris can tell you all about hats—(if you understand Yiddish because Morris speaks no other tongue). For you see, Morris has been bending over the machine for thirty years. So now his shoulders are humped and misshapen and his chin has made a well-worn niche in his chest. Many times has Morris been on strike and few were victories. But Morris wouldn't scab and is the first to leave his shop. Each defeat finds him more misshapen, more humped-backed, more weary than the last—but Morris is on strike!

**Surging Hopes**

'Round and 'round the endless line goes, and no longer weary. There is Evelyn whose mother has T.B.; and there Manny who is quite sure that now he'll have to wait another year before he's got enough for college; and there is Joe and Jake and Mike and Everyone—all with their little woes but each big enough to see the common struggle. Their hopes are surging now and they are singing. And the ears and eyes and minds of the craven scabs and bosses are full with the steady heat of the strikers' cry...

... Solidarity For-e-e-ver!

## Allard Calls on the P. M. A. Convention For United Struggle in Coming Coal Strike

The following is the substance of a speech delivered by comrade Gerry Allard at the scale convention of the Progressive Miners of America which met at Gillespie, Ill., Feb. 12-17. Comrade Allard made the speech extemporaneously in the course of discussion on the question of the strike situation in the Illinois coal fields which involves about 8,000 miners victimized because of their opposition to John L. Lewis and because of their allegiance to the Progressive Miners Union.

...  
**Allard's Remarks**

This question is, indeed, the most crucial question to come before the scale convention of our union. As I view it, the question whether our union is to survive depends upon the policy which we set forth on the strike situation. Thousands of our members have been on strike for nearly three years. What they have gone through is almost indescribable. It would take an artist of unusual gift to portray the woes, sufferings and tribulations which our people have undergone in the past many months. The remarks of delegate Centers, of Kincaid, Ill., moved me very much. He is from the striking territory. He spoke with unusual eloquence as to the conditions in the strike field, and I dare say he expressed the fervent wishes of the rank and file there.

I do not choose at this time to deal with the emotional aspect of the situation in the strike field—although that is important. That part of the question has already been covered.

What I want to do is to attempt in the little time allotted me to analyze the situation to date and

on that basis present proposals for the successful termination of the strike. An issue which will determine whether our organization—the Progressive Miners of America, is to perpetuate itself as a medium for the defense of the interests of the American coal miners.

**Two Roads**

There are two roads open to us at this time on the strike situation. Firstly, to militate the strike and carry it forward backed by the full resources of the P. M. of A., or, secondly, to plan to call off the strike and strategically retreat in an organized and honorable fashion. There is no third road nor middle road. We must frankly face the situation and set forth a program just as courageously as the rank and file have fought during the many months of bitter struggle.

I said there were one or two roads open for us at this time. Being a Marxist, a revolutionist, it is my opinion that we should militate the strike, revamp the Women's Auxiliary along the original lines, augment our forces by seeking the organizational support of the powerful unemployed movement in Illinois, seek allies in the rank and file of the United Mine Workers of America, and go forward once again with the same determination that built this union. This is the road of struggle, not the road of least resistance. This is the only correct road, and a program contrary to the one that has been pursued in the last twenty months.

**Unholy Alliance at Work**

Today's newspapers report that Lewis is to begin negotiations with his cronies in Washington—the coal operators and the NRA agents. Significantly timed with this and the meeting of our convention here this week is the fact that newspapers report that federal authorities from the department of justice are to begin wholesale arrests of miners in connection with a mysterious "\$1,000,000 bombing ring" which has for months terrorized the countryside of the Illinois coal country. And along with this, we have the intensified efforts of Ray Edmundson, Lewis spear-head in Illinois, to win our membership back to the United Mine Workers. These developments are no accidents. They are well organized and planned to wreck the Progressive Miners of America. The alliance of local and federal agents along with Lewis and the coal operators is a conspiracy to prevent the miners from improving their conditions through the Progressive Miners of America. We cannot meet this situation by silence. We must, if we are to live as a union, counter-act this conspiracy by wholesale mobilization and preparation for strike if necessary.

A union is a medium by which wage earners fight to advance or protect their economic interests. It is not something to be set on a pedestal and worshipped blindly. A union is a fighting instrument, day by day, to protect our conditions and advance the cause of our class when the situation is favorable.

On this point I might state that there is a great possibility for us to gain the six-hour day and \$6 basic wage scale. And more than that, we have the chance to increase the prestige of our union and probably in the course of the fight for shorter hours and more pay, pull our striking forces out of the rut to complete victory.

**Rank-and-File Holds Key**

The key to the situation is the rank and file of the Illinois miners irrespective of what union they belong to. We might differ as to what union we want to belong to, but I know that there can be no disagreement as to the need or the shorter work day and the \$6 basic scale. We coal miners know that we cannot continue to live even meagerly in the face of the steady inflationary measures of the federal government and subsequent sharp rises in the cost of living all down the line. This is a problem for the rank and file of both the United Mine Workers and the Progressive Miners. On the basis of this need it is possible for us to arrange some sort of unity on the demand for shorter hours and more pay.

functioning in the Twin Cities and throughout the state of Minnesota. The Workmen's Circles in this territory are appealing to their membership for financial aid for the Fargo strikers. Tag days, dances and card parties are being given in Minneapolis to popularize the fight and to raise funds. Socialists, Farmer-Laborites, comrades in the Workers Party, trade unions, fraternal groups, etc. have been drawn into the defense movement.

In short, it can be truthfully said that the conduct of the Fargo strike has contributed to raising the entire trade union movement in the Northwest to a new high level. The example, and the direct aid, of Local 574 has been the decisive factor in the Fargo resurgence.

President Keck has raised the question: "How are we to help the striking miners by striking the miners that are working under our jurisdiction?" In answer to this question let me state that the P.M. of A. is attempting for the first time, and rather late at that, to meet the strike problem. A convention of this kind to discuss the strike situation should have been called twenty months ago. There was a greater chance for us to rejuvenate our forces then there is now. It would have been easier to answer Keck's question twenty months ago. Now the forces of reaction have had their breathing spell. They have gained new courage and are knocking at our doors with unusual boldness.

**Strikes Looming Everywhere**

Let me point out further, in answer to Keck's question, that there are other forces and developments to look at then our own situation. Look at the steel, rubber, textile and auto situation! Strikes are again on the order of the day. No greater opportunity have the Illinois miners had than the present one. Strikes will again boom up from one end of the country to the other. There is tremendous pressure being brought on the government for social security legislation and the 30-hour week that is unequalled. The working people of this country are beginning to feel the thrill of their power as never before. The Progressive Miners of America can lead the way for the shorter work week. It's going to take strikes, and plenty of them, to complete the pressure for enactment of the six-hour day.

And if we take advantage of this situation we will steal the thunder from John L. Lewis. We can start the ball rolling that will not only save our own situation but immeasurably increase our standing with the workers throughout the United States. A spark now on the shorter work day will have profound repercussions in the American labor movement. The possibilities of spreading the strike to other coal sections of the country and other heavy industries, such as rubber and automobiles, are great.

There is always time to retreat. Now we must examine the possibility of advance. The proposition to retreat at the least opposition of the coal operators with whom we have contracts must be repudiated. We must initiate the movement for less hours and more pay with unflinching determination.

**Plan of Action Proposed**

My time to speak has elapsed. Let me say this, however, in conclusion. I have hurriedly scribbled several points which briefly embody what I think ought to be done to win our demands and the strike of 8,000 of our members. They are as follows:

1. Strike every mine in Illinois and elsewhere for the six-hour day and five day week and \$6 basic wage.
2. Offer to the members of the United Mine Workers of America a proposal for joint action on the basis of these and other demands.
3. A referendum vote of all Illinois miners to determine what union the Illinois miners want to belong to.
4. Lifetime compensation for the dependants of all victims slain in the mine war.
5. Release all prisoners now serving prison sentences.
6. Unity in Action of our forces with the Illinois Workers Alliance which is now organized 150,000 strong.
7. Call an extraordinary convention of the rank and file of all Illinois miners to finally consummate the aforementioned program.

This is the program that will win for us. This is the program that will save the situation for our already striking brothers. This is the program that will get us our demands. There is no other course. If there is I would like to hear it before this convention adjourns.

## WORKERS

Protect Yourself Against the Hazards of Life, Join the WORKMEN'S SICK AND DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE U.S. 1884-1935

Organized, managed by and for workers with only one purpose: to render protection to members and their families, and to support all endeavors and struggles for the improvement of toilers.

About 50,000 members organized in 350 branches. Reserves \$3,400,000. Death benefit graded according to age at entry. Sick Benefit payments from \$30 to \$900—to men and women, according to classes. Monthly assessments from 45c to \$2.20.

For further information apply to Main Office: 714 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

## Poverty and Discrimination

# BEHIND THE HARLEM EVENTS

The recent riot in Harlem is closely linked to the Home Relief Bureau and its maladministration of relief. The population of Harlem is, roughly, 250,000. Calculated on a basis of 65,000 adults capable of holding jobs, 80 percent are unemployed and almost all who are lucky enough to have work earn miserable wages. Yet only 15 percent of the population is on relief.

It is almost unbelievable that a simple calculation reveals that 65 percent of the 250,000 are without any means of support either from work or relief.

In Harlem where the real-estate is almost exclusively owned by white landlords (the bankers) rents are 40 percent higher in relation to the rest of the city.

**Death Stalks the Streets**  
Price-levels are, even on essential commodities, like bread, 7 to 30 percent above the city level.

Is it any wonder, then, that four or five Negro families are crowded into a one-family apartment with no heat, no bathing facilities, no air—no room to live?

The death-rate for tuberculosis through the city is 60 per 1,000 dead. In Harlem it is 250 per 1,000, and in the "lung-section" between Madison and 5th Avenues, 116th Street to 125th Street it is 275.

In 1934, the Harlem Hospital in examining clients found that 6,000 had syphilis and had to turn away 5,000 of these because it had no adequate facilities to treat them.

**Home Relief Discriminates**

What have the Home Relief Bureau done? In the first place it is of interest to point out that two precinct supervisors, a Mr. Courtney and a Mr. Swartz, have been transferred to different sections of the city after their open discrimination against the Negroes on the staff of the Home Relief Bureau had brought a strong protest from the Employees Association.

The Bureau has deliberately rejected thousands of Negroes on the basis of no residence proof. Under the Wicks Law an applicant for relief must establish two years residence in the state the last year of which must be spent in New York City. The Negroes, because they live jammed together, and have no place to preserve letters, cards, etc., because thousands never live in one place long enough to register and to vote, because the rude hand of poverty compels them to live in chaos, find it difficult to prove residence.

**Special Rules for Harlem**

In every part of the city notarized letters saying that Mr. So and So knows that the applicant has lived at such and such addresses for such a period of time are accepted as residence proof. Everywhere except in Harlem. Only through pressure and workers' demonstrations have notarized statements been accepted. The Urban League, and organization ended by the numerical very few

Negro petty-bourgeoisie and supposedly interested in welfare work, has stood calmly by.

In face of the high rents in Harlem, the Bureau gives the Negroes the minimum rent. To illustrate: Every precinct supervisor is allowed a budget in relation to the social pressure which groups, without that precinct's territory, can exert. A strong unemployed movement means more blankets and clothes, etc. The rents vary within a small margin: the simplest example is a single man or couple; they can be allowed \$14 to \$16 a month (1 or 2 people get the same amount) depending upon the discretion of the individual supervisor.

**The Iron Starvation Rule**

In Harlem the iron rule handed down to the investigators is pay \$14. Of course higher rents can be paid for "case-work reasons". And it is always an easy task to discover a "case-work" reason for a petty-bourgeois who happens to know the local ward healer, but not for a Negro worker.

Further, the Negroes on home-relief are discriminated against when it is a question of filling a work-relief project. This particular discrimination is, to a degree, rooted in the A. F. of L. bureaucracy's stand against admitting Negroes on an equal basis into the trade unions. One of the main tasks of progressive unionists must be to hammer down this bar.

**New Color in Spectrum**

Naturally, the same discriminations are used against the Porto Ricans. As a matter of fact, the

discriminatory artists of the Dept. of Public Welfare have invented a new color. On the basis of color, applicants are classified as white, black, and Porto Rican!

The question which Marxists must ask is: How does the Home Relief Bureau get away with its malpractices? Of course, the general answer is that it has behind it all the repressive machinery of capitalism. Briefly, however, the enormous influence of the handful of Negro misleaders, agents of Tammany or Fusion, can not be overlooked. They spread confusion, anarchy and quack ideas. Secondly, the impotence of the Stalinist party which, although it has concentrated in Harlem for years, because of its theory in regard to the Negroes has accomplished nothing. Nor is the Unemployed Union free from criticism. Its tactic of isolated case-work, conferring with the Home Relief Bureau like one charity organization, with another, has noticeably sapped the militancy of the workers within its ranks. Our comrades in the W.U.U. have got to propagandize and agitate for mass action. It is the only way the discrimination can be smashed.

The Negroes all over the United States are a crucial problem for the American revolutionists. We have little European experience to go by. The Workers Party must undertake this task by intensifying its work among those who are the most oppressed and downtrodden, the scorned, the insulted, the injured—the Negro workers and tenant-farmers.

## Dan Tobin Rats On Fargo Union

(Continued from Page 1)

attacking the union, Miles Dunne, and the local leadership.

This treacherous blow to the Fargo workers came in the tenth week of a heroic struggle against the reactionary Associated Industries of Fargo-Moorhead. The union has held firm in the face of vigilante terrorism, of a raid on strike headquarters, of the arrest of practically the entire section of Local 371 out on strike, of the most vicious attacks from the Fargo Forum and from local pulpits, of a recent injunction prohibiting the union and all its friends from doing anything but sit still and breathe. It was precisely at this point that the bureaucratic Mr. Tobin chose to perform his signal service for the employers by revoking the charter and bitterly attacking the strikers.

Tobin's attack on Local 173, by far the strongest and most militant union in North Dakota, was followed by exactly the opposite reaction from that hoped for by Tobin, Green, Woll and Co. For hours after the revocation of the charter, workmen and women walked around stunned and grim with rage. A provisional committee began recruiting on Saturday,

March 23, at 4 P.M. Three hours later the new union had recruited four hundred members, and a queue of men and women was still waiting down the steps from the headquarters and out on the street. Today the Fargo-Moorhead Local 173 confidently faces the bosses across the picket line, with every assurance that the Local can quickly force a favorable settlement from the Associated Industries.

**N.P.L.D. Attorney At Work**

Through the efforts of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the Fargo strikers have had for the past two weeks the services of one of the crack labor lawyers of the country, Francis Heisler of Chicago, a former I.L.D. man. Since Heisler has been in Fargo, he has abruptly checked the high-handed tactics of Judge Paulson and States Attorney Bergeson. A 30-day extension has been granted the 16 defendants now under sentence from 2 to 6 months hard labor for "inciting to riot". All strikers are out of jail for the first time since January. Heisler has not only functioned in the courtroom but has also aided strikers to get relief, and participated in the organizational work. In short, he is everything that a labor attorney should be. His name is the signal for a standing cheer everywhere in Fargo.

To raise money to finance the appeal to the State Supreme Court, and to further the struggle, an active Fargo Defense Committee is

## Plentywood Leads Drive

Plentywood has led the way in real achievement on the circulation drive. By March 31 the drive will reach the half way mark. All branches should have at least a 50% score by that time.

Cincinnati, Minneapolis, Davenport, Louisville and Youngstown should have no difficulty in surpassing this 50% mark during the next week.

Greater effort is needed in the other branches and districts. New York has not given the drive sufficient support. Chicago and Philadelphia are still behind. These Branches must get solidly in line with the campaign and push it to a successful conclusion. Only if every one does his part can this be done.

Bundle orders have increased also, but not enough. New bundles are going to California, Oregon, Arizona, Illinois and Canada, but here again the New York branches have fallen down. Their bundles have decreased. Fortunately this decrease has been more than compensated by the gain in the rest of the country. However, it is about time for New York to get busy again and show the way.

What is your answer? What are you going to do about it during the next two months?

The answer must be a vote of support expressed in increased subs and bundle circulation. Your scores here will indicate your willingness to lay a solid basis for the movement.

...  
**Donations, Contributions**

From G., New York...\$5.00  
From H., New Jersey...2.00  
This does not begin to be enough. We need real help and again ask for regular pledges of weekly or monthly amounts. Send them now to the Business Manager:  
NEW MILITANT  
2 West 15th Street  
New York, N. Y.

## WHAT TO ATTEND

**Philadelphia, Pa.**

March 31, Sunday evening—A. J. Muste, National Secretary of W.P. will speak on "Coming Struggles in Rubber, Auto and Steel Industries", Grand Fraternity Building, 1626 Arch Street.

**New York City**

March 31, Sunday afternoon, 2:30 P.M.—General Membership Meeting. N. Y. Headquarters, 2 West 15th St. Report on Pittsburgh Conference.

April 6, Saturday evening—Tri-Branch Dance. Headquarters, 2 West 15th St., 3rd floor. The date has been postponed from March 30.

April 13, Sat. evening—Spartacus Youth League Dance.

April 20, Sat. evening—Chess Contest and Spring Frolic by New York District membership. Headquarters, 2 West 15th St. All paid Red Cabaret tickets given out Feb. 16th will be honored at this affair. The date has been postponed from the 13th because of the S.Y.L. dance.

A dance class has been established and is now meeting regularly on Tuesday and Friday evenings. Rates are nominal.



## MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

## The AAA and the Tenant Farmer

Just as the development of capitalist industry results in the ever greater concentration of wealth in the hands of the few fabulously rich financiers, so the development of capitalist farming exhibits also the concentration of land ownership in the hands of fewer and fewer land barons. By means of its complex control of the market for agricultural products, of the prices charged to farmers for the goods they need, and of the credit system, monopoly finance capital exploits the small farmer more intensively than under any previous economic system. Helpless against the gigantic forces not of nature but of monopoly capitalism, the farmer gradually falls into hopeless debt through the process of mortgaging his land, his home, even his future crop in his desperate struggle to keep from starving.

The bankers' mortgage system is merely a stage in the degradation of the independent farmer to land tenancy and into share-cropping and the status of farm laborer. The capitalist ruling class in the advanced countries observe this inevitable process with dread, for it creates the allies of the proletariat in the struggle for power and thus menaces the "social stability". American capitalism is now face to face with the problem of "stabilizing" agriculture and subsidizing farmers so as to maintain them for use against the working class when it becomes necessary. The AAA was created with this in view and was intended to aid in "solving" the farm problem. Actually its attempts reveal, leaving aside the hypocrisy of every ruling class when dealing with the exploited and oppressed, the utter inability of capitalism to solve the farm problem.

## Driving Farmers Off the Land

The report by the Committee on Minority Groups in the Economic Recovery, just issued, shows how the AAA has worked not in the interests of the actual farmers, but in those of the exploiters of these farmers through the well-established modes of usury. The bankers have been enabled to borrow funds at low rates of interest and to loan out these same funds at the usual extortionate rates. Far from "stabilizing" the farming industry, the policy pursued by the government under the New Deal has had the effect of degrading the lot of the tenant farmer even more, and of actually driving him off the land.

Curtailment of crops to raise prices has put out of employment hundreds of thousands of tenant farmers in the South. It pays the landlord to evict these tenants,

whites and blacks alike, thereby evading all responsibility for feeding them and throwing them on the starvation relief handed out by the government. Meantime, while its policies result in this wholesale wave of evictions and driving of farmers off the land, the government makes empty gestures of establishing "subsistence homesteads" and "peasant proprietorships". And this is the reactionary solution offered by the Committee on Minority Groups. Only socialism, not capitalism, can really set out to solve the agricultural problem, by organizing the farmers into collectives and giving them a fair exchange in manufactured goods and services for their crops.

## The Attack on Trotsky

The constantly growing and ever more vicious attacks made in the Stalinist press on Comrade Trotsky, assume more and more the aspect of a widespread preparation for new efforts of the Soviet bureaucracy to perpetrate a frame-up against him. In their desperate eagerness to trick the working class into believing that Trotsky can, by some occult process known only to the Stalinists, be lumped together with counter-revolutionists and white guards, not to mention police agents, the Stalinists form a real united front with bourgeois reaction.

Nothing would suit the French reactionaries more than to see this Bolshevik-Leninist snuffed out of existence. They recognize that the real menace to French capitalism comes from those revolutionists who are working to create the Fourth International. The New International would at the same time be a menace not to the Soviet Union to the defense of which it would be devoted, but to the corrupt bureaucracy that has ruled in Russia since Lenin died. In order to scotch the growing movement of workers in the countries of Western Europe for the creation of the Fourth International, as symbolized by the building of the new Dutch Revolutionary Party, the Stalinists feel it necessary to discredit Comrade Trotsky.

Their effort at a "plant" in the Kirov assassination—through a letter that the GPU had hoped to obtain with the aid of a foreign consul—fell through. But this makes all the more likely a new and worse attempt in France where the Soviet bureaucracy feels its whole opportunist policy jeopardized by the revolutionary course pursued by the Bolshevik-Leninist fraction of the French Socialist Party. The growing and concerted attacks in such sheets as the Daily Worker thus merely serve to set us on our guard against the danger of a new frame-up against Comrade Trotsky.

## Dutch Parties Raise Banner of Fourth International

(Ed. Note: At the recent Paris Conference of the Left Socialist and Independent parties the two revolutionary organizations of Holland, the Independent Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party, strongly defended the slogan of the Fourth International, and urged that steps be taken to further the movement for its constitution. The Socialist Workers Party of Germany (S.A.P.) appeared as the chief saboteurs of the slogan which they once publicly espoused. We print below a polemic on the question from the columns of De Baanbreker, official organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland in response to an editorial in Het Volk, the organ of the reformist Social Democrats. We hope in the near future to have more complete reports of the Paris Conference as well as of the fusion of the two Holland parties under the banner of the Fourth International.)

## TRANSLATION OF ARTICLE IN DE BAANBREKER (March 2, 1935, on the Paris Conference of Feb. 14)

Het Volk under the heading "Splitters Hold Congress" states: "The New Leader (British) contains a report of the conference of so-called left Socialist groups recently held in Paris. Holland was represented by the O.S.P. and R.S.P. The chief point on the agenda was the question of the building of a New International. The report indicates the greatest differences of opinion on the subject exist among the various parties and groups. The Hollanders were for proceeding as rapidly as possible with the building of the New International. Representatives of the German S. A. P. remarked that it would be an illusion to suppose that the workers are waiting breathlessly for the New International. The Poles regarded a New International as desirable but opined that the question still remained a theoretical one. In the voting three groups, namely, the O.S.P., R.S.P. and Youth Bureau, voted for the New International; three, the English I.L.P., Swedish

Left Socialists and Norwegian Left Socialists, voted against, and the remainder abstained."

As indicated in a previous issue, the German S.A.P. was chiefly concerned with bringing together the greatest possible majority for a purely platonic utterance on the New International. It is not so much important to this activity that it is against the resolution of the O.S.P. and R.S.P. Since the editor of Het Volk eulogizes the "wisdom" of the S.A.P. in this connection we wish to make it known in a certain manner that the plottings for the regeneration of the revolutionary working class movement we do not appreciate such "wisdom".

Official Communists and Social Democrats are naturally of one mind in combatting the idea of the new growing Fourth International. Nothing else can be expected from them. Entirely incorrect is the view of those workers who use the formula that the New International will stand "between the Social Democracy and the official C. P." He who cherishes this idea is obsessed in the same way as those confused element who think of a fusion of the Second and Third International and consequently, so far as possible, avoid facing the question of rallying the forces of labor in the Fourth International.

No one among us has the foolish notion that we have simply to "proclaim" the Fourth International in order to establish it as a factor in the political life of the working class. Neither, however, is there anyone among us who cherishes the sickly notion that in the process of bringing the Fourth International into being we can dispense with the banner which symbolizes the new idea. For our part we do not tire of presenting the evidences of the progressive and rapid bankruptcy of the Second and Third International.

But we are not defeatists. We do not go on utopian voyages of discovery after brand new ideas which would have only one characteristic, namely, freedom from any "taint" of traditional Socialism.

By A. J. MUSTE

Fellow-Worker:

You say that quite a few of the men you have been talking to have been impressed by my arguments about the need of overthrowing the present economic system and of building a Marxist revolutionary party to lead the workers and their allies in doing the job. You have, however, a member of the Communist (Stalinist) party in your shop and he says that the C. P. is the only revolutionary party, and the Third (Communist) International the only international revolutionary organization. You are against the Soviet Union, according to him, if you are against the C. P. The C.P. is the party that is doing the fighting for the workers, the Negroes, etc. Of course it has made some mistakes, but it has corrected them, and "any one who attacks the C. P. or builds another party now when the C. P. is being attacked by Hearst and others is helping Fascism and attacking and undermining the Soviet Union, and is no better than Hitler himself." The Workers Party is ready to meet that argument and to meet it in no uncertain terms.

We hold that the C.P. and C.I. are no longer revolutionary organizations. They have in recent years organized and are now organizing defeats and not victories for the working class. Insofar as they have influence, they retard the building of a healthy and vigorous revolutionary movement everywhere. Furthermore, the policies of the Stalinist leadership which dominates the Soviet Union and the C.I. do not strengthen the defense of the Soviet Union, the one workers' state in the world; they are weakening and destroying those defenses; they are preparing the way for the overthrow of the workers' state.

We must not be deceived by the paper programs of the C. P., by the claims it makes for itself, or the fact that it still has a considerable number of members and adherents. The Social Democrats called themselves Marxists, claimed to have the only way to establish Socialism and maintained big parties of the Second International in various countries after the betrayal of the masses into the hands of nationalism in the Great War of 1914-18. But the Social Democracy had ceased to be a progressive force, had become a hindrance to the onward course of the workers' revolution. The vanguard workers, the best fighting elements left the S.P. Under Lenin's leadership the perspective of building the new, Third, International was raised. Although the number of those who accepted this line was at first small and they were apparently isolated from the mass movements which had plunged into support of the war activities of the imperialist powers, the future was with the forces looking toward the new International. Very soon, in the crisis in Russia in 1917, they demonstrated their soundness and their power by giving the final blow to Czarism, overthrowing the middle class and establishing the Workers' State. Even so, the future today is with the parties and groups looking toward the Fourth International.

I do not have the space in this letter to go fully into all the evidence to back up our estimate of the C. P., the C.I. and the Stalinist leadership of the Soviet Union. We have dealt and will deal with them in the New Militant, the New International and in pamphlets and books. Here I want to list just a few points which I am sure will convince you and which you can use in discussion with workers who are still under official C. P. influence.

1. The Third International has not had a Congress since 1928—seven years! Why not? Back in the days when the Soviet Union was being attacked on a dozen fronts World Congresses of the C.I. were held in Moscow every year. If the leadership of the C.P.S.U. prevents the holding of World Congresses now, it must be because it does not care to or dare to face a World Congress—or both. What kind of a vanguard international party of the working class of the world is it which in these years of the triumph of Fascism, in these days of war preparations everywhere, holds no World Congress? What evidence is there that the present leadership of the Soviet Union is interested in the world

Revolutionary Marxism remains for us the living fountain from which spring the ideas that must serve as the basis of the Fourth International. There is continuity in the development of the working class movement. Even in times of depression in the movement this continuity obtains. Whereas the Second International presents a hopelessly crippled version of the fundamental truths of revolutionary Marxism and the Third International has falsified revolutionary Marxism, the fighting proletariat will nevertheless understand that it must carry through its international battle in the Marxist spirit and that its organization, the coming Fourth International, must be a revolutionary Marxist organization.

## Letters to a Worker Correspondent

revolution? How many more years have to go by without a Congress of the C.I. before the C.P. will admit that in reality there is no longer a C.I. and will graciously allow that it is not "counter-revolutionary" for the workers to build a new International?

2. Consider the debacle of the Communist Party in Germany. Here we had the mightiest Communist Party in the capitalist world. Ever since the war a powerful Communist movement had existed in Germany. Yet this movement collapsed like a toy balloon at the advent of Hitler—without a gesture of resistance, without a single fight in the streets. Surely this is evidence of a terrible degeneration in the C. I. How many debacles like that in Germany do we have to permit before the workers have a "right" to call a halt, brush the C. I. aside, and build a new International?

3. All the leading policies of the C.P. of the U.S. in recent years have proven bankrupt and have recently been tossed overboard. The A. F. of L. unions are company unions and must be smashed; "revolutionary" unions dual to the A. F. of L. must be built; a federation of labor dual to the A. F. of L. must be established; we do not enter into a united front with the S. P. etc. but only into a "united front from below" with the members of the S. P.; Socialists are social-fascists; "Social Democracy is the twin of Fascism"; those who advocate a labor party are simply trying to keep the masses out of the C.P.—these have been the basic policies of the C. P. in this country for six years. They were reaffirmed by a unanimous vote (all votes are unanimous in the C. P.) at a party convention last June. Any who questioned any of these policies were denounced in the most vicious and scurrilous manner as counter-revolutionists and social-fascists. Today all these policies are tossed overboard without even the formality of a party convention. A somersault in fact has been executed. Stalinists have to go into A. F. of L. unions. C. P. leaders fawn upon trade union bureaucrats and S. P. leaders. They are silent as the grave about the deeply beloved united front from below. It seems that there are no more social fascists on the earth. The C. P. takes the initiative in building a "labor" party—a mass, class, federated, class-struggle, not reformist, not revisionist, highest form of united front "labor" party! I cannot imagine that this group of workers meeting at your house will "fall" for this C. P. "conversion", a conversion like that of the habitual drunk at the Rescue Mission; and for the colossal impudence of the C. P. plea to American workers: "We have a 100 percent record of failure on all our policies. Everybody else saw it years ago. Even we see it now. Consequently, we are the only qualified revolutionary leaders of the working class!"

4. A Dictatorship of one man, Stalin, exists in the Third International. Earl Browder, secretary of the C.P.U.S. is his messenger boy. Under these conditions the C. P. is utterly incapable of correcting its mistakes. It can only execute zig-zags. Consider what happened a month or two ago. The C. P. is

against a "labor" party. Browder steps off the boat; just returned from Moscow. He hurries to Washington. A non-party gathering, the Unemployment Insurance Congress, is in session there. Some Lovestonites (whose main aim in life, curiously enough, is still to get back into the C. P.) distributed a leaflet calling for the building of a labor party. Using the type of argument at which they shine most brightly, the Stalinists tore up the leaflets and beat up the Lovestonite distributors! Then the meeting opened and Browder made them a speech informing them that they were now for a labor party!

What happened? True, some of the comrades turned pale momentarily and experienced that sick feeling at the stomach. There had to be some explanation in the Daily Worker. The nature of this explanation is the best evidence anyone could ask of the low intellectual level which has been reached in the C. P., and that includes the "intellectuals", critics, novelists, poets, artists, social workers, preachers, etc. who are C. P. members or stooges.

The Daily Worker explained: The Labor Party question is one of tactics not principle, so we can change the line without much ado. Anyway, it was not really a change of line; we always were for a labor party under proper conditions. As for having a party discussion before changing the line, in the first place in the C. P. the members have such confidence in the Political Committee that the Committee can act without consulting the membership; in the second place, in the C. P. discussion does not precede action—we discuss and act at the same time (though to the eye of the simple-minded outsider it looked as though Stalin gave the order, Browder obediently repeated it, the party leaders and members blinked their eyes, swallowed hard, accepted the order like the robots they have become, and only then indulged in a little "discussion", a very little "discussion" in which no one breathed the least doubt of the omniscience of Stalin, "the beloved and genial leader of our party and of the working class", as he is now described in the Soviet Union in a fulsome flattery which Lenin would have had a word for). Naturally enough about all that emerged from a "discussion" conducted at that level was that "Trotskyist" opposition to the labor party or criticism of the way in which the turn in the party line had been effected was part of a counter-revolutionary plot to assassinate Kirov!

5. Many an honest worker in the C. P. and outside finally swallows all its mistakes and crimes and remains loyal to it, because he accepts the C. P. argument which runs something like this: The Soviet Union is the only workers' state in the world. It is the workers' fatherland. It is in terrible danger today. Our main, practically our sole task, is to defend it. Save the Soviet Union and all is saved; lose it and all is lost. "Attack" the C. P. today and you attack Stalin; attack Stalin who has the full support of the workers in the S. U. today and you attack the S. U. Any one who does that is

doing just what Hitler does: he lines up with Hitler, he is an assassin of Soviet leaders, he is that vilest of all creatures, one who under the disguise of a revolutionist would destroy the Soviet Union and the October Revolution.

We too believe that the Soviet Union is a workers' state. We point to the achievements of the workers in the S. U. as evidence of how planned socialist production even in the face of the greatest obstacles and when as yet only the beginnings of the foundations of a socialist system exist alongside of vestiges of capitalism, can do more for the masses than capitalism can. We stand, and we alone, for the real defense of the Soviet Union.

To hold that you can defend the S. U. and advance the interests of the Soviet workers only by accepting the Stalin regime and not criticizing Stalin is like saying that in order to defend unionism in the U. S. and advance the interests of organized labor you have to accept the regime of Bill Green, John L. Lewis, Matty Woll and Dan Tobin and have to regard any criticism of these bureaucrats as treason. Our contention is precisely that in both cases the interests of the workers can be advanced only by defeating the present leadership.

The Stalin theory is that Socialism can be built—that is, poverty abolished, classes done away with, etc.—in the Soviet Union alone and although capitalism still holds sway in all other lands. It is natural that under these circumstances those who believe this and especially office-holders in the S. U. should become lukewarm about the revolution in other countries, should concentrate all their attention on "building Socialism" in the S. U., and tell the Communist parties in other countries that their only job is "defending the Soviet Union".

What is the result of the theory? The international revolutionary movement is emasculated. Not a Congress of the C. I. has been held in seven years, as we have pointed out. The Communist parties in capitalist countries are forced to change their line mechanically as the exigencies of the foreign and domestic policies of the present leadership of the S. U. dictate. Upon parties thus weakened Fascism inflicts one defeat after another.

The Soviet Union not being able to count under these circumstances on the backing of any powerful revolutionary force in capitalist countries, the Stalinist leadership leads it further and further into a swamp. In order to postpone war, the S. U. enters the League of Nations which Lenin described as a league of imperialist robbers, and Stalin proclaims this as a victory for the workers. A military alliance or "understanding" is entered into with imperialist France. Non-aggression pacts are signed with various countries. "Leagues against War and Fascism" mainly composed of middle class intellectuals, are organized. Workers are imbued with the pacifist illusion that peace can be maintained by these means. But even that is not the worst that Stalinism can do and has done.

The Bolshevik party in the S. U. has been destroyed. Of the Political Bureau of the party in Lenin's time no one but Stalin remains. All the rest are in prison, exile or retirement. Party opponents of Stalin are sent to Siberia or shot. In their place men like the present Soviet ambassadors to London, Paris, Berlin, Washington, who were bourgeois professors or Mensheviks or actually engaged in counter-revolutionary activity at the time of the October revolution are elevated to office, and along with professors and social workers in the U. S. who discovered Russia yesterday, become authorities on how to defend the Soviet Union!

Recently one of these 1935 model Bolsheviks, Troyanovsky, Soviet ambassador to Washington, spoke to the big shots of the Bond Club of New York about non-aggression pacts (with capitalist powers) as a means to preserve peace. He argued that the nations must go further—"dig to the bottom of contemporary troubles". How? "It is necessary to work out practical plans for the economic rehabilitation of the world, but especially for Europe." In order to make it perfectly clear that he meant rehabilitation under capitalism he added: "Probably the advice of broad-minded business men would be available and useful in this connection."

Thus the way is prepared for Communists (Stalinists) to work for the rehabilitation, not the overthrow of capitalism and to fight for some imperialist nation when war comes on the ground that this nation is allied with the Soviet Union and that failing to fight for it will mean to weaken the "defense of the Soviet Union". Thus also the destruction of the workers' state in the Soviet Union is prepared, for a war in which the S. U. is involved, while the revolutionary working class movement is demoralized and impotent can only end in the overthrow of the workers' state in the S. U.—and the triumph of Fascism or the utter breakdown of modern civilization.

All the policies of the present leadership of the S. U. lead in that direction. Their paper protesta-

## QUESTION BOX

QUESTION: How do you account for the fact that Hearst makes use of Trotsky's pamphlet "The Kirov Assassination" to attack the Soviet Union so that the Daily Worker of March 20, pointing to this fact, is able to claim that Hearst and Trotsky are allies?

ANSWER: To clarify the question let us first consider an analogy. When a trade union bureaucrat is proven to be corrupt, the capitalist press, identifying the corrupt union bureaucracy with the union itself, points to the facts with glee for the purpose of discrediting unionization in general. From the workers' viewpoint, however, which makes a distinction between the union as a workers' organization and its corrupt bureaucracy, it is necessary that the progressive elements within the organizations unceasingly expose such corruption so as to correct it, and only in this way can it be corrected and the corrupt leadership replaced.

The bureaucrats never attempt to reply to this criticism on its merits, i.e., are the charges true or not; that is too dangerous. Identifying themselves with the union to divert from the real issues, they usually answer as follows: "By attacking us you people are attempting to destroy OUR union. See! Even the press of the boss is using the information you are spreading to discredit us so that workers will quit the organization or refuse to join." As a matter of fact many workers, under the pressure of the capitalist propaganda, are repelled by the dishonesty of many trade-union bureaucrats, and consider unions as rackets, but the responsibility for this lies, not in the necessary criticism of the left-wing workers, but in the DEEDS of the bureaucrats.

Except that it is on a much higher historical plane and therefore more difficult to visualize, the degeneration of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union may be compared to that of the bureaucracy of the trade unions in the capitalist countries. Identifying themselves with the Workers' State, the Stalinists consider and label any attack on their mistakes and crimes as an attack on the workers' fatherland itself. In this they stand on the same premise as Hearst, who also identifies the Stalinists with the Soviet Union and attacks the latter through the misdeeds of the former, using if necessary the fact that Trotsky, who does not identify the Stalinist clique with the proletarian dictatorship and sharply criticizes their bureaucratic machinations in an attempt to correct them. (It is to be observed that Hearst does not even hesitate to use Lenin's critique of the Paris Commune for the same purpose, but the Daily Worker conveniently ignores this fact.)

The Stalinists have not answered the criticism made in Trotsky's pamphlet (that would be treading on thin ice), even though they have devoted much space to slandering it. The attempt of the Daily Worker to draw an equation sign between Hearst and Trotsky is merely a smokescreen to divert from the real issues, a procedure in no way differing from that used by corrupt trade union bureaucrats.

The gist of the matter is this: Analogous to the case of the trade unions, any discredit which may come to the Soviet Union flows, not from the necessary and correct criticisms launched against the Stalinist bureaucracy by the revolutionists, but from the DEEDS of this bureaucracy itself.

tions that the destruction and defeat of imperialist powers is their aim mean no more than the declarations on peace and socialism of the Social Democratic leaders before 1914. The defense of the Soviet Union today and the liberation of the masses in capitalist countries depends today upon the building of new revolutionary parties and the new International.

Sometimes workers have protested that these are "Russian" questions and do not concern American workers. But it is clear that nothing can concern American workers more directly than questions of the trade union policy, labor party, war, and on all of these the situation in the C. I. determines the policy which the C. P. tries to impose on American workers. Whatever weakens the revolutionary movement and strengthens Fascism anywhere directly concerns us, in this world where peoples do not live within sky-high national walls, where the workers must build a new international economy or perish in the slaughter created by the nationalists and imperialists.

It is just because it is so tremendously important that we build a powerful revolutionary party in the U. S. that we must deliver the revolutionary movement in this country from the domination of the C. I. and the C.P.S.U. That can be done only if we understand the fundamental reasons for the degeneration which has taken place in them under the regime of Stalinism.

## The Right to Vote for Stalin Is Granted

## "Soviet Democracy"

In order to erect some sort of a partial screen to counteract the repulsive impression which has been created by Stalin's manhandling of his political opponents, under the guise of waging a struggle against terrorists, much publicity has been given to a great democratic reform: collective farmers, as members of a socialist society, have been given equal electoral rights with the industrial workers. Upon this score the flunkies have raised a hullabaloo about the entry into kingdom of genuine democracy [but what was there yesterday?]

## The Role of the Party

The inequality in the electoral rights between the workers and peasants had its social reasons. The dictatorship of the proletariat in a peasant country found its necessary and open expression in the electoral privileges of the workers. The inequality of rights presupposed, in any case, the existence of rights. The Soviet system provided the toilers with a genuine possibility for determining the fate of the country. The political power was concentrated in the hands of the vanguard—party. Through the Soviets and the trade unions, the party was always submitted to the pressure of the masses. By means of this pressure the party kept the Soviet bureaucracy subordinate to itself.

It is utter nonsense that the peasantry has seemingly succeeded in reeducating itself socially during the two to three years of collectivization. The antagonism between the city and village still preserves

all of its acuteness. Even today the dictatorship is inconceivable without the hegemony of the proletariat over the peasantry. But the inequality in the electoral rights between the workers and peasants has lost its real content, in so far as the bureaucracy has completely deprived both the former and the latter of political rights. From the standpoint of the mechanics of the Bonapartist regime the apportionment of electoral districts is of absolutely no significance. The bureaucracy might have given the peasant ten times as many votes as the worker—we would obtain the very same result, for each and all possess in the last analysis the one and only right: to vote for Stalin.

The secret ballot may at first sight appear to be a genuine concession. But who would dare to oppose his own candidacy to the official slate? An oppositionist, if elected by "secret ballot", would, indeed, be declared an open class enemy, immediately after the elections. Thus the secret ballot cannot effect any real change.

The entire reform represents a Bonapartist masquerade—and nothing more. The very need of such a masquerade is unmistakable testimony to the growing sharpening in the relations between the bureaucracy and the toiling masses. Neither the workers nor the peasants have any need for democratic fictions. So long as Stalin keeps both his hands upon the throat of the proletarian vanguard all constitutional reforms will remain Bonapartist charity.

—L. T.

February 10, 1935



## NEW MILITANT

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## W. P. on the Firing Line

THE pages of this issue of the *New Militant* are alive with direct reports of labor action on many fronts. Everywhere the American workers are stirring. The third great strike wave under the New Deal is in the making. From all indications, the strikes breaking out in various parts of the country are simply preliminary skirmishes which presage the deeper and more widespread labor rebellion to come in the next few months. And what is of exceptional significance in the situation is the active role of the members of the Workers Party in the struggles now under way and in the course of preparation. Our reports are not written in the office; they come direct from the firing line, from party members in the midst of the actions.

In the strikes at Los Angeles, Fargo and Toledo—three of the hot spots at the moment—party members are in the forefront, playing an active and, to a certain extent, a leading part. Our comrades are on the job at Akron where a great rubber strike impends. At St. Louis they are busy in the preparations for a strike of gas workers. In cooperation with other progressive and militant forces they are leading the turbulent left wing movement in the Illinois coal fields. Party members are the mainspring of the Unemployed Leagues, the most imposing movement of the unemployed in the entire country which only recently held a state convention in Ohio with 400 bona fide delegates.

This remarkable activity in the class struggle on so many fronts is a heartening sign of the times and a magnificent prospect for the future. The party of revolutionary theory is revealing itself, from the start, as the party of action. That road will lead unflinchingly to a rapidly increasing strength and expanding influence of our party. Clarity of principle and resolute, energetic action—this combination is the formula for victory. Our activity under this sign during the first period of the party's existence has already brought gratifying results and has started the party on the right road. Nothing can stop us if we stick to this line.

## The Socialist Party Crisis

IF THE Socialist Party is turning revolutionary, as some conscientious people believe and some conscious deceivers maintain, nothing happened at the Buffalo meeting of the National Executive Committee to support the contention. On the contrary, the leading body of the party demonstrated once again at Buffalo that it has sufficient political affinity with the reactionary Old Guard to overlook its splitting provocations and allow six weeks longer for a reconciliation. At the same time the N.E.C. showed no less hostility to revolutionary ideas than that which animates the Old Guard itself.

And what else was to be expected from this body? The motion declaring the advocacy of the overthrow of capitalism by revolutionary means to be "incompatible with membership in the party" was not a reversal of position or a betrayal of principles previously held by the N.E.C. majority. The party leaders were simply reaffirming the Detroit Declaration as they understand it, and not as pseudo-lefts and apologetic ex-communists explain it. Louis Waldman, spokesman of the Old Guard and champion of bourgeois democratic "socialism" without one percent discount, branded the action of the N.E.C. as a "capitulation" to the Old Guard. That, however, is an unjust accusation. The left reformists in control of the National Committee only remained true to their own color by their motion to purge the party of the troublesome "reds." Red is not their color.

What are they fighting about?—the perplexed and disappointed radical workers in the Socialist Party may well ask themselves. Not over principles, but rather over methods of coping with the radical sentiments of the socialist workers which have been given a powerful impetus by the debacle of social reformism in Europe and the sharpening class struggle in the United States. Not over roads to power in the struggle against capitalism—the N.E.C. majority is no less devoted to "democratic" methods than the Old Guard—but over power in the party. That is why the struggle against the Old Guard centers around organization questions and such abstractions

as "unity"; the real political blows are directed against left wing tendencies in the party.

What is the political tendency of the dominant leaders of the party which is so extravagantly—and so falsely—advertised as the "party of revolutionary unity"? They have made it clear long ago for those who judge actions politically and report them honestly. It was written in deeds once again at Buffalo. The Oklahoma *Guardian*, that priceless representative of Detroit Declaration socialism, gives over its columns to a campaign for a third party to include Huey Long and the LaFollettes and carries articles from the facile pen of the democrat, Upton Sinclair. That is O.K. with the N.E.C. of the revolutionized party; there is no censure for Ameringer. The *New Leader* dares—at this day, after Germany and Austria!—to present the Scandinavian socialists in the governments of capitalist States as comrades in arms. There is not even a suggestion of criticism from the party leadership. But the five Buffalo party members, appealing to the N.E.C. against their expulsion, are cynically referred back to the State Executive Committee—the very body which instigated their expulsion! And mention the appalling fact that there are people of "Trotskyist", that is, revolutionary Marxist tendencies in the party—as Oneal did accusingly at the meeting—and Norman Thomas promptly retorts: "Point them out to us and we will kick them out." In these acts of omission and commission the political tendency of the leaders of the "party of revolutionary unity" is revealed.

All this is not to deny that there are profound political causes for the internal struggle in the Socialist Party. At the bottom of the whole conflict is the impulse of the proletarian and youth sections of the movement for a revolutionary policy. But these elements have not yet clearly formulated their program or found leaders worthy of their cause. That is why their sentiments can be exploited so shamelessly; that is why they are made into pawns of an unprincipled struggle for place and position.

The Buffalo comedy warns the revolutionary elements again to formulate their own program and begin a real fight on principled lines. Such a fight will necessarily be directed against the present pseudo-left majority of the N.E.C. as well as against their reformist kin of the Old Guard. It will reject out of hand the treacherous formula of "unity" with scoundrels, reformists and labor fakers masquerading as socialists. The first plank in such a revolutionary program of the socialist workers will be: *Revolutionary unity!*—Break with reformism and reformists and unite with the revolutionary forces of the Workers Party!

## The Paradox of New York

NEW YORK CITY contains one of the greatest anachronisms of modern times. It is at once the richest and poorest city in the land.

Here is concentrated the greatest wealth in all the universe.

Here are amassed the croesus treasures of Rockefeller, Vanderbilt and Astor.

Here the "400" form an aristocracy as would make the kings and nobility of old green with envy.

Here lies the center of the Morgan empire whose money power holds the million masses of the world in its grip.

The capital of the United States is in truth in Wall Street and its symbol is the almighty dollar.

New York as is commonly known has the largest population of any metropolis in the world and the plutocratic "400" form but an infinitesimal portion of it.

A report by the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment, of how the "other half", the 5,999,600, live tells a ghastly tale of rich and poor, of have and have-not. A sane observer from Mars would rub his eyes with incredulity over this striking comparison. Here they are summarized:

One million wage workers are unemployed. One out of every three workers employed in New York in 1930 is unemployed.

With their wives, children and other dependents the grand total of those affected by unemployment is 37 percent of the entire population of New York City.

Of the 666,000 unemployed families only 245,000 are on home relief.

Another 325,000 stricken families haven't applied or can't get near the government dole. Those on relief don't live a kingly existence either—EIGHT (8) cents is the allowance per person per meal.

It is therefore not unnatural that 18.1 percent of New York's school children are suffering from malnutrition. That is, one out of every five border on starvation.

And piling suffering on misery, the allowance for rent is so meager that 17 percent of the families on relief were using food money to keep from being evicted.

New York is indeed the capital of the world—in poverty as in wealth. This it is because it most graphically epitomizes capitalism itself.

Our news story on the Mayor's report refers to a large section of the jobless as a reservoir of misery—

Let us add, a combustible reservoir of revolt.

## Akron Labor Set for Siege

(Continued from Page 1)

aid in crystallizing resentment against the companies. The memories of Toledo, not over 100 miles away, are still fresh in Akron workers' minds.

A rapid increase in membership has heartened the unions and given them much additional strength. While they are still far short of the number they had last year (over 70 percent of the workers were in the A. F. of L. then), the long-promised action is finding a warm welcome among the workers. One local alone reported 625 new members in the last two weeks.

Support of the organized auto workers has been pledged and union leaders declare that the A. F. of L. unions in Detroit will walk out at the same time. Along with this, the rubberworkers will need the backing of all organized labor throughout the country in the forthcoming struggle. A victory at Akron would greatly strengthen unionism throughout the country.

It is the duty of class-conscious workers everywhere to do their utmost to help win this strike. Our party at Akron has been prepared for the strike and will be in the forefront of the struggle.

## Toledo in Grip of Strikes

(Continued from Page 1)

solidarity of the strikers will reach a new high when the organized working class comes out into the street to roar its defiance of the open shop bosses.

The sympathetic strike movement is in the air. Several unions are standing by, waiting for the call to action. The Central Labor Union has met to consider a general strike. All of Toledo is tense with expectation and only the most stubborn resistance of the conservative leaders of the central bodies can stem the tide—and then with the greatest difficulty.

Toledo can touch off the powder keg that has been gathering with resentment over the results of the New Deal since the last strike wave. Word has come that the Ohio Unemployed League plans to extend the FEERA strike on a statewide scale. Bill Truax, President of the O.U.L., has addressed a letter to the State Federation of Labor asking that a joint action committee be set up to initiate a statewide strike on FEERA projects. The demands of the O.U.L. in this proposed strike action adopted at its March 10 conference are: \$1.00 per hour; the thirty-hour week for common labor and the highest prevailing rate for skilled labor, and others which cover conditions of work.

As has been indicated above, the W.P. members are carrying on the tradition they established in the great Auto-Lite strike. They are in the forefront of all activities, in the thick of the battle with scabs and gunmen and in leading posts in the action committees. They are giving the party a reputation that it well can be proud of.

## C. P. Members on Stand in C.S. Trial

(Continued from Page 1)

of the proletariat, a soviet government, but only an abstract "Workers and Farmers Government".

The honor of Communism was partially saved by the testimony of Jack Warnick and Caroline Decker. Warnick took a bold and uncompromising stand. He said that he had been among the instigators of the Workers' School, that the workers must be organized and given a communist education in preparation for the proletarian revolution. He stated that the workers would have to get this education in their own schools because, being a university graduate himself, he knew they could never be anything but miseducated in the capitalist controlled schools.

Decker took up a position much to the left of the others and even had the courage to mention that at a certain stage of the struggle soviets might be set up.

What is the cause of this miserable showing on the part of the defendants? It lies partly in the cowardly testimony of Sam Darcy, district organizer of the C. P., who testified as an "expert" on Communism and laid down the line for the others. It also lies in the confusion in the minds of these members of the Communist Party as to what Communism really is. They were committed by the old party program to the policy of "revolutionary unions", of united fronts

from below, of social fascism, of unemployed councils, and a central slogan of soviet power. But all of them know that there are no more revolutionary unions, no social fas-

## Starvation Faces Millions Of New York's Unemployed

(Continued from Page 1)

heat. . . . It also revealed that 24 percent of the families were crowded together so that there were more than two persons per room, excluding the kitchen.

"The rent allowance for 386 of these families was being supplemented definitely from the food allowance. In other words, 17 percent of the families on relief were using money sorely needed for food to keep a roof over their heads."

"In still other cases it was discovered that the family was meeting additional rent from boarders and part-time earnings. Upon discovery of this fact the Home Relief Division proceeded to deduct such income from the family relief budget, thus making it necessary for more families to turn to the food allowances to make up the differences."

Thus resulting, although the report does not mention it, in further malnutrition and sickness, demanding a larger food allowance, and in the end costing the Home Relief Bureau just as much as if they had originally permitted the family to supplement its relief allowance. But such an economy is far beyond the ability of the penny clutching representatives of capitalism who administer relief.

"The private agencies include a regular clothing allowance in their budgets which average \$200 per

year for a family of five. . . . During the year 1934 the average Home Relief Bureau allowance for clothing was \$16.20.

## Clothing Inadequate

"Month after month appropriations originally intended for clothing were subsequently assigned to meet the additional food and rent requirements of new families added to the rolls. . . . Occasional and inadequate allowances for clothing work a particular hardship in families where there are small children who need clothing in order to attend school. . . .

"A survey of every Home Relief precinct in the city resulted in additional evidence that the Bureau has never been able to allow sufficient funds to cover even the barest necessities in clothing for either adults or children. The failure to provide clothing has been a vital factor in the breakdown of the morale of the unemployed. No man or woman can expect to remain employable or seek work if he is not decently clothed."

The report goes on. In summer the little food spoils for lack of ice. In winter the relief bureau fails to maintain a proper supply of coal. The misery and oppression rises in an overwhelming mountain.

There are 245,000 families on relief now. There are at least 325,000 more who will be forced on relief as the months pass. This in New York City alone.

## Only a Spark Is Needed

(Continued from Page 1)

adherence to revolutionary Marxist principle reveals its patent enormous superiority over phrase-mongering, lack of principle and playing with principle. It is in the struggle against imperialist war that the "big" parties and the "big" institutions, built up on a weak or rotten foundation, crumple like a house of cards.

What can be expected of the Socialist Party in the form of leadership in the struggle against war? Worse than nothing! Right at this moment, when the sound of war drums become ominously louder, the parties of the Second International are preparing to play the same despicable part that made them so hated by class conscious workers during the war of 1914-1918. In the Scandinavian countries, the social democracy is in the government, taking over in advance the job of mobilizing the working class for the capitalist powers—that be and restraining them from revolutionary action. In France, as in other so-called non-Fascist lands, the social democracy is preparing to head the war recruiting drives under the slogan of "Defend democracy against Hitler Fascism!"—as the Allied social patriots of 1914 defended France and Russia from German Kaiserism and their Entente brothers under the skin defended Germany and Austria from Russian Czarism and Japanese autocracy.

Blind also would be the worker who trusted to the Stalinist party to conduct an effective struggle against imperialist war. The crew which has lost one battle after another, which has destroyed the revolutionary and labor movements in one country after another, which has made an art of capitulation, is hardly the one to lead a fight under the conditions of war. The party which retired from the field without the firing of a shot when Hitler took over power, and which made such an ignominious showing in the battle of the Saar, will not prove to be a bit abler in a sterner test. The party which cannot think or act for itself, which is a mere puppet of the Soviet foreign Office will not be able either to combat imperialist war or fulfill the elementary obligation of a class conscious proletarian: effectively defend the Soviet Union. The party which has already committed itself in part to the piratical League of Nations, and in whole to the misleading pacifist nonsense about "disarmament" as a preventive of war, will wilt and collapse at the first serious moment.

Now more than ever, therefore, must the basic principles of Marx and Lenin in the anti-war struggle be emphasized. The imperialist war can be conducted only on the basis of revolutionary principle, of the consistently pursued class struggle. All talk of fighting imperialist war which does not proceed from the need of utilizing the crisis of the ruling class for the purpose of carrying the class war into its camp and ending the war by overthrowing the imperialist war-mongers—is so much wind. All talk of class war against imperialist war is so much more wind unless it is based upon a correct revolutionary policy of mobilizing the workers NOW, TODAY, in their every-day battles, in their unions, in their strikes, for a growing movement against the capitalist enemy.

The struggle against capitalist war is an extension and enhancement of the struggle against capitalism—not something apart from it. They will not fight capitalist wars who do not NOW fight capitalism and its labor lieutenants at every step in the road—and that means the Socialist Party. They will not be able to fight capitalist wars who are not NOW able to fight capitalism and its labor lieutenants, who by their stupid and opportunist policies actually aid the latter to consolidate themselves—and that means the Communist Party.

If the fight against war demands a fight in the class war today, then the latter demands a militant working class party capable of organizing, coordinating, planning and carrying out this class war. The fight against imperialist war, which now clouds the whole world horizon, boils down basically to the work of redoubling and multiplying tenfold all energies to build up the revolutionary party of the working class, the party of consistent Marxism, the Workers Party of the United States, and the Fourth International which it heralds.

cism, no unemployed councils, the Townsend Pension groups. They all realize that the policy of the Communist Party in California is now a labor party based on Sinclair's EPIC, on the Utopians, on

## LEFT . . . JABS

## British Bourgeois Hypocrisy

"It is our difficult privilege to be the torch bearers of ordered freedom in Europe"—said Stanley Baldwin, actual leader of the British government. Why so modest? Why only Europe? How about India? And Africa? And why forget the war to bring "ordered freedom" for the peddlers of opium and religion in China? Uriah Heap should have entered politics. He'd have been a great statesman, almost the equal of McDonald or Baldwin.

## Britain, Hitler and Peace

The London Times, commenting on the recent moves of Hitler, says: "Though Hitler's action in introducing conscription was most provocative, the deed has been accompanied by words strongly expressive of peace. Whatever happens the statesmen of Europe are now at work in a new spirit." That should be consoling to the cannon fodder! Again the Times says: "Germany is peace-minded in this sense, that she would rather get her way peacefully than by violence." In this sense a rattle snake is a veritable pacifist.

## The "Great Engineer" Tries a Comeback

"Ex-President Hoover breaks self-imposed silence to defend fundamental American principles"—News items. This is the same guy who said in 1928 that if he was elected President "with the help of God we will be in sight of the day when poverty will be abolished in these United States". God must have sabotaged him. And lest we forget—in March 1930 this self-same American fundamentalist said "within 60 days everyone will be back to work." He continued to feed the starving American workers with similar statements until he found himself flat on his "American fundamental principle" at the foot of the White House steps. His recent statement was read before the California Republican Assembly and enthusiastically cheered. "Hoover never had a chance when he was president," sobbed the Republican chairman. Neither did the starving bonus marchers who were gassed and bayoneted at Washington. Today with the Roosevelt smile changing to a paralytic grimace, even Hoover hopes for a comeback.

## Justice In Harlem

An 18 year old Negro girl screamed when she saw a boy being beaten in Kress 5 & 10c store. She was arrested and taken before Magistrate Rinaud. This "most learned and upright judge" said he "did not think she screamed with malicious intent" but fined her \$10 or three days.

## Harmless Substitutes All

"Yerba Mate is a harmless substitute for coffee and tea. . . . With each package of Mate we will send you a copy of Goldman's booklet 'From Communism to Socialism.'—Advertisement in the Socialist Call. The Socialist Call itself substitutes "turning the other cheek" where real blows are required. It is the organ of the Militants in the S.P. and is as pacifist in its attitude to the hard boiled Old Guard as the New Leader, organ of the Old Guard, is militant in its attack on the Militants. A "harmless substitute" sums up the entire policy of the Militants and the Socialist Call, to say nothing of Goldman's pamphlet.

## Thomas Offers

## Olive Branch

(Continued from Page 1)

membership in the party; called upon the New York State Committee to accept the Declaration of Principles; reiterated the clause of the constitution permitting Yipsels 18 years or over to join the party; called for the reinstatement of the suspended Yipself organization on the basis of party discipline without obliging them to support any particular party paper; called upon the New Leader to pledge its allegiance to the Socialist Party of the U. S. and, if this is complied with, the N. C. will advise the suspension of the Socialist Call. The Old Guard was given six weeks in which to act on this decision.

Among other matters dealt with at the meeting was an endorsement of the reorganization of the Indiana state organization. The underlined radicals of the N.E.C. based this action on the precedent set by the Hillquit machine in expelling the Left in 1919! A decision was made to propagate for a Farmer Labor Party though not taking immediate steps in its organization. The five Buffalo party members who appealed to the N.E.C. against their expulsion were referred to the State Committee—that is, to the body which directed their expulsion in the first place.

SPEAKER:

Max Shachtman

THE CRISIS IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Saturday, March 30, 8 p.m.  
Labor Temple 14th St. & 2nd Ave.