

WAR and the Franco-Soviet Pact

By JAMES P. CANNON

The military alliance between the Soviet Union and the French government, formally effected by the signing of the mutual assistance agreement on May 2, raises fundamental problems of the present epoch before the advanced workers of the world in the sharpest form. It was precisely on the question of war, which is only the other side of the question of proletarian revolution, that International Social Democracy consummated its historic betrayal in 1914. Will Stalinism, hand in hand with the unregenerate reformists, lead the masses to a similar catastrophe in the impending war?

A military alliance between the Soviet Union and one or more capitalist countries against others is not the main question here. In the absence of support in the form of revolutionary movements in the capitalist countries the Soviet Union might have no alternative in the event of war. That such a policy is deemed necessary now only testifies to the weakened position of the Soviet Union which ensued from the catastrophic defeats to which the Comintern under Stalin's domination has led the international working class. The betrayal of the Chinese revolution bore fruit in the aggressions of Japanese imperialism. The shameful capitulation of the Comintern in Germany, supplementing the treachery of Social Democracy, prepared the conditions for a Hitler offensive against the Soviet Union. The pact with the French government takes place on the basis of these defeats!

The Soviet Union agrees to defend the territory of imperial France with the troops of the Red Army in return for a corresponding promise of the French government regarding the territory of the Soviet Union. Such an agreement could be made only because the heads of the Soviet government do not, or feel that they cannot, rely on the European working class to come to its defense. But in that case it is necessary to say: the heavy defeats inflicted on the working class movement by the policy of Stalinism have weakened the international position of the Soviet Union and compelled it to depend on the flimsy structure of a pact with imperial France.

That is the blunt truth and the workers ought to know it. But the Stalinists, true to their policy and practice of deceiving the workers and leading them blind-folded to the abyss, do not talk this language. They paint up the rapacious French imperialists as advocates of "peace" and represent the pact with them as a "victory for socialism," an "advance," etc. That is a lie, a deception, a fraud! By such perfidious methods the French workers can be dragged into the trenches to fight for "peace-loving" French imperialism; they cannot be led into a revolutionary struggle to overthrow it.

What position should the French working class take in the light of the military pact? That is the main question for France at the present time, and will very likely be the main question later in America. That is the heart of the problem of the coming war as it will be presented concretely in those countries which are lined up in the same bloc with the Soviet Union.

The Workers Party alone has given a clear answer to this question in its Declaration of Principles. We say, with Liebknecht and Lenin: The enemy

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Strikers Reject Union Busting 'Peace'

20 Workers Party Pickets Arrested in N. Y. Demonstration against General Motors

NEW YORK, May 6.—Twenty Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League members were arrested here today while picketing the General Motors office on Broadway, between 57th and 58th Streets. Led by Sam Gordon, managing editor of the *New Militant* and Al Dasch, W. P. organizer, over a hundred workers participated in a picket line flung around the G.M.C. building, shouting "Support the Toledo Chevrolet Strikers," "Smash General Motors Company Unions" and other militant slogans.

After forty-five minutes of picketing, the demonstration had attracted a noon-day crowd of 2,000 onlookers expressing their approval and tying up traffic in the immediate area. A squad of 25 uniformed police headed by a plainclothes captain, several mounted officers and two radio cars were soon rushed to the scene. Without any previous notice, the captain seized Gordon and placed him under arrest.

The picket line could not, however, be broken up in this manner. As the ranks reformed in single file, Gordon, guarded by the captain and two uniformed officers, held a ten minute speech, calling attention to the heroic struggle of the Toledo strikers and appealing to the workers assembled to support the strike. He was then promptly whisked into a nearby store by the police and held for the patrol wagon. Al Dasch, leading the line of march at this time, protested against Gordon's arrest and was immediately pulled in to join the latter.

Undaunted by these tactics, the line reformed once more, taking up the chant "Free Our Prisoners." Thereupon the whole squad of cops charged into the ranks and ran in 18 additional pickets into the patrol wagon which had pulled up in the meantime.

In Magistrate's Court, on 54th Street, where Attorney Mendel Lurie of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense represented the prisoners, the 18 were immediately released because of insufficient evidence, while Gordon and Dasch were paroled for a hearing at a later date.

Dutch Party Gains 4 Seats In Elections

From Holland comes the gratifying news that our sister party there, the Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party, has gained 4 mandates in the provincial elections held recently.

What makes this simple piece of news more important than at first seems apparent is the fact that of all the parties standing in one form or another on a working class basis—it was the one upholding the banner of the Fourth International that made the most decisive gains.

The Communist Party increased its mandates by three. The Social Democratic party lost one.

The Nazis made considerable gains; but when it is understood that they have been heavily subsidized by Hitler's funds, thus enabling them to set up a huge propaganda machine, the results are not so surprising as it might seem at first blush.

This was the first election campaign for the newly organized revolutionary party in Holland. Like the Workers Party in the United States, the R.S.W.P. came about as a fusion of two currents in the labor movement. A gain of four mandates is only a beginning. It does, however, show clearly that what to others seemed only as an idea is steadily but surely impressing itself on the minds of workers all over the world—the Fourth International marches on.

'Wildcat' Miners Boo Solons at Hearing

HARRISBURG, Pa.—Five thousand coal truckers, who operate "mines" in which the whole family engages, trekked into Harrisburg where a hearing was held on a bill that would deprive them of the right to use the highways for the transportation of coal.

The bill was introduced by Representative George D. Holstrom of Lehigh who labelled the truckers as "bootleg miners." The object of the bill would require every independent miner and trucker to get a special permit to use the highway. The passage of the bill would make it necessary for each trucker to show "ability to pay for damages resulting from vehicle accidents." It is obvious that the bill was introduced at the behest of the coal barons of the state who hope by the passage of the bill to exclude the truckers from the sacred right of mining their own lots, thus safeguarding an intrusion on the profits of the coal barons. There are over 3,500 truckers engaged in earning a livelihood through this method.

Speakers for the bill were shouted down, the bill itself torn to pieces by Michael Demchak of the Workers Party and thrown at the feet of Representative Holstrom. Truckers speaking against the bill were applauded and cheered with gusto.

Allard Leads Illinois Jobless On Capitol

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., May 7.—Led by Gerry Allard, chairman of the four county organizations of the Illinois Workers Alliance, more than 1,000 unemployed demonstrated at the state capitol for the immediate resumption of relief.

With 200,000 human beings facing imminent starvation because of the policies of Harry Hopkins and Governor Horner, for whom the issuance of relief is a political football, this action is the first to force attention from the political pay-traitors.

Allard and a committee of five interviewed the governor and demanded from him that the legislature appropriate sufficient funds to reopen all relief stations in the state. Only in this way, it was pointed out would the jobless be saved from indescribable suffering. "I'm powerless to act," the governor told the men.

"If a foreign enemy were invading the state, you would find a way to act, would you not," Allard asked, and the smug executive began to squirm in his chair, the unemployed leader raised his voice sharply: "An enemy just as potent as a war is present right now in this state."

In that suave manner which makes a virtue of evasion in answer to the demands of workingmen, Governor Horner informed the committee that the only hope was the raising of the sales tax from two to three cents.

This answer, in the opinion of qualified observers, throws the entire question into the arena of the state legislature where the snarling republican and democratic parties may squabble over it. Furthermore, as a method of alleviating suffering, it follows the well-worn rule of transferring the burden from thousands of miserable unemployed to thousands of other slightly less miserable employed workers.

Hearing the report of the committee, the 1,000 demonstrators decided unanimously to organize a state-wide march on the capitol and to camp on its steps until the relief stations are reopened.

OAKLAND, Cal. (P). — Longshoremen at Crockett refused to work when the Matson liner Makawao prepared to take on oil handled by nonunion crews. The longshoremen struck in sympathy with striking oil tanker seamen.

The strike has nothing to do with the recent strike at Crockett of the warehousemen employed at the big sugar refinery.

ALLENTOWN, Pa. (FP).—The week-old strike of ribbon workers continue to spread, according to reports at a conference of national delegates of the United Ribbon Workers and the American Federation of Silk Workers in Allentown. All but three small Paterson, N.J., shops are shut down, while at least 50% of the Allentown area is tied up, delegates stated.

Muste Rallies N. Y. Support For Auto Strike

400 Cheer Speaker to Echo in Inspiring Meeting

NEW YORK.—Solidarity struck the keynote of the Workers Party meeting in support of the Toledo Chevrolet strikers.

Beginning with a stirring message from a young comrade direct from the firing line enthusiasm remained unabated through the entire meeting which ended with the singing of "On the Line" by the entire audience of 400.

The hall at Irving Plaza rang with applause as comrade Cannon, chairman of the meeting, introduced A. J. Muste as the representative of the Workers Party in the Toledo strike. It did not take long for this ovation to re-echo once again in response to the vivid picture of the picket line painted by the National Secretary of the W.P.

Reviewing Toledo's Tradition

With rapt attention the audience listened as comrade Muste described the background of the strike, the killing speed-up, the spy system and the company unions. Especially interesting here was the report of the state of mind of the Chevrolet workers during the great Auto-Lite strike of last year. Here it was stated that at that time the workers, under the influence of the Company union propaganda, tore up leaflets calling on them to support the embattled Auto-Lite men.

Only a year had elapsed, Muste pointed out, and these same workers formed one of the tightest picket lines the country has ever seen. So tight in fact that Knudsen, vice-president of General Motors was forced to secure permission from Jimmy Rolland, chairman of the Strike Committee, before he could enter the plant.

Warns Against Dillon

Continuing in his rounded description, Muste warned of the perfidious doings of Dillon and Co. who had come on the scene to spike the struggle or failing that to trim it of all militancy. That the Toledo battle has thus far steered clear of the Akron road is chiefly due to one factor, said Muste, and that is not some special quality in the Chevrolet workers, but to the presence of and influence of the revolutionary party, the Workers Party.

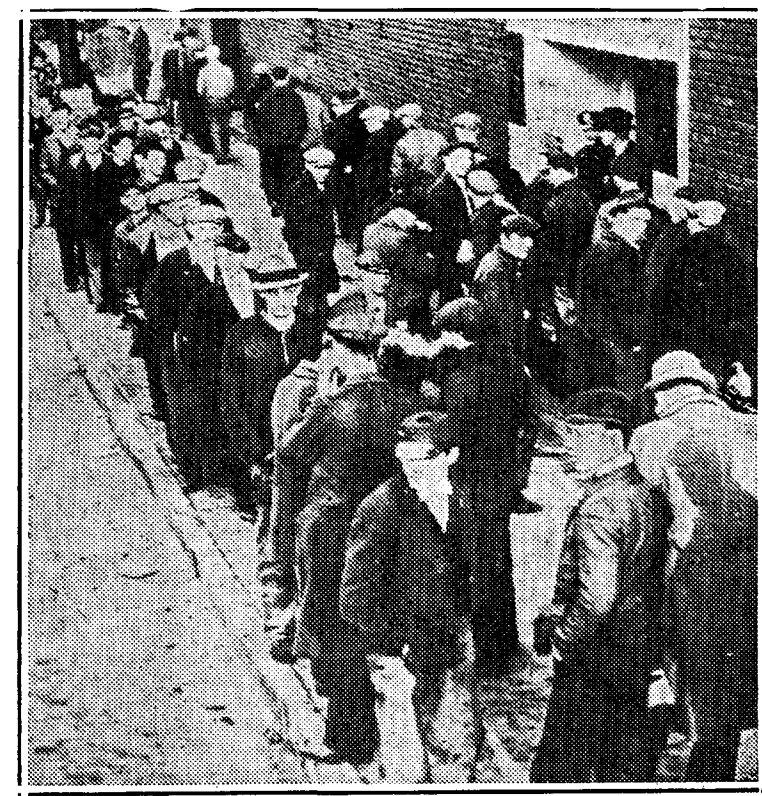
An instance of this fact was driven home when a telegram received the same afternoon from Toledo was read by the speaker. In it was disclosed the fact that a young comrade who had distributed a leaflet of the Workers Party warning the strikers of the company moves was held prisoner by strike officials. After presenting a Marxist argument," the telegram read, "he succeeded in convincing them of the correctness of the contents of the handbill and secured unanimous consent for the distribution of it." The crowd roared with cheers and laughter.

Ovation From Crowd

On a rising crescendo Muste pointed out that what the strikers needed most was support from other parts of the country and he appealed to the workers present to continue the good work thus far begun in picketing General Motors offices and salesrooms. For a full two minutes the chairman tried in vain to make himself heard over the prolonged ovation accorded Comrade Muste as he took his seat.

The cheers and hand clapping was translated into something more substantial as Comrade Cannon introduced the unique feature of auctioning off a few score copies of the first issue of "Strike Truth" brought from Toledo. As high as ten dollars was paid for a single copy and the total reached over \$100 in good American currency.

HOUSTON, Tex. (FP).—Deputy sheriffs, declared by Wilbur Dickey, International Seamen's Union agent, to be working in connection with the shipping company, arrested four strikers at Houston on a charge of disturbing the peace. The men were seized when they attempted to board the tanker Brandywine to get their clothes, following a walkout, according to Dickey. Trouble arose when the captain of the Brandywine and an official of the Norsworthy docks tried to keep the strikers from the ship, and one striker was injured when he fell while trying to dodge a blow, Dickey explained.



Above is part of the mass picket line that daily forms around the General Motors Chevrolet plant in Toledo, and has so tightly closed it down that no one enters without permission of the picket committee.

Dillon Spikes Flint Strike Vote; Slurs Toledo Workers

DETROIT, May 7.—Burke Cochrane, Workers Party organizer, and Sam Beck, Spartacus Youth leader, were arrested today while picketing the Chevrolet plant here. The police interfered after some hours of militant picketing with banners demanding support for the Toledo strike. The company officials feared that the banners and slogans shouted by the marchers might have a "bad" effect on plant workers.

FLINT, Mich., May 6.—At a meeting of the Buick local in Flint Sunday night, Francis J. Dillon succeeded in smashing strong sentiment for a strike Monday morning. By refusing to allow the rank and file to speak from the floor, he railroaded through a plan to wait on a government election in Toledo of Chevrolet workers. Coming at a time when 35,000 workers were about to win a victory over General Motors, calling off of the Flint strike in favor of an election is calculated to prevent the spread of the strike and to break the fighting spirit of the Chevrolet local.

Until Dillon spoke, the crowded hall of Buick auto workers called loudly for strike Monday morning. At every mention of the Toledo strikers the crowd stamped their feet and cheered. Until Hart, Dillon's representative, and Dillon himself spoke the meeting was a strike meeting and the sentiment was for picket lines Monday morning.

Hart introduced the first anti-strike sentiment when he said, "I'm not so much concerned with whether you men go on strike but with a new set-up all-around for American labor." He turned to future hopes all around for all American labor and made no mention of tomorrow's strike, although a copy of the contract of immediate demands they were to strike for was in the hands of every Buick auto worker at the meeting.

Before Hart finished, Dillon entered the meeting with three newspaper men. The crowd instantly booed the reporters and cried: "Throw them out." Calls for an expulsion vote were denied by the chairman and Dillon spoke. The speech which followed was nicely calculated to destroy strike sentiment not only in Flint but for all auto workers fighting for their union against General Motors, and to hand the men instead a gold brick. It contained the following points:

Sensing the enthusiasm of the Buick workers for the Chevrolet strikers in Toledo, Dillon promptly took credit for the strike of Local 18384. He said: "We worked out a strategy for fighting General Motors weeks ago. The one place where they didn't think we would strike was Toledo. We fooled them. Now the Toledo strikers are putting up a magnificent fight." He took full credit on himself for the Toledo strike but failed to mention that for thirty days before Toledo went out he had in his pocket a general automobile strike vote which he never used. He failed to mention that the strike in Toledo was called without asking Dillon. Or that Norwood came on the picket line without asking Dillon.

Point 2 was railroaded the government election through and telling the men "to go back to work."

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TRIM SCABS

Roland Sounds Fighting Note At Big Meeting

Resume 'Strike Truth' as Union Prepares to Spread Battle

BULLETIN
As we go to press, word comes from Toledo that the Chevrolet strikers have rejected the company's "peace" proposals by an overwhelming majority. The election conducted by the U. S. Department of Labor, showed a vote of 1,251 against acceptance and only 605 for. The strikers are jubilant at their victory. The militancy of their ranks has been strengthened all along the line.

Special to New Militant
TOLEDO, Ohio, May 7.—35,000 General Motors workers, on strike or affected by plant closures due to lack of necessary parts, marked time today as they awaited the outcome of an election to be held here tomorrow under the auspices of the Department of Labor to determine whether the Toledo Chevrolet strikers desired to accept the G.M.C. proposals and return to work or to again reject them and continue their strike for union recognition and a signed contract.

After a week of decisive and militant action in which the Toledo strikers tied up almost the entire Chevrolet division of General Motors and spread the strike to Cleveland, Atlanta and Norwood, O., Francis Dillon, national A. F. of L. organizer in the automobile industry, succeeded in diverting the strike from the picket-lines to the ballot-boxes and in curbing the walkout of 9,000 Buick workers in Flint who had previously voted to go on strike yesterday.

Dillon Accepts Scab Terms

The election was called for by Dillon following a meeting held here by a company union group last Saturday night at the Chamber of Commerce which was attended by some 1600 men, most of them former employees of the Toledo Chevrolet, strike-breakers and foremen. This group, organized by the G.M.C. officials as a scab-herding agency, put forth a demand for an election on the precise terms accepted by Dillon.

Dillon, together with Edward McGrady, assistant secretary of labor, and Thomas Williamson, federal conciliator, jammed the decision to hold the vote down the throats of all but three of the eight strike-committee men after almost seven hours of continuous verbal pounding on these new and inexperienced union men.

Dillon followed this maneuver to curb the militant tendencies of the strike by addressing a meeting of the Buick local at Flint of the United Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union in which he so misrepresented the sentiments and fighting qualities of the Toledo workers that he discouraged the Flint workers from taking strike action pending the results of the Toledo vote. In his remarks, Dillon called the Toledo strike a "circus," definitely implied that the Toledo strikers were yellow, had called for the election and wanted to return to work, and told the Flint workers not to strike until the Toledo Chevrolet workers had proved they were "serious" and would not go back on the Flint workers.

5,000 Rally Support
The answer to this infamous slander was given yesterday by the more than 1,000 Chevrolet workers on the mass picket-lines, the enthusiastic meeting of 1,400 union strikers last night who fiercely denounced the company's proposals, and a mass meeting of Toledo labor tonight which jammed over 5,000 workers into the Civic Auditorium in support of the Chevrolet strikers and for the continuance of the strike.

At the huge mass meeting tonight, at which Dillon was the principal speaker, he put forward a complete class collaboration point of view, one of conciliation with the employers in which he boasted of his impartiality, and spoke of the company's proposals which offered the workers even less than they had before the strike, as offering some

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READ THE NEW MILITANT

Comments

On Life, Liberty
and Pursuit of
Happiness

By BILL REICH

Youth . . .

Italian boys start military training at eight. . . 120,000 "war babies" in France are called to serve in the army. . . Military training is made compulsory in Chinese high schools. 100,000 soldiers are turned out annually. . . The CCC enrollment is enlarged to 600,000. Army officers advocate complete militarization of the camps. . . Says Roger Babson: "The CCC camps are becoming hot beds of radicalism. If these young men are not absorbed in legitimate industry they will become a revolutionary army."

Collective Bargaining . . .

William Knudsen, vice-president of General Motors tells Federal conciliators: "The company cannot resume negotiations with strikers at the local Chevrolet plant while the strike is on." . . . The National Textile Labor Relations Board rules that mills need not rehire union workers where strikes are lost. . . Twenty-one strikers were arrested in Legrange, Georgia, when they attempted to prevent the eviction of one of their number from a company house. . . By picketing and boycotting Los Angeles housewives lowered meat prices 5c per pound. . . "Striking is a bad way to get what you want," advises H. L. Mencken to striking office workers of the American Mercury magazine. . . Every large strike in the nation in the past year has been sold out by Federal mediators. . . Mrs. Roosevelt purchases Julius Bloch's picture "The Striker" to hang in the White House. . .

Education . . .

Chancellor John G. Bowman of Mellon's University of Pittsburgh states that faculty members are "fools" who make speeches on controversial subjects. . . Fifteen states and the District of Columbia have passed oath-of-allegiance laws for teachers. . . Professors Norbert Wiener and Carl Bridenbaugh of Massachusetts Institute of Technology conclude from a lengthy survey of college reds that "undergraduate radicals are headed in the wrong direction. They are a continual embarrassment to their well-wishers." . . . An Indiana college professor kidnapped himself. . . Over 60% of the world's population is illiterate. . . Mississippi spends \$45.34 per year for the education of a white child, \$5.45 for a colored. In Georgia the ratio is \$35.42 to \$6.38. . .

Society Notes . . .

Marion Davies spent more than \$50,000 in preparation for a house party planned in honor of William R. Hearst's 72nd birthday. Forty men in Wallace, Nebraska, pledged not to shave until it rains. . . Thyra Amos, Dean of Women at the University of Pittsburgh, stated that Ralph Turner, ousted liberal professor, "dressed like a Jockey" and "spoiled a perfectly good dinner party by arguing too violently." . . . Leo Durocher, St. Louis Cardinal baseball player, swore out a warrant for Doris Smith, garment striker, charging her with "disturbing his peace" while he escorted his scabbing wife through a picket line. . . Alfred Shegolin, unemployed, was killed by an auto when he ran into the street after stealing a pair of shoes from a New York store. . . Thirty thousand London unemployed demonstrated in protest to King George's jubilee. . . The annual income of the English Royal family is nearly \$3,000,000. . .

State of Nation . . .

Says Hamilton Fish: "No 'president has fumbled the situation so completely. His socialistic experiments have impoverished the people, increased unemployment and destroyed business confidence." . . . Total profits of 1,336 industrial corporations for 1934 were \$982,000,000, an increase of 54% over 1933. . . Twenty outstanding companies account for 80% of the increase. . . 1,200,000 unemployed are deprived of relief in Illinois. They face starvation as police are substituted in relief headquarters for the regular workers. . . 989 government employees receive incomes in excess of \$10,000 annually. . . Relief wages in rural Alabama are as low as \$3.60 per week. . . State Senator George Woodward of Pennsylvania advocates a state sales tax to help the unemployed. Such a measure would save him \$77,000 annually. . . 1,700,000 unemployed in Pennsylvania live in constant fear of starvation as the state legislature refuses to provide funds. . . Dr. C. F. Schnable, Kansas City chemist, finds that grass is more nutritious than spinach, carrots or lettuce. . . 600,000 unemployed in Missouri are threatened with being cut from relief rolls as the legislature fails to provide funds. . .

Strikers Reject Union Busting "Peace"

Spread Strike Is Task Ahead

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concessions. Not one word did Dillon mention of spreading the strike to Flint and other places, in which course lies the only possibility of bringing General Motors to terms. He largely skirted the Toledo strike and the issues involved in it by a pompous oration in which he spoke of "industrial democracy," "justice," "equity" and many other fine-sounding but empty phrases. His only references to the vote tomorrow was in his last sentence, in which he was forced by the sentiment and temper of the workers to declare himself against the Company's proposals.

Knudsen Won't Negotiate

Even should the union win by a substantial majority, William S. Knudsen, vice-president of General Motors, has stated that the company will not negotiate with the union committee or with any of the workers until they return to work. Nothing has been gained by the strikers through this vote, even should they win. Instead much valuable time has been lost.

Representatives of many auto locals from Flint, Cleveland, Detroit and other auto centers addressed the meeting. No positive indication was given by these delegates that they would take strike action in the event of a successful outcome of the vote for the union, although they pledged 100 percent moral support.

Roland Fights Capitulation

The outstanding and only significant remarks made through the entire long meeting were the straightforward and militant proposals of Jimmy Roland, progressive chairman of the Toledo strike committee, who directly urged the Flint representatives to call a strike in Flint immediately, called for the establishment of a national strike committee and a national conference of all General Motors locals in order to strike the entire company, and stated that the Toledo Chevrolet strikers would not return to work until a settlement had been made for all the other workers on strike in other cities.

Roland's points were greeted with loud and approving applause, as were all remarks which had the slightest color of militancy made by any of the speakers. Fred Schwake,

How the Tables Were Turned

One year ago Toledo Chevrolet officials were looking out of plant windows extremely irritated. They were watching Jimmy Roland marching around the factory gates with picket signs on his back. A one man picket line around a factory employing 2,500 men!

Brazen, insane, unprecedented—but successful. The Regional Labor Board decided in his favor. The company ignored the decision, but the one man picket line was too much. It might be contagious. So Jimmy was rehired.

Roland was no "slacker" in those days. His efficiency had won for him a company offer of foremanship. Union-conscious even then, he spurned a job that would make him a watch-dog over his fellow workers.

It was then the company was organizing one of the famous employee representation plans. Jimmy entered the company union to convert it into a real one. General Motors would not stand for that and Roland was fired. The one man picket line baffled them and he was rehired. But not in the production department. He would contaminate the others. . . Good Lord, never!

They put Roland in the office, although he knew as much about clerical work as a Kentucky mountaineer.

Fate was against Mr. Gulliver, however, and the plant was nonetheless infected with the unholy virus of unionism. . .

If they only could have foreseen. . .

Two thousand men were marching around the factory gates. Suddenly they stopped. A well dressed gentleman wanted to enter the plant. The picket captains shook their heads. Orders are that no one goes in. "But, but," he stammered enraged, "I'm Mr. Knudsen, I own this plant."

"Sorry, mister, orders are orders," they replied, "but you can see the chairman of the strike committee, maybe he'll help you."

And who should the chairman of this strike committee be? Jimmy Roland!!

business agent of the union, whose previous activities in the strike had been in line with the policies of Dillon, made a verbal about-face and declared: "In 1934, Toledo workers made history with the Battle of Chestnut Hill (Auto-Lite strike). We are prepared to make another such historic battle although we don't know what name it will go by until after it is won." He further stated that in a conference with the management, when told that the General Motors could not make an exception in its national policy for a group in Toledo, he had remarked, "We are going to make General Motors change its policy, starting in Toledo."

Workers Party Active

The Workers Party branch here has been extremely active in this strike, organizing the progressive forces to counter-act the weak-kneed and conciliatory policies of the A. F. of L. top officials and is putting forward a program calling for the spread of the strike, an immediate visit of a large delegation of Toledo strikers to Flint and other auto centers to appeal for strike action, a caravan of striking auto workers to Muncie to rally the Muncie workers and to prevent the

operation of the scab plant there, daily publication of the strike publication, "Strike Truth" (which reappeared today, although written by a different editorial staff and lacking the militant tone and clear-cut policy of the first one), direct negotiations between the strike committee and the company, and other vital strategic points. An eagerly read leaflet, covering this program, was distributed at the mass meeting this evening.

The single possibility of saving the strike from the impasse which it has encountered through the actions of Dillon and his clique lies in the progressive and militant forces in the union here, backed up solidly by the entire Toledo labor movement, organizing themselves and forcing through a fighting policy which will spread the strike throughout the entire auto industry and will permit of no settlement in Washington or by the A. F. of L. top leaders. If this policy is not carried out, the wonderful battle of the Toledo strikers will be undermined and with it the chance, for a long time to come, of establishing real unionism in that stronghold of American reaction, the automobile industry.

Dillon Stifles Flint Action

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Monday morning." The meeting roused itself and howled: "We had an election last year! How about strike!" Dillon was in a tight spot, but he shouted back: "I thought I would have to come here tonight to ask you to strike tomorrow morning." The workers in the crowd listened to him again. "I didn't think Knudsen would accept a government election—but he did! We forced G.M. to accept a government election!"

The crowd was doubtful but he played up this Knudsen move to break the union as a great victory. Workers afterward said to your correspondent: "Why, that's what Knudsen wanted all along. It gives him a chance to say over again: This union doesn't represent all the strikers. Hell, they had one election—it's time to deal with the union! Why have another election in the middle of a strike? I think Dillon's been fooled by Knudsen, or is playing his game."

Point 3 in Dillon's speech was an insult to the Toledo strikers. He said: "We don't want to support those boys till we know if they mean business." He suggested that the Toledo strikers were just putting on a "circus," and he yelled: "Don't strike! Wait for the election! We don't want to support those boys till we know where they stand!" It was clear to all present that Dillon insinuated the Toledo strikers were yellow. By this time half the Buick workers had walked out of the hall in disgust.

The final point of the meeting, before a vote, was made by Hart. Some auto worker yelled: "If we go to work Monday, we have to work on scab transmissions!" Hart answered that a few days work on scab transmissions would do no harm. This angered several union men but Hart defended the making of scab transmissions by Buick men. Dillon himself took the floor and backed up Hart on making scab transmissions. The workers were angry but Hart prevented any worker from speaking in opposition by ordering them to sit down and appealing for peace. Finally the motion to delay the strike was put to vote in the half empty hall and without discussion railroaded through the meeting.

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

When as well informed and cautious an observer of the labor scene as Louis Stark of the New York Times writes that "Organization of a bloc of industrial unions into a separate national labor federation . . . was regarded as an eventual possibility in labor circles today," we will do well to lend a second thought. It has been obvious for some time that the industrial union issue was coming to a head and that the Federation faced a major crisis in its solution. The shelving of the campaign in steel, the war against the brewery workers, the splitting up of the metal miners' ranks and the increasing drive against the industrial structure of the Federal Labor Unions was bound to create deep seated revolt.

Progressive Lewis . . .

The question of another labor Federation is a serious one. Does a real basis exist for such a move? Louis Stark sees the initiative for its formation coming from John L. Lewis of the Mine Workers in conjunction with the unions of metal miners, brewery workers, clothing and printing tradesmen. Such a phalanx might, he believes, swing the new mass unions of aluminum, rubber and auto workers into line behind it.

A realistic examination of the facts lends little hope that such a development lies close ahead. No progressive is going to get unduly excited about the prospect of an industrial Federation of Labor headed by Lewis and Berry, as an improvement over Green and Woll as leaders of a craft formation. Nor are the various unions mentioned, with the possible exception of the metal miners and the brewery workers, anxious to leave the Federation ranks. The astute Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has labored too hard and too long to crash into the Federation. The influence of the A. F. of L. has made him a key figure in the NRA machinery and the risk of breaking with the craft moguls would be too great. Dubinsky of the Ladies Garment Workers cannot be distinguished from any other member of the Executive Council. At the last convention of the A. F.

of L. he voted his 200,000 members in favor of the infamous motion which is smashing the Brewery Workers Union. Berry of the Printing Pressmen and Howard of the Typographical Union may be in favor of industrial unionism for the other fellow but no such silly proposals ever get to first base in their own international conventions.

Fireworks . . .

There is some fire behind all the smoke however. May it be the well known ambitions of John L. Lewis which are involved here? For a number of years it has been rumored that Lewis wants to sit in the seat which Bill Green warms so gracefully at the present time. At each Federation convention it has been denied by the Mine Workers chief. But John L. protests too much to be convincing. And when the 1935 convention opens its sessions at Atlantic City in October we may see fireworks and an open rupture in the ranks of the officialdom. For which radicals will be grateful. "When thieves fall out. . ."

Lumber . . .

Some weeks ago we reported that the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners had been given jurisdiction over the 130 newly organized locals of loggers and timber workers. The suggestion was made that at least part of the motive for such action was the need to take care of growing strike sentiment in the north-west camps.

Developments of the past few days confirm this view. May 6 had been set as the day for a general strike. Longshoremen had promised their support. On the day before the walkout Abe Muir, vice-president of the Carpenters stated that a general strike was unlikely and that "I expect to see a number of closed mills reopen on Monday." The closed mills were those shut down by advance strike action of the workers. Latest news indicates that the strike movement is spreading however, and that the sabotage of the Carpenters' officialdom may not be able to check its development. Over 12,000 are reported out as I write. A complete shutdown will involve about 75,000 men.

S.Y.L. Regional Confab Held In Youngstown

By M. SLAVIN

YOUNGSTOWN, April 28.—The Regional Conference of the S.Y.L. held here on April 27 and 28 bore witness to comrade Gould's statement that the S.Y.L. is fast becoming a mass youth organization.

Delegates from Akron, New Castle, Columbus and Youngstown, reported on the progress made, the number of members gained since the National Convention of the S.Y.L., and the work conducted among the young workers and students. State College, a newly organized branch, reported that its S.Y.L. led the Students Strike on April 12, numbering some 1,500 students with comrade Shachtman speaking at the mass meeting. The Columbus Branch participated in the strike at Ohio State University where about 1,000 students struck against war and fascism.

The conference opened with the report of Nathan Gould, National Secretary, on the growth of the organization and its achievements since the Convention. He pointed out that the S.Y.L. increased its membership 144%, organized new branches, established a functioning N. C. which issued and is issuing bulletins and instructions to the local branches regularly, and initiated the call for an international youth conference of all youth sections moving towards a new youth international, to be held in Paris sometime in December.

The District report followed. M. Slavin stated that two new branches had been established (Columbus and State College), new members gained, among whom are young steel workers, and showed that good opportunities exist to build branches in New Castle and Akron in the immediate future. He emphasized that help should be given to Toledo and Cleveland where W.P. branches exist, but no youth work is being carried on as yet. The future work in the district was to consist of consolidating the branches, organ-

izing new ones and establishing a functioning district committee.

A report by the Party representative, George Papcun, was next on the agenda. Comrade Papcun stressed the fact that the S.Y.L. should serve as a recruiting ground for the W.P., that more attention be paid by Party members to the S.Y.L. and that comrades who are members of both organizations should not become too involved in Party work at the expense of S.Y.L. activity.

The student report, given by comrade Brody, finished the business of the conference. In the report it was pointed out that since the S.Y.L. contains both workers and students attempts should be made to coordinate the activities of both sections.

The conference endorsed the N. C.'s stand opposing separate student organizations, and unanimously supported the slogan "Abolish the R.O.T.C." The following were elected to the District Committee: M. Ernst of State College, Watson of Columbus, Hawley of New Castle, A. Polak of Akron, London and Slavin of Youngstown.

The conference adjourned with the singing of the "International."

What to Attend

May 11, Saturday even.—Dance, entertainment and games for the benefit of the Toledo strikers. Given by the New York District membership at its headquarters, 2 W. 15th St. Everybody invited. All who can are urged to bring chess sets. There will also be refreshments and drinks. Admission 25c.

May 17, Friday 8:30 P.M.—Simon Williamson will speak on "The Decline of American Individualism" at 859 Westchester Ave. (near Prospect) Bronx.

May 17th, 8:30 P.M.—Geo. Clarke will speak on "Huey Long and Father Coughlin" at 420 E. 19th St., Manhattan. Aus: Branch 1, W.P.

Any worker desiring to get in touch with the Akron Branch can do so by writing to: WORKERS PARTY of U. S. Box 221 Akron, Ohio

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'In the Name of God'

Coughlin "Eschews All Radicalism;" Offers Age-Old Panaceas as Cure-All

By ARNE SWABECK

Not to be outdone by the Kingfish, Father Coughlin has taken a step ahead in the formation of a national political organization. This while Huey Long went to Iowa to receive the acclaim extended to him and his third party project by the convention of the Farmers Holiday Association. But it is really not to be understood as a matter of competition between the two; just listen to what Father Coughlin has to say: "I was married to my competitor by the press. Well, I haven't asked for divorce papers. He has never said anything about me to which I could take exception, and I don't propose to say anything about him to which he could take exception."

Says It Is Not a Third Party

Of course, the radio priest insists that his organization is not a political party; it is not a third party, he says. According to his plans it is to take shape through a number of so-called state conventions similar to the one held in Michigan last week, and Coughlin maintains that it is to be only an instrument to provide a little more articulate expression so that the representatives in Congress may know what the people back home want.

This sounds modest enough and it lends to the whole scheme an outward appearance of righteousness. The democratic rights of the people back home are to be reinforced. But in the shaping of his party the Machiavellian shepherd made no provisions whatever for democratic rights. All supporters are to accept in full the sixteen points of Coughlin's program, or, as he says, "they can't belong." His organization scheme calls for the appointment by him of a national council of twelve persons. Further appointments to be made by this national council will create state committees, ranging from seven to fourteen, which again will appoint their own aides. Nowhere are elections provided for, and "der Fuehrer" Coughlin will soon announce his selections for the national council. A hierarchy much more complete than that of the Catholic church and ominously reminiscent of the fascist structure of organization is here in preparation.

Makes Bid For Farmers, Workers

Both Coughlin and Long are now making special efforts to obtain farmer and labor support for their movements. William Collins came to Coughlin's Michigan state convention, officially delegated by the A. F. of L. Executive Council together with Edward Kennedy, Secretary of the National Farmers Union from Chicago. Among the members of Congress attending were William Lemke of North Dakota, co-author of the Lemke-Frazier farm mortgage bill and William P. Connery Jr. of Massachusetts who is co-author of the Connery-Black 30-hour week bill and the Wagner-Connery trades disputes bill in addition to being Chairman of the House Committee of Labor.

This set-up fits in well with the Coughlin scheme of labor organization. In his program the right of labor to organize in unions is proclaimed and it is insisted that it is the duty of the government to protect these organizations against the vested interests of wealth. But when broadcasting, Coughlin adds that strikes and lockouts are absolutely unnecessary, indicating that the "protection" he demands means a form of actual state control, including compulsory arbitration. Since his Michigan state convention, Coughlin has promised that his next step will be the organization of the automobile workers of the state. Will they respond to his efforts? No doubt many of them are taken in by his high-pressure demagoguery; but it is not likely that they should desire any more government "protection" for their unions after last year's sell-out experience. If the present strike action of the Toledo Chevrolet workers is an indication of the mood of the other automobile workers they can be expected to decline that kind of unionism.

Real Appeal is to Petty Bourgeoisie

Otherwise the appeal of Father Coughlin, the same as the appeal of Huey Long, is addressed essentially to the lower middle class, to the small businessmen, the farmers and the petty bosses. A good many of those among them who in former times managed to save up for a rainy day and since saw the bank

crash, those who were hit by bank foreclosures and live in the shadows of economic insecurity but know that wealth is available in abundance, turn once again to the political demagogue and harken to the glamor of a middle class panacea. And in Father Coughlin's political organization many of them undoubtedly expect to find a haven.

To make it attractive for them he announces that its national council and its state committees will be composed of appointed representatives of what he calls various groups, such as labor, farmers, veterans, small manufacturers, youth and possibly certain specialized industries. Of course, this is the characteristic middle class approach of defining interests by business groups and avoiding any open acknowledgment of class lines.

Among other outstanding points in the Coughlin program it is worth noting that while national ownership—that is government ownership—is demanded for banking, credit and currency; power, light, oil and natural gas, together with the "God given" natural resources, emphasis is placed on his belief in private ownership of all other property and of upholding the right to private property; yet it is to be controlled for the public good. What he is speaking of in this connection is not just personal property such as homes, radios, cars or toothbrushes, but private property in the means of production. But it is this form of private property that Coughlin believes in that secures for the owners thereof the right to exploitation of labor. It secures for them the right of acquiring profits which also carries with it the power of the suppression of the laboring masses. In the same program Coughlin declares for the abolition of tax exempt bonds and for the broadening of the basis of taxation founded upon the ownership of wealth and the capacity to pay and together with that it declares for an alleviation of taxation. His program is quite vague and contradictory but this is precisely what allows him to play on the feelings and the emotions of all classes.

Coughlin Explains His System

The political padre explains the system that he is aiming for as follows: "I believe that the economic system of tomorrow will not be that type of socialism which desires to nationalize not only natural resources, but also all productive industry. Nor will it be capitalism wedded to the theory of private financialism and production for a profit. It will be a new system based on the belief that wealth is not money, but that wealth is created by the union of capital and labor; and that this

wealth must be distributed, even through the intervention of the government, in such a way that every laborer who cooperates in production this wealth shall have that share of it which will enable him to enjoy, according to his merits, the things which we are capable of growing and of manufacturing as a nation."

Classes and Production

Yes, only when labor power is applied to capital can the process of production take place; but this is not the union that Coughlin presents it to be and cannot be such a union unless the social relations of capitalism are abolished and productive industry socialized. The sum total of relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society. These relations are of dual capitalist relations, based on production for profit and exploitation of labor. This is the real foundation on which rises the legal and political superstructure—the foundation of the government. Consequently all government intervention for the distribution of wealth under capitalism has served only to strengthen the system of exploitation and to protect the owners of wealth against those who have none. The system of tomorrow, Coughlin says, will not be socialism, the government which he proposes shall intervene will therefore not be a Soviet government and to make his stand more clear he adds: "I eschew all radicalism." Would a distribution of wealth enabling the laborer to enjoy the things which we produce as a nation be thinkable on any other basis? That is excluded and this exposes the fraudulent position from which the Machiavellian shepherd appeals for the support of the working class.

It is well to remember the fact that just as this present stage of development when the American working class is displaying in brilliant fashion its rebellious nature and militant qualities in powerful strikes, Coughlin steps to the fore proclaiming that strikes are absolutely unnecessary and that the system to aim for is not socialism. The direction of his national political organization will be the opposite. Its actual role can therefore be none other than, under the cover of the panaceas offered, to sidetrack the working class from its path to revolution which alone can guarantee a distribution of wealth that will enable the laborer to enjoy the things which we produce as a nation.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

Imperial Jubilee . . .

If one can overcome the natural feeling of nausea on reading the press accounts of the celebration of twenty-five years of parasitism of King George, there are valuable political lessons to be learned from such circuses. The British monarchy is part of that vast paraphernalia of English imperialism for hypnotizing the working class. Without such hypnotism, the proletariat would see through their own eyes and not through those provided for them by the capitalist ruling class. The creation of illusions is the function of a vast apparatus supported by the bourgeoisie: the bourgeois press, the schools, the church, the radio—and the monarchy. With the aid of these weapons British imperialism gives the impression to the worker that he is part of a common civilization, that he has a common fatherland, that there are higher things in life than material class interests and the class struggle. By means, further, of bourgeois democracy completely controlled and manipulated by the rulers, the worker is hypnotized into believing that he actually has a share in willing his own slavery and exploitation.

Role of Monarchy . . .

The bourgeoisie foster carefully the illusion that the King is a mere figurehead, that he reigns but does not rule. So long as the proletariat remains acquiescent to bourgeois rule, so long as there is no threat to the power of the capitalist class, the monarchy remains seemingly a mere feudal tradition, quite harmless within the framework of bourgeois democracy. In reality the ruling class is far-sighted and in conducting the defense of its power against the possible attacks of the working class the capitalists resort to military strategy: they build in advance second and third line trenches to which to retreat in case the first line is taken. Thus if the workers begin to see through the heavy veils cast over reality by the propagandists of wage slavery, if they begin to utilize bourgeois democracy to change the system, then there is always the House of Lords upon which to fall back. If that is not enough, then there is finally the monarchy which can be made in the "national emergency" to assume, by the "divine right of capitalism," the prerogatives of outright, reactionary dictatorship. Under capi-

talism, in short, the King exists as a last resort for the defeat of the proletarian revolution. It is for that reason, to have a social "stabilizer," that the tradition of monarchy is maintained. Thus every so often the monarchial shield is exposed to published view, it is furnished and polished so as to perform resplendently its hypnotic function. But behind this shield can be clearly discerned the cold and calculating cruelty of the bourgeoisie!

Labor Party . . .

It is not only the direct instruments of capitalist power that serve to create illusions among the workers. It is also the reformist labor leaders who foster the viciously false idea that the King stands not for the ruling class but for the nation. Instead of teaching that the King may at the proper time become all the elements of state force and coercion epitomized and summed up, MacDonald and those of his ilk still in the Labor Party offer their allegiance to the King as the representative (chosen by whom?) of the "entire nation." The belly-crawling sycophancy of these reformist betrayers can arouse only the utmost disgust and loathing of the working class. The bourgeoisie will not let this occasion, a celebration of their preservation as a ruling class in Europe, pass without taking full advantage of the "wave of patriotism" evoked in the middle classes to force a general election on the patriotism and rearmament issues. The Jubilee will be utilized to prepare for war. Part of the preparation for war is the establishment of a conservative government. Recent political signs in England have pointed to the "danger" of a new labor government coming into power in the next general election. With the help of MacDonald the bourgeoisie will do everything in their power to prevent such a "catastrophe." The capitalists may not fear the present labor leaders, but they know that back of these false leaders stand the working masses, demanding decisive steps towards socialism. Let the masses once learn to the end the lesson that reformism is nothing but a form of betrayal, and they will quickly change their leaders for revolutionists who can lead them to victory and who can show them how to defeat fascism that grows more and more as a threat to the workers.

The 'American Approach'

By A. J. MUSTE

Adapting Marxism To the American Class Struggle

The advice if we did give it. The alive and intelligent ones among them are eager to learn more of revolutionary theory. I am told that one of the ablest of the young workers in the former C.P.L.A. who would not and could not join the Communist Party, nevertheless for months secretly took every leaflet and statement that he drafted to a C. P. acquaintance to make sure that it was "correct from a Marxian viewpoint." That was not an unsound instinct by any means! Lenin who has the most colossal practical achievements in working-class history to his credit was constantly and profoundly occupied with theory. Pragmatically and to say the least, it did not seem to affect adversely his practical efficiency as a revolutionist!

There is even place for a certain division of labor in the revolutionary movement. The man who makes a contribution to theory or history, who can teach young workers, who writes a revolutionary drama or battle-song, is not necessarily to be read out of the Party because he never organized any steel workers or "educated" a seafarer on a picket line, any more than a picket captain who carries out the tasks assigned him by the Party is disqualified for membership because he cannot carry on a disputation about Bonapartism or the permanent revolution with one of the Party intellectuals.

The 'Lunatic' Fringe

There are pests, various brands of pseudo-theoreticians, who merit the severest condemnation of responsible revolutionists. One consists of those who participate in the endless gab-fests in corridors and cafeterias which are supposed to be profound theoretical discussions; only they are carried on by comrades who do not know theories, only words and phrases—discussions which will never contribute anything to revolutionary theory, any more than church sewing-circle talk-speeches ever contributed to theology or certain Greenwich Village gatherings ever added anything to the science of biology or to literary criticism. Theory is no substitute for action and hum-drum practical work; much less is talk such a substitute. We agree with comrades in the Party, and with Marx, Engels, and Lenin in condemnation of those who use Marxian writings as a ritual or incantation, those who have a pat, abstract, mechanical formula from the books to apply to every situation, and who led Marx to exclaim that he was not a Marxist. We can share also the contempt of some of our comrades for those who regard themselves as fully qualified to pontificate on the most complex and fundamental problems of the working-class movement on the other side of the globe though they have never shown any capacity to contribute anything to the solution of the simplest problem under their own noses. Most eagerly do we join in putting in his place the upstart who has read a few books and taken a few courses and who regards it as his prerogative to look down from Olympian heights upon workers who have performed colossal tasks in the actual class struggle. "Activists" who encounter this species should not jump to the conclusion, however, that "theory is dangerous." It is a case of youth or glands or something like that. Responsible "theoreticians" and responsible "activists" are not enemies, not thin-skinned individuals who cannot stand criticism; they are comrades who have much to teach each other.

The American Pragmatism

One other point may be touched in this connection. Americans, we are told, are not interested in theory. They are pragmatists, experimental; they want action. Remembering that there are exceptions to all rules, and a good many to some, it seems to me that in the main this point is a valid one. We have already pointed out that this does not at all mean that the Party can dispense with theory or afford to despise it. Precisely because we are dealing with a working class which certainly to date has not acquired a working class philosophy or "world-view," which is disposed to work by rule of thumb, try first this and then that way out, hail Roosevelt today, Long or Coughlin tomorrow—in a period when the pace of development is exceedingly swift and the choice between Fascism and the working class revolution may have to be faced very soon—the Party must have a clear conception of the forces at work and the basic trends, must not dissipate its energies and lose the confidence of the masses by falling prey to nostrums which will cure no ills and from which the masses will presently turn away in disgust. Shall we not get bottled up in a blind alley. The Party must be sure of itself, able to endure opposition, even apparent isolation from the masses, not bargaining away for an easy and brief popularity, its chance to lead in the crisis that is certain

to come. Lenin's party too seemed hopelessly weak, poor, isolated from the stream of events as the year 1917 opened. It would actually have been worthless but for its discipline, its grounding in theory, its militant use of theory in action. Because it did not try to win the masses by any cheap device, it actually won the masses as the objective situation developed to the crisis point.

Assimilating "Activists"

One thing that we might expect from the American emphasis on action and experimentation is a comparatively large number of "activists" in the Party and in the radical movement generally. The Party must welcome them, assimilate them, learn how to utilize their qualities to the utmost, make them feel that the Party is the avenue for the expression of their militant energies, educate them or it will simply be subjecting itself to a serious, if not fatal, handicap. Thousands of these militants have never been able to accept S. P. parliamentarism. They have tried the C.P. in many cases and given it up. Thousands more who have never been in any working class party or group are coming along in the new unions. From the picket lines we must recruit the most intelligent young workers into the ranks of the Party. We must win, keep and develop inspiring leaders of mass struggles. They are hard to find and to replace if lost.

As a natural outcome of the country's pioneer experience and tradition, movements of revolt in the U. S. and their leaders have had a strongly anarchistic tinge. Comrade Budenz correctly calls attention to this fact in his article. It is not without significance that the heroes he mentions are Jefferson, John Brown, Thoreau, Wendell Phillips, and that he writes with ellipsis of being "free from the leading strings of any radical Mother Church." This impatience of restraint and leaning to direct action is "American." (Both reactionary American employers and conservative American trade unionists exhibit the tendency in strikes.)

The Fallacy of Individualism

Insofar as this tradition of "freedom" makes for resistance on the part of American workers to bureaucracy in the economic or political movement and to mechanical domination of the Party by a bureaucratic International, it is a useful and precious thing. The trouble with the individualist or anarchist is that his revolt does not express itself in an organized way. It takes the form of individual protest, "conscientious objection," "civil disobedience," putting oneself on record, withdrawal from society as in Thoreau's case, a dramatic demonstration in John Brown's case, etc. But this is for the most part futile, and side by side with it are found, consequently, the most extreme regimentation and conformity. Witness the auto

cracy in the trade unions. And nowhere can one find people with greater ability to have their minds changed for them instantly and painlessly, to declare that black is white and vice versa at the behest of the boss, than in the American section of the Third International.

Thus it is essential for these mass workers and leaders to whom we have referred as important elements for the Party, to learn in turn the indispensable role of a disciplined, revolutionary party in the struggle of the working class today and in its final emancipation. They must learn to work in an organized way and to express their dissent, which often may be well founded, in an organized way, with in the Party. If they do not learn to work under the discipline or at least influence of the Party, they are either condemned to futility in the end, or are drawn into the ranks of the service of the trade union bureaucrats (something that has happened with plenty of them in the American movement) or worse still go into the service of capitalists or even Fascists—as happened with a number of prominent Italian syndicalists, e.g.

The Vanguard

Where is there today a mass movement of workers, except the trade union movement which under its present collaborationist leadership is certainly not to be regarded as a model to be copied, or where is there a flourishing progressive movement in the unions themselves, except where there is some political party or group to give continuity, perspective and drive? The Party must express itself in mass organizations and mass work; but equally does the mass work depend for its very life upon the organized, conscious, disciplined, revolutionary vanguard.

It may not be amiss to follow these comments on anarchism through a step further. Anarchism is no solution for the working class today. The job is to overthrow the highly organized capitalist state and to construct a highly organized socialist society. For either the destructive or the constructive side of the task anarchism is helpless. Organization, not anarchy, is required. Let our comrades ponder deeply the brilliant and devastating comment of Trotsky after pointing out that Prince Kropotkin, anarchist leader, opposed the revolution and became a Russian patriot in 1917: "The principles of liberalism can have a real existence only in conjunction with a police system. Anarchism is an attempt to cleanse liberalism of the police. But just as pure oxygen is impossible to breathe, so liberalism without the police-principle means the death of society. Being a shadow-caricature of liberalism, anarchism as a whole has shared its fate. Like every sect which founds its teaching not upon the actual development of human society, but upon the reduction to absurdity of one of its features, anarchism explodes like a soap-bubble at that moment when the social contradictions arrive at the point of war or revolution."

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

SAMUEL Z. N. Y.—

Question: Do you not think that here in the U. S. the further logical development of the class struggle (strikes, etc.) will lead to a spontaneous overthrow of capitalism, so that we should concentrate our entire efforts in the economic field (trade union, unemployed organizations, etc.)?

Answer: This question raises the entire problem of "spontaneity of the masses," which is by no means new to the revolutionary movement. Thirty-three years ago Lenin, in his pamphlet "What Is To Be Done," polemicized against the advocates of "spontaneity," and we can think of no better argument against this position than to quote from his writings of that time: "... All those who talk about 'exaggerating the importance of ideology,' about exaggerating the role of the conscious elements, etc., imagine that the pure and simple labor movement can work out an independent ideology for itself, if only the workers 'take their fate out of the hands of the leaders.' But in this they are profoundly mistaken. To supplement what has been said, we shall quote the following profoundly true and important utterances by Karl Kautsky: ...

"Many... believe that Marx asserted that economic development and the class struggle create, not only the conditions for Socialist production, but also, and directly, the CONSCIOUSNESS (K. K.'s italics) of its necessity. ... In this connection Socialist consciousness is represented as a necessary and direct result of the proletarian class struggle. But this is absolutely untrue. Of course, Socialism, as a theory, has its roots in modern economic relationships in the same way as the class struggle of the proletariat has, and in the same way as the latter emerges from the struggle against the capitalist-created poverty and misery of the masses. But Socialism and the class struggle arise side by side and not one out of the other; each arises out of different premises. Modern Socialist consciousness can arise only on the basis of profound scientific knowledge. Indeed, modern economic science is as much a condition for Socialist production as, say, modern technology, and the proletariat can create neither the one nor the other, no matter how much it may desire to do so; both arise out of the modern social process. The vehicles of science are not the proletariat, but the BOURGEOIS INTELLIGENTSIA (K. K.'s italics). It was out of the heads of members of this stratum that modern Socialism originated, and it was they who communicated it to the more intellectually developed proletarians who, in their turn, introduced it into the proletarian class struggle where conditions allow that to be done. Thus, Socialist consciousness is something introduced into the proletarian class struggle from without (von Aussen hineingebracht), and not something that arose within it spontaneously (urwuchsig). ...

"Since there can be no talk of an independent ideology being developed by the masses of the workers in the process of their movement then the only choice is: Either bourgeois, or Socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for humanity has not created a 'third' ideology, and moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or above-class ideology). Hence, to belittle Socialist ideology in any way, to deviate from it in the slightest degree means strengthening bourgeois ideology. There is a lot of talk about spontaneity, but the spontaneous development of the labor movement leads to its becoming subordinated to bourgeois ideology. ...

How far can the labor movement develop without the introduction of Marxian consciousness? To this Lenin answered "... The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own efforts, is able to develop only trade union consciousness, i.e. it may itself realize the necessity for combining in unions, to fight against the employers and to strive to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation, etc." (All emphasis in above quotations are in the original.)

Lack of space, which has required that we extract only important parts from Lenin's work, does not permit us to further develop this very important subject. However, let it suffice for the moment to point out that about 15 years ago the Italian proletariat was brought, by the logic of the class struggle, to an actual seizure of the factories, but, because there was no Marxian consciousness, i.e., a strong revolutionary party did not exist, the workers did not know what to do and Mussolini now sits in the saddle.

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NEW MILITANT

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Shades of 1914

Europe's laboring masses stand in danger of a new holocaust that promises to dwarf the world war of 1914-1918. Turbulent war preparations are going on behind the smoke-screen of propaganda; the counter-part, in 1935, of the wave of social-chauvinism which ushered in the imperialist slaughter of 1914.

Since the armistice, some hundred and thirty odd diplomatic conferences have been held—each having as its aim the reduction of armaments and the establishment of “greater guarantees of peace.” The net result of this diplomatic merry-go-round: the greatest war tension since July 1914, the biggest peacetime armament budgets the world has yet seen.

At Genoa and Locarno, some credibility could still be given to the illusion of a “peaceful” settlement of capitalist conflicts. Under the impact of long years of the economic crisis and the political upheavals it has engendered, the whole conference system has collapsed. The latest meetings of the statesmen, at Stresa and at Geneva, proved that it is no longer possible to uphold the status quo established by the Versailles Treaty without resorting to direct and open warfare.

While France is meeting Hitler's challenge man for man and gun for gun, while England jockeys for position with its traditional hypocrisy—the masses in every country remain imbued with the strongest sentiments for peace. It is this most important factor that creates the sharpest discord in the martial concert of the imperialist war mongers.

For the working masses of Europe, the Soviet Union has ever been identified with the cause of peace. For revolutionists it has been axiomatic that the peace efforts of the workers' fatherland can be assured of success only when accompanied by the most resolute struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist governments in other countries. The Stalinist diplomats, pursuing a National-Bolshevik policy, have been finally forced to restrict the struggle for peace to a military pact with French imperialism. This Franco-Soviet pact, signed last week, the leaders of the Communist International now treacherously counter-posed to revolutionary struggle. Nothing can be more reassuring to the worried war-mongers in the Quai D'Orsay, in Downing Street and in every other foreign office.

“Mobilization of public opinion, so that war, if it comes, will be accepted with patriotic resignation, if not with enthusiasm,” writes the sharp-witted correspondent of the New York Sun optimistically, “is now practically complete throughout Europe. The last organized propaganda agency against war—the Communist party—has been silenced on orders from Moscow. . . . Nothing is left of the old dread that war would be followed in most of Europe by popular revolt.” (Mr. William Bird in the New York Sun, April 14.)

In these all too clear words, a representative of the bourgeois press has summed up the aspirations of the capitalist governments; the fulfillment of which they await with greater satisfaction and more certainty each succeed-

ing day. It cannot help but alarm every honest revolutionist to the seriousness of the situation. For, while the “mobilization of public opinion” may not be as complete as the Sun's correspondent believes, it is proceeding apace, with the direct aid of the social democratic and Stalinist parties.

A declaration of ten West European Communist parties completely falls in line with the Franco-Soviet pact, and stresses throughout only the danger of war from Hitler's Germany. L'Humanite, central organ of the Communist Party of France editorially urges support of the Franco-Soviet pact against the Third Reich, dressing it up as the 1935 model of the Black Sea Rebellion of 1919! But even more characteristic of this revolting turn from revolutionary struggle against the enemy at home to capitulation before the war plans of the Versailles robbers is the scandalous behavior of the French “United Front” in the Chamber of Deputies. We quote from the official record of March 15:

“M. LEON BLUM: . . . I am convinced, gentlemen, and I say it weighing my words, that in replying to aggression by Hitlerite Germany, all the workers of this country will rise to a man together with all other Frenchmen (Applause from the extreme left and the left, interruptions from the right).”

“I say, gentlemen, all the workers, without having received in this respect any mandate from my Communist comrades who will, no doubt, explain their own stand from the rostrum (Interruptions).”

One expects the social democrat, Leon Blum, to repeat his social-patriotic performance of 1914. But he claims to speak for the Communists as well, and he challenges them to refute him. Here is how Maurice Thorez, leader of the French Communist Party, born in the struggle against social-patriotism, “refutes” Blum, the social-patriot.

“M. MAURICE THOREZ: . . . One can only express one's indignation against the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists and other renegades from Communism who present the Franco-Soviet rapprochement as a bloc which may lead to war, while it is, under the present circumstances, an element of peace, a barrier against those imperialist states inclined to resort to force in order to proceed to a revision of the Versailles Treaty (Applause from the extreme Communist left).”

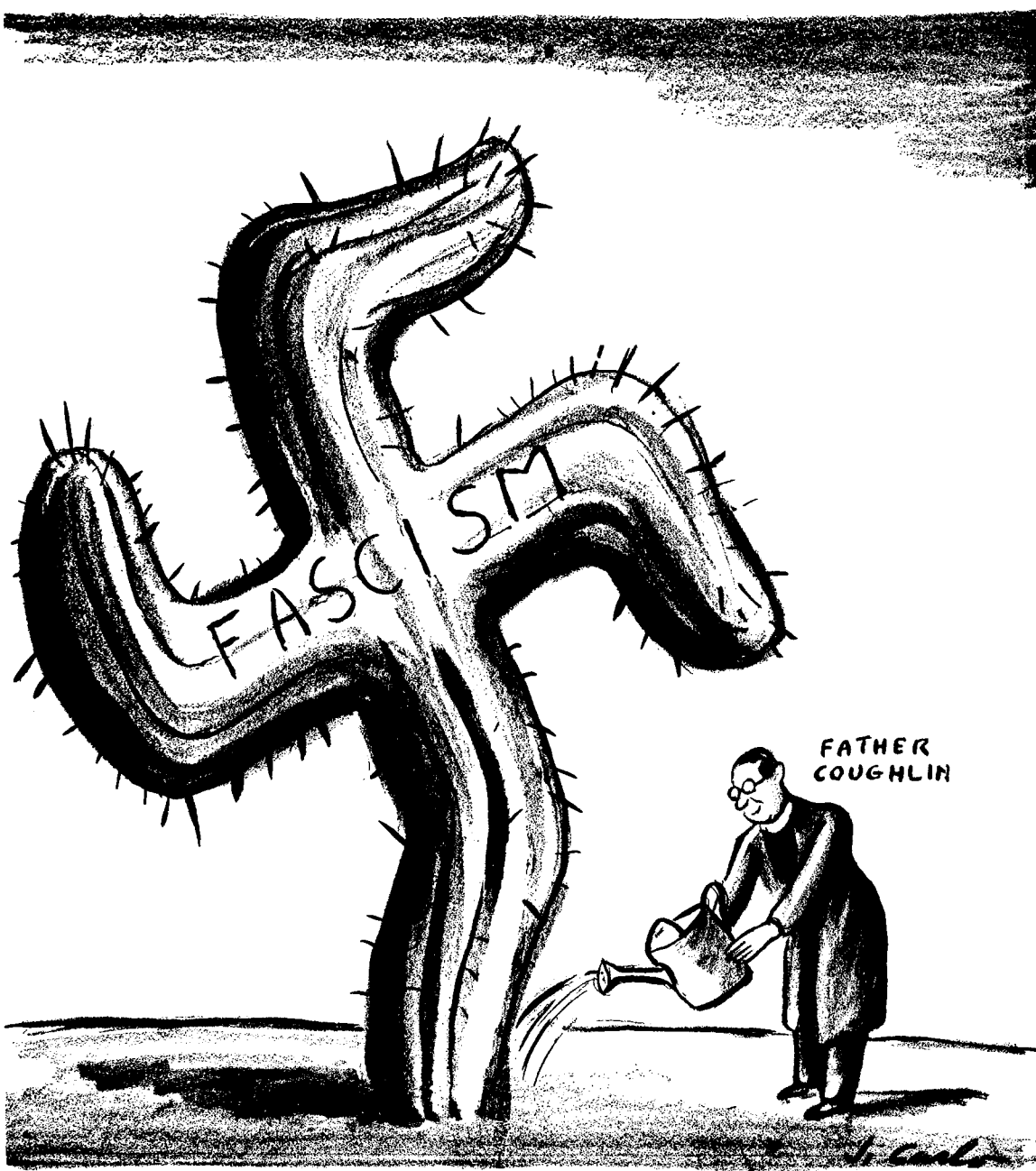
Instead of attacking Blum's outright stand for national defense, the Stalinist leader seizes the opportunity of attacking before the parliamentarians of bourgeois France, those who stand foremost in the struggle against social-patriotism. How little removed is such miserable behavior from the lynch incitements of the yellow socialists against the bold proponents of that uncompromising struggle which was headed by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in 1914?

It must be said without any mincing of words: the Stalinist and Socialist leaders are playing right into the hands of the war mongers! Under the cloak of a spurious defense of the Soviet Union, they are participating actively in a “mobilization of public opinion” that can serve no other interests than those of the capitalist governments.

The real defense of the Soviet Union, today as in 1917, can be achieved in only one way: In the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the imperialist governments.

The workers of the world cannot trust Franco-Soviet or Soviet-American pacts as long as at the helm of the government in France, or the United States, stand imperialist robbers who are ready at any moment to betray the confidence of their Soviet allies. The best defense of the workers' fatherland today is to spread far and wide among the toiling masses, counter-acting the virus of Social Democratic and Stalinist chauvinism, Liebknecht's old slogan: The Enemy Is In Your Own Country!

“The Shrine of the Little Flower”



War and the Franco-Soviet Pact

(Continued from Page 1)

is in our own country! We reject the treacherous formula of “peaceful” imperialists on the one side and “aggressors” on the other. No truce in the class struggle, no moderation of the class struggle for a single day! The answer to imperialist war is the workers' revolution!

But what about the defense of the Soviet Union? cry the venal lackeys of the Soviet foreign office who will turn into social patriots overnight. We answer: An imperialist power will never “defend” the Soviet Union; its agreement to do so is treacherous through and through; in the logic of the class struggle it cannot be otherwise. The only way for the workers in a capitalist country to defend the Soviet Union is to defend themselves against the imperialists at home.

That means to fight the war, to struggle from the first day to overthrow the capitalists and establish a revolutionary workers' government which would make a loyal alliance with the Soviet Union and, together with it, carry on the war against the capitalist nations. Woe to the French and American workers, woe to the labor movement of the whole world, if these simple precepts of Leninism are forgotten.

Can the Second International and the Comintern be depended on to arm and prepare the workers for this irreconcilable attitude toward their own imperialists in a war involving the Soviet Union? By no means.

The social patriotic position of the Social Democrats in the “democratic” countries is predetermined. They are already taking responsibility for the government in one “democratic” capitalist country after another. The social democrats of all countries will be ready to shoulder arms, or more correctly, to call the workers to shoulder arms, the moment the capitalist “Fatherland” is “attacked.”

The policy of Soviet diplomacy, which has long since substituted a reliance on pacts with capitalist powers for the line of proletarian internationalism, and the servile acquiescence of the Comintern in this rotten policy, lead straight to the same conclusion.

The trumpet of uncritical approval with which the journalists of the Stalinist press greet the military agreement between the Soviet Union and capitalist France and their attempt, with utter cynicism, to pass it off as a revolutionary victory, sound the warning again in clearer, louder tones.

On the basis of the reactionary theory of “socialism in one country” and under the slogan of “Defend the Soviet Union” the Stalinists are preparing a new social patriotic betrayal.

The organization of the revolutionary struggle against the coming war depends entirely on the success of the movement to liberate the proletarian vanguard from the influence of Stalinism as well as Social Democracy.

The slightest taint of nationalism is fatal in the face of war. Those who, for any reason whatever, dally with the idea of a truce with the class enemy at home are certain to land in the camp of the jingoes when the real test comes. Without a thorough-going internationalist outlook a consistent opposition to imperialist war is impossible. And the first duty of the true internationalists is to unfurl their banner and organize their forces on an international scale, however few their numbers may be at the beginning. These are the great lessons of experience written in blood and fire in the last imperialist world war.

Those who have drawn the conclusions from the actual state of affairs in the international labor movement have proclaimed the necessity of a new International, as Lenin did in 1914. Swimming against the current, against unprecedented difficulties and complexities, against slander and poverty of resources—in spite of all the advocates of the Fourth International increase in strength and numbers. They, and they alone, are the real inheritors of the great tradition of Liebknecht and Lenin. They are the heralds of the revolutionary struggle against war precisely because they are the carriers of the only idea which can arm the workers for this struggle. Speed the day when the revolutionary internationalists of all countries will establish firmer relations among themselves and proceed with practical, concrete steps toward the actual formation of the Fourth International!

May First Sees United Front in Many Cities

Chicago

CHICAGO, May 1.—Several thousand workers braved the cold and the rain to celebrate May Day in a demonstration called by the Chicago Labor May Day Conference. The line of march stretching for a distance of four city blocks, marched a distance of a mile and a half from the city's West Side to Union Park, the scene of the Haymarket riot.

Headed by the Socialist red guard, carrying ten large red flags, the files included such organizations as the Socialist Party, the Cap Makers Union, the Leathergoods Workers Union, the Workers Party, the Spartacus Youth League, the Young Peoples Socialist League, the Workmen's Circle, the Workers Committee on Unemployment and many others.

The parade presented a colorful picture of flags, banners and slogans. The Workers Party file was headed by a large red banner with the white felt letters inscribed: Workers Party of the United States, Local Chicago. The Party and the Spartacus Youth League carried a number of posters containing the slogans of the W.P.

In the park an open air mass meeting was held in spite of a driving rain. Speakers for the trade union movement, the unemployed and the political parties spoke. Greetings were given by Spartacus Youth League, through its representative Al Garber. The Workers Party was represented on the speakers stand by Albert Grotzer, who proclaimed the need for the new revolutionary international, the 4th International.

Kansas City

By JEFFERSON RALL

KANSAS CITY, Mo., May 1.—In the most imposing demonstration of labor solidarity seen here in recent times, more than 600 workers gathered at Crusaders Temple, under the auspices of the Kansas City Group Conference, to celebrate May Day and to express their determined opposition to the war plans of the Roosevelt starvation government.

Representatives of a number of working class groups, including the Workers Party, spoke, exposing the reactionary base of the present administration, and how any solution the capitalist government would attempt to find could only mean increased misery and degradation for the masses. The plea for a fighting united front against the Roosevelt war preparations and for an improved standard of living and the 80 hour week met with an enthusiastic response from the audience.

As was to be expected, reactionary elements were at hand, attempting first to prevent the meeting, and to intimidate the speakers, warning that any “radical talk” would bring the wrath of the authorities down on their heads. The speakers indignantly refused to submit to this humiliating condition and proceeded to speak exactly as they had intended. Consequently, at the conclusion of the meeting, police entered and arrested three of the speakers, including a Negro worker from St. Louis who especially incurred the rage of the reactionary hooligans by his militant and courageous stand. Plans are being laid to defend the imprisoned workers.

In spite of the police terrorism, the May Day rally can be regarded as being exceedingly successful, considering the obstacles that stood in the path of its achievement. This success was due to the combined efforts of many labor organizations, all cooperating in an honest united front movement which included the Workers Party, the Communist Party, Socialist Party, American Workers Union (unemployed) and various other working class groups.

Workers Party members played an important role in the preparation and conduct of the meeting. They established themselves as a genuinely constructive force. Copies of the New Militant and the May Day Manifesto of the Workers Party were widely distributed and met with much interest and a great deal of approval from the assembled workers.

New Castle

By FRED RAYBURN

NEW CASTLE, Pa., May 1.—Over 800 workers listened to addresses delivered by George Papcun of the Workers Party and Dick Harrington, chairman of the National Unemployed Councils, at the May Day celebration sponsored by the Cooperative Workers of America, a local unemployed organization.

At the conclusion of the meeting comrade Papcun was invited to stay over and address several locals of the C.W.A. On Wednesday evening he spoke before a mass meeting of locals 3 and 4 and was favorably received. On Thursday, Friday and Sunday he is booked to address other locals of this organization. His talks, so far, on the decay of capitalism and the need of workers' organization have met with favorable response.

Jobless Slugged at N.Y. Relief Bureau

NEW YORK.—The LaGuardia administration in New York is developing a new technique in meeting the militant demands of spokesmen for the organized unemployed. Demands for relief are answered with the fists and boots of hired thugs.

Last Friday three members of the Workers Unemployed Union called to represent a fellow member in his demand for relief at the city relief station, 97 E. Houston St. The committee consisted of Isidor Harrison, Edith Storm and Morris Varon. They were successful in winning their demands and when they came down from the executive offices to a lower floor in the relief building they were set upon by about ten hired thugs who were “laying” for them.

Harrison and Varon were beaten and kicked so severely that they required medical attention. Miss Storm was badly shaken up in the fracas. Harrison is a brother of Charles Yale Harrison, author of “Generals Die in Bed.”

The assault took place on city property with the customary policeman conveniently missing. Two guards who complacently stood by while the thugs were slugging the workers afterwards explained that “it was after four o'clock and we were off duty.”

Uriah Heep? No, Abe Cahan!

We don't know whether Dickens is translated into Yiddish. But whether he is or he isn't Dickens has created a character by the name of Uriah Heep. This character has become a byword standing for everything sneaky or hypocritical. Perhaps the Jewish masses do not employ the name Uriah Heep in designating anyone as a hypocrite. It is quite possible they use the name Ab Cahan—and with at least as much justification.

Writing in the Forward of April 7, Mr. Cahan castigates with piousunction the Day, a Jewish daily generally supporting the Democratic Party. The cause for this attack is the Day's criticism of Lang's anti-Soviet articles.

Says Mr. Cahan: “The strike (National Biscuit Co.) is now at its height and the Day publishes the company's advertisements regularly. The Forward, naturally, (get that, naturally!) does not accept such advertisements.” What vulgar hypocrisy. In the May 5 issue of the same Forward, edited by the same Mr. Uriah—beg pardon—Mr. Cahan there is a quarter page advertisement from the General Motors Co. advertising the latest model Chevrolet cars. “At the height of the strike,” too. Need any more be said?

Federal Judge Sees Doom of Capitalism

When a Federal judge recognizes the possibility of the masses making mince meat out of capitalism it is a signal that things are going to happen.

John C. Knox, the dean of the United States Circuit Court, ex-claimed before the Harvard Alumni Association that if Big Business continues its “insane policy of attempting to bully the nation into submission to its will,” it may expect to hear a large part of the population saying: “To hell with capitalism and all its defenders!”

and he says “. . . thousands upon thousands of people who once had property and have it no more are not willing further to fight, bleed and die for the capitalistic system.”

Who will say that this senile dog-eat-dog system is not in a bad way when a custodian of private property in the person of a Federal judge takes fright that the scissor-bills might refuse to get his belly ripped open for Andy Mellon's millions. A sad situation, indeed!

“Thank God,” sighs the judge, “these people, of whom there are 20,000,000 or more have not become desperate, and I pray that they will not become so. But this much is certain—their minds have become fallow for the planting of dangerous doctrines.”