

WAR and the Stalin-Laval Communique

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

Another deadly blow at the international working class movement.

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

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

The fatal leadership of Stalin was never so clearly revealed as in this infamous communique. It is a warning signal to the workers' vanguard of the whole world to free itself completely from the influence of the Stalinist bureaucracy before it leads them to catastrophe on another "Fourth of August."

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

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

There can be no misunderstanding of the meaning of these words. It is clear alike to the workers and to their class enemies. The bourgeois journalists had no difficulty in interpreting it. Ralph W. Barnes, Moscow correspondent of the New York Herald-Tribune explained it bluntly as follows:

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

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

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

In view of the tremendous significance for the international labor and revolutionary movements of the Franco-Soviet military alliance and the joint statement on it issued by Pierre Laval and Joseph Stalin, the National Committee of the Workers Party is drawing up an official statement of its position. This statement, which will deal exhaustively with the problems presented by the alliance, will appear in the coming issue of the New Militant. Readers are urged to give it their closest attention and to see to it that it is disseminated as widely as possible.

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Toledo Auto Progressives Organize

Unemployed Leader



GERRY ALLARD

St. Louis Gas Strike is Solid Despite Terror

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—The strike of the St. Louis Gas House Workers runs into its third month with ranks as firm and determined as ever. A short history of the slander, provocation, and violence against the union reveals something of the spirit that has carried the union through with flying colors.

The Laclede Company, after recovering from the surprise attack of the union, hired scabs and an army of thugs to protect them. The company thugs discovered a "bomb plot." When this collapsed the Company had three union members arrested for "possessing dynamite." Although the state refused to prosecute on so flimsy a charge the men were continued under arrest. The Company obtained an injunction "bidding the union its legal picket." The police began mass arrests of the strikers. The Company thugs organized attacks on the homes of the strikers, breaking windows, and endangering their families. The police began beating the strikers at the point of guns, as many as six at one time in the open street. The company thugs stunk bombed the union headquarters and picket stations. And so on—The Company, their thugs and the police all in one band against the strike—the kept press playing up every scrap of anti-union hysteria.

Strike Paper Invaluable

During all this storm and stress, the daily strike paper has proved invaluable in holding the union firm, in recruiting support of other unions, and of the general public. The first week's trial brought in over a thousand subscriptions. More than fifty unions have pledged support. In addition many storekeepers have assisted the strikers with food and supplies.

The lighter side of the strike is revealed in the following story from

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Jobless Renew Relief March For Showdown

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

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

The mass upsurge of the jobless in Illinois was precipitated by the shutting down of relief stations in the state as the Democratic administration maneuvered to force a further levy down the throats of a stubborn legislature in the form of an increase in the sales tax from 2 per cent to 3.

Ragged, hungry and weary workers trekked into Springfield last week from various sections of the state to protest against the closing of relief stations, against the sales tax and for improvements in relief standards. A march took place through the heart of town to the capital. While approximately 1,000 jobless workers cheered speakers who spoke from the huge monument of Abe Lincoln a delegation was received by the Governor.

Present Their Demands

The delegation presented the demands of the demonstrators for reopening of relief stations, defeat of the sales tax, abolition of the national guards, clothing for school children graduating, proper medical care, comfortable shelter, \$1 for unskilled and \$1.25 for skilled labor on projects with a minimum of 24 hours and a maximum of 30-hours per week, representation on local, county, district and state relief boards and for a levy on income, gift and inheritance. The Governor of the state showed respect for the committee now representing 150,000 organized workers, but the substance of his decisions as to immediate redress was nothing. "I am a servant of the people, not a king," he said. The excuse was a poor one because a few months before he had dispatched hundreds of troops to the coal fields in a most tyrannical invasion against the self rule of the population of the coal fields.

Thousands of Illinois workers faced actual starvation. Yet the Governor took the position that not "one red cent" would be further expended by the state on relief until the tax against labor's bread and beans was passed. At the very moment \$7,500,000 was laying idle in the coffers of the state treasury. In Chicago former Vice-President Daves played the fiddle to the tune of the 90,000,000 dollars he had received from the R.F.C. without making an effort to repay the "loan."

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Applying the "Merit Clause"



Lessons of the Great Toledo Battle

All the forces of the General Motors Corporation, the resources of the U. S. Department of Labor's ace "trouble shooter," Edward F. McGrady, a barrage from the Toledo newspapers threatening a permanent shutdown of the Chevrolet transmission plant, and unbelievably dirty trickery and brazen terrorization on the part of Francis J. Dillon, representative of the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy, were needed Monday night to brow-beat and trick the Toledo Chevrolet strikers into voting acceptance of compromise proposals. Rejection, advocated by the large group of militants among the strikers in close touch with the Workers Party branch, would have meant in all probability a nation-wide strike against General Motors, one of the most terrific battles in the history of class struggle in the U. S., since the outcome would determine the whole issue of unionism in the basic industries. While a thorough analysis of the dramatic onslaught of the Toledo vanguard upon the citadel of open-shopperry must wait, it is already possible to draw the main conclusions. It is essential that all party comrades and progressive workers understand the conclusions in order that they may be by so much better equipped for the battles to come.

1. When account is taken on the one hand of the forces with which we had to work and on the other hand of those arrayed against us, we can safely assert that the Toledo militants met the challenge presented to them and that the Toledo strikers put up a magnificent battle. William Green had the strike votes of the Federal auto unions in his pocket. Not only, however, did he not call a strike but he and his representatives did everything in their power to prevent it from spreading and to tone down its militancy. The Chevrolet workers had joined the union only a few days before the strike broke. Very few among them had previous union experience. Yet they shut down the Chevrolet plant. They tied up Chevrolet production throughout the country for three weeks. They brought 30,000 workers out with them. They measurably cut down production of the steel and glass corporations. General Motors said it would not confer with them until they went back to work. General Motors was forced to change its mind. It had to negotiate with the Strike Committee and grant additional concessions.

Not only was a great automobile corporation shaken, but a more open and more nearly
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Dillon and Co. Wreck Chance To Win Strike

Temporary Setback is Signal to Cement Ranks

By ART PREIS

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

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

Lack of Experience

Their lack of experience and desire for "democracy" and "fair play," which was appealed to by equally inexperienced members of the strike committee, caused them to rescind a previous motion which they had passed excluding all persons from speaking on the proposals but the strikers and the members of the strike committee.

Dillon was recalled into the meeting and given the chance to speak on the agreement which he, Edward F. McGrady, assistant secretary of labor, and William S. Knudsen, executive vice-president of General Motors, had devised last Saturday. Dillon had already expressed his sentiments on this union-busting agreement Monday in the daily press, which featured his statement urging the strikers to accept the terms of the proposal, and hinted that the progressives who fought its acceptance, including every one of the elected strike committee but one, were "reds," through a vague allusion to "those who presume without authority to speak in the interests of the workers the language of a Soviet Dictatorship." His public statement was in direct violation of an agreement made with the strike committee not to express himself on the proposed settlement prior to the meeting.

Fulminates at Muste

Dillon was given the platform to speak. Two hours before he had raged from the auditorium howling that the union was expelled from the A. F. of L. The press reported him as saying then, before he entered a cab to go to his hotel, "Let Muste run their outfit. If they want an I.W.W. or a communist outfit let them have it. They're out! They're out! I disown them."

Three times during his ensuing speech Dillon was booed and hissed down. But with infinite cunning, demagoguery and the basest lies he shouted and threatened. His big club was the threat to withdraw the charter of the entire local if the strikers did not accept the company's offer. The local has members in nineteen Toledo plants. Slowly he ground into the minds of many of the strikers the fear that he would smash their union if they did not end the strike. In return for the "democratic" gesture of the strikers, Dillon used the foulest and most undemocratic tactics ever devised to force the company agreement down the strikers' throats. He used their very union loyalty, their desire to maintain their union at all costs, to betray them.

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

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W.P. Supports Election Battle Against Mpls. Reactionaries

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The coming election in Minneapolis will see a battle to the finish between the reactionary candidates of the Citizens Alliance and the candidates of the Farmer-Labor Party. Every worker in every trade union in the city is up in arms against the present Citizens Alliance administration, headed by Mayor Bainbridge and police chief "Bloody Mike" Johannes, who were responsible during Local 574 truck drivers' strike of last year for the shooting of fifty workers and the death of two. Both sides are marshalling all their forces for the election, on which depends the immediate fortune of the labor movement and the Citizens Alliance.

In view of the questions at stake and of the narrow majority which will determine the result, the Minneapolis Branch of the Workers Party has decided to throw its electoral weight behind the Farmer Labor candidates, at the same time conducting its own campaign, warning the workers against the dangerous illusions of Farmer-Laborism. The campaign of the Workers Party is being carried on along the

lines of their election leaflet. After introducing as the main immediate task the defeat of the Citizens Alliance, the Workers Party clearly distinguishes itself from the Farmer-Laborites. "The Farmer-Labor officials will not and cannot give the working class any real, lasting benefits—these will have to be won by the workers themselves through their fighting organizations: the unions, unemployed organizations, and the revolutionary workers' party."

The Party presents its own program although running no independent candidates in this election.

1. The thirty hour, thirty dollar minimum week.
2. A ten billion dollar public works program.
3. Unemployment and social insurance at the expense of employers.
4. Immediate relief of \$10 per week with \$3 for every dependent.
5. An end to red tape in relief administration: adequate medical care for the unemployed.
6. Full rights of free speech.

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Dillon Men Slug Toledo Workers in Flint Meet

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

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

Patton was injured about the head when he was struck by a chair. In order to break up the meeting, Dillon's men turned out the lights and threw chairs about. The meeting was broken up in confusion.

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

Expel Allentown Professor for Activity in Labor Movement

ALLENTOWN, Pa., May 15.—Dr. Winslow N. Hallett, treasurer of the Allentown local of the American Federation of Teachers and its delegate to the Central Trades and Labor Council, has been dismissed from his position as professor of psychology at Cedar Crest College because of his labor activities.

His dismissal by the board of trustees has been denounced by the student body. More than half of the 185 students enrolled at the college have signed petitions demanding his reinstatement.

Asked by President William F. Curtis to resign, Dr. Hallett refused, requesting specific charges be brought against him. The formal notification of dismissal, on May 11, contained no charges. Pressed for an explanation of the board's action, President Curtis admitted that Dr. Hallett's work was satisfactory at the college and that the dismissal was due to Dr. Hallett's prominent role in the organized labor movement.

In addition to his position in the teachers' union, which Dr. Hallett was instrumental in organizing last November, he was until recently an

officer in the powerful Lehigh County Unemployed League and is still an active figure in the Pennsylvania unemployed movement.

Dr. Hallett has taught at Cedar Crest College for three years. Previously, he was instructor in the psychology department of the University of Pennsylvania.

A fight for Dr. Hallett's reinstatement will be made at the meeting of the Eastern Synod of the Reformed Church, scheduled for next week, at which the annual report of Cedar Crest College will be presented. Dr. Hallett announced today that Dr. Paul Ried Pontius, president of the Synod, has promised to fight for academic freedom in the college.

The Committee on Academic Freedom of the American Civil Liberties Union has announced it will take action in the case. The American Association of University Professors has been asked to make an investigation.

Dr. Hallett has asked the Non-Partisan Labor Defense to rally support for his case in the labor movement.

Comments

On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Privileged Classes . . .

"We have privileged classes in this country," said Miss Alice Mertz, New York relief supervisor in explaining the \$90 per week salary of herself and husband. . . . Relief recipients in Clinton County, Pa., were told by relief investigators to "go and steal coal." . . . As relief funds are cut off and 1,300,000 people face starvation, the Illinois legislature adjourned so that members could attend the Kentucky Derby. . . . The \$90,000,000 that the government "loaned" Charles Dawes (and which will never be repaid) would take care of Illinois relief needs for nearly a year. . . . An evicted share-cropper with his pallid wife, rickety children and meager pile of furniture was seen standing by the roadside near Shreveport, La. All were wearing "EVERY MAN A KING" buttons. . . .

Food . . .

The AAA has expended to date \$678,000,000 for crop reduction and \$191,000,000 to purchase crop surpluses. . . . President Roosevelt last week signed a bill appropriating \$60,000,000 for seed loans to farmers. . . . Food prices have risen 34 percent in the past year. The CONSUMERS' GUIDE issued by the AAA states: "never before in this country have so many people been unable to buy food and the simple necessities of life as in the past two years." . . . Secretary Wallace, head of the AAA, says: "Prices are not excessive; the increase in the price of food products has only kept pace with the rise in national income." . . . Although farmers comprise 25 percent of the population, for the past five years the farm income has averaged only 8.8 percent of the national income. . . . Profits reported for food processing corporations for 1934 are: National Biscuit Co.—\$26,592,000; National Fruit Co.—\$21,290,000; Armour & Co.—\$19,446,000; Borden Milk Co.—\$9,136,000; National Dairy Co.—\$13,603,000; Corn Products Refining Co.—\$21,207,000; A. & P. Stores (two year period) \$43,219,000. Increase in food prices have raised the average cost of feeding a soldier from 37 1/2 cents to 50 cents a day, necessitating an extra allotment of \$5,000,000 per year to feed the army and navy. . . . Commissioner Osborne of the New York State Fish Hatcheries complains that because of the increased cost of liver he cannot feed the trout adequately. . . .

Jobs . . .

Helen Fortney, 138 lbs., of Lake Geneva, Wis., advertised for a job as bodyguard. She received 48 proposals of marriage, one offer of a job. "It must be phoney," she remarked. . . . Franklin Jr. and John Roosevelt, sons of the President, are in the market for summer jobs. The boys are willing to do almost anything says their mother. Last summer John taught polo at a summer camp and Franklin Jr. toured Europe. . . . Eighty percent of the industrial firms in the U. S. will not hire new workers over 40 years of age. . . . The majority decision of the Supreme Court nullifying the Railroad Retirement Act states: "It does not follow, as contended, that a man of 45 is inefficient or incompetent. The facts indicate a contrary conclusion." . . .

Patriotism . . .

Ex-Senator George Wharton Pepper shaved his mustache of 40 years standing in order to play the part of George Washington in a Philadelphia pageant. . . . In an "aversion test," Dr. E. L. Thorndike of Columbia University, found that two thirds of the older persons tested would "spit at the picture of George Washington" for \$10,000. Half the younger ones would do it for less than \$10. All were jobless. . . .

Society Notes . . .

"I couldn't tend to Anne drunk all night and work all day," pleaded Brandon Smith, husband of Anne Cannon, textile and tobacco heiress. "Brandon was dumb and I was dumb for living with him. The only reason I married him was to get a home," retorted Anne. Brandon was awarded \$125,000 heart balm by the court. . . . The 287 "rugged pioneers" being transplanted to the heart of Alaska revolted aboard ship when they were given buttered bread rather than individual pats of butter. . . . Elsie de Wolfe, actress, considers her bathroom the crowning glory of a life devoted to beauty. "Moonshine and glamour, white orchids and rock crystal, silver tissue and white furs, reflected in many mirrors—that is my bathroom. The hooks are in the form of dolphins. The faucets are the heads of swans. The carpet is of white velvet. The electric lights are mother of pearl in a design of oyster shells. There are always white flowers, sometimes great sprays of white orchids." . . . Ninety percent of American farmers still perform the Saturday night ritual in a galvanized wash tub. . . .

Central Labor Union Backs Local 574

Unanimous Appeal For Reinstatement

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—Without one dissenting voice the Minneapolis Central Labor Union voted last week full support to Local 574 of the Truck Drivers in their battle for reinstatement in the International. A motion to continue 574's delegate on the Central Union was defeated only after an appeal from the chair, on the ground that such a motion would lay the Central Union itself open to expulsion by Green.

Find Charges False

The vote was taken after a report by a committee of three appointed by the Central Union to investigate the charges made by Dan Tobin, reactionary president of the International. Tobin's charges, the committee found, were unjust, and in some cases completely unfounded. It was shown that 574 had made tremendous sacrifices to pay its per capita tax, although it was faced with extraordinary expenses, debts left over from last year's strike, the expenses of negotiating with hundreds of employers, the expenses consequent on the hospitalization of workers wounded in the strike, the expenses of maintaining the widows and families of those killed, etc. etc. In spite of all these expenses, the local paid over \$3,000 in the last 15 months. It was pointed out that in previous years the union had been as much as one year behind in per capita tax without action from Tobin.

Tobin's charge that the union had overstepped its jurisdiction was answered by evidence showing that 574 has voluntarily relinquished the Ice Drivers, the Bakery Drivers, the Laundry Drivers, the Brewery Drivers, etc. etc. although such actions went against the better judgment of the union leaders. In the case of the Brewery Drivers, the union leaders, not wishing to break up the industrial union of the Brewery workers, actually went against the advice of Tobin who, merely to gather the extra dues, pressed for a jurisdictional fight with the Brewery Union.

Against Tobin's charge that the financial secretary of the union was not bonded were presented documents, including the bond itself, dated last November, when the secretary was elected. It was pointed out that a copy of this bond was on file in Tobin's own office.

Take Immediate Steps

After voting support, the Central Union took immediate steps. A committee of three was voted to see Tobin in Indianapolis and Green in Washington, to fight out the case on its merits and demand the reinstatement of local 574.

In presenting its case local 574 contrasted the policy of Tobin and the policy of the union: ". . . There were two lines open to the union after the strike. First: It could have followed the policy indicated by president Tobin in his

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

"This would have set up a small office with a secretary in charge who could have done little more than collect dues—and would have resulted in the quick and decisive liquidation of the union and would have reduced it in a few short weeks to its former impotent position."

"Second: the policy followed by the present leadership, that is, throwing every available force into the field."

"(a) To check and finally defeat the bosses' plan of wholesale discrimination. That this was absolutely necessary the record of the membership lists month by month will show."

"(b) To set up a steward system and build a well-knit block of active organizers in the different firms and sections."

"(c) To take care of the wounded men and their families, to pay off gradually the most pressing obligations, hospital, doctor and food bills, to maintain a suitable hall and headquarters."

"(d) In the meantime to pay to the International every cent possible without crippling the union and scattering the membership, which is the source of all funds."

"(e) In this way to lay the basis for the liquidation of all debts to the International, as well as other local obligations."

In connection with debts to the International it was pointed out by the union that "During the past 18 months while the work of building the union was in progress no strike benefits or other financial aid or, indeed, any assistance, organizational or otherwise, was received from the International."

What to Attend

Friday, May 24, 8:30 P. M.—"The Situation in Fascist Italy." At 420 E. 19th St., between Ave. A and 1st Ave. Speaker: Anthony Ramaglia. Admission free.

Saturday, May 25, 8:30—Dance and entertainment at Branch 1 headquarters, 420 E. 19th St. Given by Branch 1 W.P. and S.Y.L. Help S.Y.L. and Br. 1 raise its rent! Saturday, May 18—Grand Opening and Housewarming of Brownsville Branch and Spartacus Youth League, 1776 Pitkin Ave. (near Stone). Entertainment, Dancing and Refreshments.

Friday, May 24, 8:30 P. M.—"What is the Meaning of the Franco-Soviet Pact?" At 1776 Pitkin Ave. (near Stone), Brownsville. Speaker: Arne Swaback.

New Militants and New Internationals can be purchased at: NEWS EXCHANGE 29 So. Main Street, AKRON CONFECTIONERY STORE 1 West Market Street, Akron

Boston Dressmaker Calls for Effective Preparations to Improve Conditions

By J. RAYMOND

BOSTON, May 8.—A general stoppage in the dress industry was called here yesterday with about 2,000 workers responding. Although this strike comes at the tail-end of the season, the conditions which surround it and led up to the union action are highly instructive for all dressmakers.

For the past year conditions in the dress industry have been rapidly rolling down hill. The little gained in the May strike two years ago after the signing of the code was fast disappearing. The union on its part did nothing to organize the unorganized who were undermining conditions in the union shops.

On February 15 the agreement with the employers expired. The workers believed a strike to be necessary if conditions were to be improved and the unorganized recruited for the union. Insistent demands were voiced at local meetings that preparations be made and machinery set up for strike. But the administration dallied and postponed on the pretext that the time was poor for a walkout. With their usual hypocrisy they declared that the workers could not be depended on in these "hard" times and would not support a strike.

The union militants struggled desperately against this policy but to no avail.

At conferences between manufacturers and the union about twelve of the bosses agreed to sign the old agreement. There was no great sacrifice for them in this offer as the agreement had remained a dead-letter hitherto. At a mass meeting called to ratify these negotiations considerable opposition was voiced by rank and file. They were enthusiastically received by the workers present. As was to be expected, however, the stage was set in advance and Hochman, International President, was the last speaker. Soft-soaping in his own inimitable style, Hochman dilated on the depression, pleaded for acceptance of the agreement, begged for patience until the opportune moment, urged that the workers wait for the New York strike after which conditions would automatically improve in Boston.

Filled with disgust the workers voted for the agreement and left the meeting with disappointment, the prevailing sentiment. Conditions went from bad to worse. Most of the dressmakers worked without agreements. Wages were anything the workers could get. Lock-outs and reorganizations were regular occurrences. But the union did nothing, calmly awaiting the return of prosperity. Only when talk became rife that the union was worthless and that members would stop paying dues to it, were the bureaucrats stirred out of their swif-

el chairs. The strike was called for the purpose of forcing agreements on the contracting shops. All shops, with and without agreements, have been called out. What is most necessary now is for the strike to be settled in short order since the season will soon be over. And of greater significance are the preparations for the future. All sincere and active workers must be banded together and an intensive organization drive started. Only such preliminaries and then a determined struggle will lead to improved conditions.

Reject Pact in Rubber Strike

By R. FERGUSON

AKRON, May 13.—The first militant step in turning back the tide of reaction in the rubber workers' unions was taken yesterday by the locked-out workers of the India Tire and Rubber Co. when by a vote of 141 to 33 they flatly rejected the proposal of President Klaus that the company be turned back into an open shop.

Klaus, having pleaded with great emotion that the closed shop, the only one in the industry, was ruining India's business, that the consumers of India tires (bearing the union label, no longer would buy them "on account of their problems regarding labor."

The company, admittedly in bad financial shape as a result of bitter price wars between the large corporations, expects to receive a \$190,000 loan from the Reconstruction Finance Corp. if "labor difficulties are ironed out"—meaning, of course, if the open shop is reestablished. Once again the rubber workers witness the role of the government in the class struggle.

Having temporarily broken the morale and exhausted the treasuries of the big rubber unions, Coleman C. Claherty, A. F. of L. organizer in rubber, was rushing off to Toledo to make an empty pledge of "moral and financial" support of the rubber workers to the auto strikers. He left behind one of his henchmen who merely advised the India workers "to use their own judgment" about voting down the open shop proposal. Again the rubber workers see the bureaucratic leadership deserting them at the crucial moment. The India rubber workers can depend only upon their own strength on the picket line, and the support given them by the large and militant Unemployed League at Mogadore.

In the big rubber unions plans are being pushed to test the recent sell-out agreement by demanding wage increases for the cleaners and elevator men.

strated the power of organized labor in action, when even a small group of workers, willing to fight, can successfully cripple a giant organization like the Chevrolet Corp.

W. P. in the Strike

The methods by which the progressives in this strike were organized have laid the groundwork for more successful and wide-spread attempts in the future. Although most of the strikers were new union men, the militants were drawn together. Bill Prior did a splendid job on this. A real floor machine, inexperienced as it was, was developed, and it put up a magnificent battle when all the circumstances are considered. A regular series of leaflets were issued to the strikers by the Workers Party. These were eagerly read and were tremendously effective in suggesting to the strikers the practical and necessary course to be pursued in the strike. Key men, rank and file leaders, were educated and trained in parliamentary procedure, strike tactics, and militant unionism. For one brief period, despite all the handicaps, it seemed as though the progressives would carry the day.

This year the production season is almost over. But the seeds of clean, progressive, fighting unionism which the W.P. has succeeded in implanting in the minds of the auto union members will bear fruit. At a meeting of the Chevrolet local held tonight, a thousand union men cheered the President of the local when he said: "In three weeks you won more than General Motors has won more than any group of workers in twenty years. What can you do in another six months? Build the union for the next fight." Walter Gunthrop, President of the Central Labor Union of Toledo, denounced the settlement as a bastard affair whose mother was Francis J. Dillon. Midwife at the birth was James Wilson, Green's personal representative, he stated. The men unanimously pledged themselves to stick in the union, throw out their false leaders, and build the organization toward a fight to a finish with General Motors.

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

Ill. Jobless March on Capitol

(Continued from Page 1) came out simultaneously with the roaring banners on the "hunger march" that thousands of dollars had been appropriated for the Great Lakes naval station. Other items told of millions being expended for naval maneuvers in the Pacific. Yet, when the unemployed petitioned the Governor of the state for redress in the face of famine and wholesale destitution, they were told in no uncertain terms that a levy on an income tax was "unconstitutional." In the coal camps, hovels and shacks of the jobless, whimpering children starved. This, perhaps, is "constitutional."

Learn Political Lesson

The unemployed of the state learned the political lesson of their life. They were taught that the government of Illinois, like its big brother, the government of the United States, was a government of a class—the capitalist class. Illusion after illusion were dispelled and the unemployed should realize by now that a program of action must assume definite political character if victory is to be acquired.

The marchers carried banners. "United We Eat—Divided We Starve," the slogan of the fighting National Unemployed League was adopted as the most popular banner of Illinois' hunger army. "We Want Work At Union Wages," "Down With The Sales Tax," "Feed Us Or Shoot Us Down," "Tax The Rich," "We Want Shelter" were others among a hundred or more banners carried by the marchers.

Strangely enough, after Horner had issued a statement of "not one cent," and Hopkins "not one thin dime" for the jobless, the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission came across with \$1,250,000 as a sop to the unemployed. Other counties through rich donors and special

appropriations began to announce that some money was on hand. The hunger marchers had exerted pressure.

Federation Knives Unemployed

As a desperate resort to undermine the threat of the unemployed workers, Mr. Soderstrom and Mr. Olander, boss parrots and officers of the State Federation of Labor, issued a vicious denunciation against the Illinois Workers Alliance and came out in favor of the sales tax. Soderstrom, a Republican state legislator, and Olander, a member of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, again stabbed the militant labor movement in the back with an irresponsible charge that the jobless "were allied with the Chamber of Commerce."

At the same time when the hunger marchers, tattered and hungry, petitioned the state to feed them, these two arch labor traitors were eating in ritzy restaurants, sleeping in swanky hotels and consorting with the very enemies of hungry men and women, many of whom are members of the Federation of Labor. We were compelled to witness again well groomed, well fed and well cared labor aristocrats spitting in the face of the masses who were desperately trying to avert a calamity of famine.

The Illinois unemployed marched. They experienced some necessary political lessons. They rehearsed in one of the simple immediate struggles. They'll march again. They'll march in larger numbers, better organized and knowing more about this thing called the class struggle. In the meantime the fight continues. The jobless will refuse to starve in silence. They will refuse to be satisfied with a "bean order."

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

Letters to the Editor

Dear Editor:

So I was hanging on a subway strap Monday morning, and I read on the front page of the New York Times,

"A. F. of L. officials here (Toledo) are lured at the influence which A. J. Muste of the Workers Party appears to have with the left-wing members of the strike committee," so I step all over the gent's toes in appreciation, and say "Atta boy" right out loud, and several people look at me, and the gent gets up and gives me his seat—maybe he thought I was talking to him!

Which doesn't have much to do directly with the Manager's request that I write something for the New Militant campaign,—but I thought I'd mention it anyway. After all, "influence" of the W. P. does depend a mighty lot on the New Militant too.

I understand the sub campaign is only so-so, and there is only half a month left. Personally I like to work "under pressure" at the last minute, and perhaps many comrades are planning to send in most of their subs between now and June 1, but there will have to be some tall hustling! Visiting headquarters I hear rumors of an enlarged paper, a daily, a bi-monthly supplement, eight pages, etc. And apparently the main obstacle to taking the plunge is not having quite adequate support in pushing the paper from the branches and membership as a whole. It's my guess that if this campaign were to approach closely 100 percent success, the New Militant would immediately come out larger or more frequently.

With a larger paper, its character inevitably improves. In my own case, for example, it hasn't been easy to sell the New Militant "as she is" in the wilds of Worcester, Mass., open-shop, middle-class-minded city. But I am sure a larger paper would be more comprehensive and complete in its viewpoint and presentation of news, and so easier to promote. Only WHOLE-

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I have three more to get on my individual quota of ten subs, and I'll get them somehow. One student, one housewife, an S. P. secretary, a machinist and a pal of his (vocation unknown), a printer and a shop foreman comprise my catch to date. I shall go gunning for a school teacher, a minister and shall give the tenth sub to an unemployed friend, instead of seeing "Goin' to Town." Now isn't that sacrificing for the Party! But after all Mae West will always be Mae West, while that sub might make a W.P. member out of a good Democrat!

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

CARA COOK, Former Manager, New Militant

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Auto Progressives in Toledo Organize After Partial Defeat

(Continued from Page 1)

Muste, who has been in Toledo assisting the local branch in developing the forces and strategy of the union progressives in the strike. He shouted "Muste won't feed you!" A score of voices hurled back, "Neither will you!"

Schwake Rats for Dillon

Despite Dillon's threats, lies, cajolery and brow-beating, it is doubtful that Dillon would have succeeded in his purpose of smashing the strike, had it not been for Schwake.

While slips of paper were being passed out for ballots intended to record a secret vote—a maneuver to catch the "weak-sisters" in the union put over by the pressure of the executive committee of the local which has been stringing along with the Dillon gang and bucking the progressives on the strike committee—Schwake stepped to the " mike" and pleaded with the strikers to accept the proposals. He told the strikers to think of their wives and children going hungry if the strike continued further, he argued that they weren't strong enough to battle General Motors despite the fact that the strikers had forced the company to terms on point after point in the course of the strike, he pointed to Dillon's threat to lift their charter.

Schwake swung enough of them to carry the vote for Dillon. Until he spoke, the strikers were dead-set against acceptance. But Schwake was the man whom they regarded as one of their own trusted leaders. It was he they had voted for in the Auto Labor Board election one month before. All during the strike he had presented himself as a militant, although behind the scenes he went along with Dillon, fought the progressives under cover, prevented the publication of the strike bulletin, helped keep strike funds from the strike committee, tried to start a "red scare" and prevented the distribution of hand-

bills by other working class organizations, and sought to take over the leadership of the strike from the elected strike committee.

Knives Roland

But the strikers didn't know, or perhaps didn't understand, these things. They didn't know Schwake was betraying Jimmy Roland, their fighting chairman of the strike committee and leader of the militants. They didn't know that it was Jim Roland who was most active in the organizing of the progressives in the local after last year's Auto-Lite strike, in ousting Ramsey and Bossler, the former reactionary leaders, and putting Schwake in as business agent. They didn't know Schwake was inexperienced and vacillating and that he had been run for office with the promise that he would accept the advice of the experienced union men like Roland. When Schwake turned tail, the props were knocked from under many of them. They became confused. Their confidence in the correctness of their militant position was shattered. Many faltered as he spoke all through the vote-taking. Only after the vote was announced and the meeting officially adjourned did they begin to realize that they had voted for something they did not want, that they had been fooled and tricked.

Several hundred of the most militant remained in the hall for an hour after adjournment. They were fighting mad. They wanted to hold another meeting to reconsider. They wanted to return and man the picket lines despite everything. In this group were the best fighters, the most self-sacrificing, the picket captains, strike committee members. But it was too late. For the moment demoralization had set in. The majority of the strikers had dispersed, most of them in disgust. They were weary of body and torn in spirit. Some of the bravest of them wept.

Jimmy Roland had given the real militant leadership and direction, had fought Dillon and his gang almost single-handed, had kept the strike committee time after time from capitulating to the pressure of the government, the press and the General Motors officials, had personally spread the strike to other cities in the face of the opposition of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, was indeed the spark-plug of the entire fight. He fought in his grim bulldog honest fashion to the bitter end, but he seemed in a daze during the entire meeting. Only 24 years old, he did not as yet possess the skill and knowledge to offset the maneuvers of Dillon. His very incorruptible honesty and sense of fair play betrayed him. For it was he who finally persuaded the strikers to permit Dillon to speak. He did it in the sense of demonstrating to Dillon what democratic unionism means. And then Dillon thanked him by knifing him and the strikers in the back.

Progressives Organize

The results of this strike cannot be termed an utter defeat, however, although the auto workers have lost their finest opportunity to date to force the auto barons to their knees throughout the country.

Out of this fight has grown a force of militant progressives in the auto unions who have demonstrated conclusively their power and ability. The struggle they put on in Toledo, although meeting with temporary defeat, has already aroused progressives in the auto unions throughout the country. Tonight these progressives are planning to get together, to lay out a national program, to organize, train and discipline themselves more thoroughly.

Moreover, this strike has proved to the auto workers that the auto barons and corporations are not invincible. A small handful, comparatively, of Toledo strikers, militant and determined, forced General Motors to negotiate with them directly, against all the previously declared policy of General Motors. They won some concessions, even though meagre and apt to be withdrawn if the union men fail to push forward their organization and fight every attempt to violate the terms. Further, they have demon-

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

In Belgium . . .

Social Democracy again proves its role as a brake on the working class in its struggle against capitalism. With the existence of a Marxist party in Belgium, the political crisis through which that country has been passing could have been utilized to direct the proletariat in militant struggle for the purpose of achieving as a first step a workers' government. But a revolutionary party did not exist there, owing in largest measure to the criminal blunders and betrayals of Stalinism. Social Democracy retains its power over the trade unions and in the political activities of the masses. But within the ranks of the socialist Labor Party of Belgium, the most advanced workers, absorbing some of the bitter lessons of the German defeat, have been slowly moving to the left. The deep-going crisis of capitalism produced the objective conditions for the rapid growth of such a left wing, but its leadership could only accommodate itself to the pressure of the reformist leaders at the right and thus held back the workers instead of arousing them to militant action.

Coalition Gov't . . .

In Belgium, as in France, fascism is a growing menace to the working class. The Belgian king is in close touch with the forces of reaction and the monarchy will be utilized without a doubt in the attempt to save the capitalist system by handing the power to the extreme reactionaries who will crush all workers' organizations unless the workers seize the power and liquidate the monarchy at the same time. Far from preparing the masses for this revolutionary task, the Social Democracy is rendering them passive. Instead of breaking with the bourgeoisie as the first step in the defense of the workers against fascism, the betraying leaders of the Labor Party have joined in the coalition ministry. The militant workers have demanded straight along that in the political crisis accompanying the economic one, the Labor Party take over the government alone. But there is nothing that socialist leaders fear so much as power, for then they cannot reject the basic demands of the working class without standing naked and exposed. The entry of Vandervelde, De Man and the "leftist" Spaak into the Van Zeeland coalition shows once more how reformism creates illusions among the workers by denouncing capitalism loudly in words in order the better to save the capitalist ("democratic") system in deeds. Vandervelde requires the bourgeoisie in the coalition so as to avoid complete exposure when

he tramples on the needs of the masses.

The Effects . . .

It is clear from the circumstances surrounding the formation of the coalition ministry that the socialist workers, the rank and file, were opposed to this betrayal and to class collaboration at this juncture. For the entry was in the nature of a coup d'etat, an accomplished fact, put over not merely on the Labor Party, but on the Central Committee of the party as well. This throws the clearest light possible on the attitude of these misleaders towards "legality." They would have the workers follow the course permitted to them by finance capital in the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie, but they reserve to themselves the right to act "illegally" for the benefit of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class. This act on the part of the reactionaries will have wide repercussions. The desertion of the left wing by its leader Spaak, who also joined the ministry (his reward for this foul treachery), prevented an immediate split, since the left forces in the Labor Party were thrown into confusion. Nevertheless the left wing continued its publication of "Action Socialiste" and denounced the coalition government, stating: "We again reaffirm our belief in the revolutionary road to Socialism. Coalition is disastrous." The situation in the Labor Party at present is a real test of the left forces and may result in rapid progress to a real Marxist basis. Thus a deputy from Brussels declared in the Special Congress called to "ratify" the fait accompli: "I am convinced now more than ever that with these methods (compromise) capitalism will never be conquered. We have behind us bitter events—Germany, Austria—isn't that sufficient that we should learn? We must have more confidence in the power of the working class—in our own strength—the time will come when our voice will be heard—the voice of Revolutionary Socialism."

The struggle against coalition will tend to unite the left centrist forces and aid them to reach the advanced workers. This also involves the struggle against De Man for putting into effect his entire "Labor Plan" which would involve the taking of power by a workers' government, and not merely portions of it, as De Man now proposes. In this fight the Bolsheviks must come to the aid of the revolutionary workers in the Labor Party. In the course of common struggle the Bolsheviks can win over these forces for a real militant struggle against fascism and for workers' power.

(Ed. Note: This is the second of a series of articles by Comrade Muste. The third article will appear next week.)

By A. J. MUSTE

There is another idea advanced by Comrade Budenz which along with certain valuable suggestions exhibits the same individualism, unreality, "other-worldliness," the pioneer's longing for a fresh start, the yearning for the ideal, as the conceptions we have been discussing. The "American approach" means, he suggests, that in building the American revolutionary party we must make a fresh start. The movement in this country must be "foot-loose from the broils of European radicalism." Our workers and farmers are "nauseated with the charges and counter-charges of 'opportunism,' 'renegadeism,' etc. which fill the radical air." They are "fed up on the neuras-thenic fictions which one radical group must, as a matter of duty, create about the other—muddying the waters and hiding the lesson of correct tactics."

There is here, be it said in passing, a hint that it is only European radicalism which is afflicted with broils, that American radicalism would be free of them if these bad Europeans had not brought them over or, perhaps, foolish Americans had not imitated the Europeans. There is surely no foundation in fact for such an assumption of the peaceableness of Americans, red or any other color, and a tendency is evident here to slip into language which might easily be given a nationalistic interpretation which its author would be the first to disown.

Mud-Slinging Methods

Now there is no question that radical parties and groups have sometimes devoted time and energy to wrangling over non-essentials or issues that had become dead. It is also true that controversy has descended at times to the level of petty sniping. The C. P. has pursued a policy of mud-slinging, character-assassination (at this very moment directed against Comrade Budenz), lying, double-crossing, breaking up meetings of other groups, which have introduced a demoralization and bitterness into the radical movement. With any protest against any of these tendencies wherever they may appear, the W.P. will associate itself. It has taken and will take the lead in the effort to eradicate them.

But there is here a lumping together of all controversies in the radical movement and the suggestion that they are not over serious and genuine issues but the product of "neuras-thenic fictions" which each radical group has to trump up against the others as a justification for its own existence. Are the dis-

The Use of Polemics In the Labor Movement

cussions which have indeed raged furiously many times in the radical movement thus to be discussed as the ravings of neuras-thenics about fictions? Was there not a real issue between Marx and the Utopian socialists? Or Marx and Bakunin? And was it not essential to the advancement of the working class that these issues be fought out and clarified? To take another illustration, comrade Budenz would be the last to argue that there is no real issue as between the Social-democrat and the revolutionist or that it is not necessary to break the hold of the Social-democracy on the mind of the working class.

The Issue at Hand

It really comes down, then, to the question as to whether the conflict between the C.P. and the W.P., between the Third International and those who have raised the banner of the New, Fourth, International, has to do with significant issues. But to ask this question is to answer it! Conceivably an honest worker may be on one side or the other in the controversy, and we do not class those workers who differ from us as counter-revolutionists and social-fascists (a breed that seems suddenly to be as extinct as the dodo). But every day in the field our comrades encounter those who belong to the C. P. or are under its influence. They must be equipped to reason with them. What else should a responsible worker do with other workers?

Furthermore, the issues of the united front, the trade union policy of the C.P., social-fascism, party and workers' democracy, socialism in one country, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, cannot be dismissed as unimportant, "neuras-thenic fictions," any more than the controversy between Marx and the Utopians, or Lenin and the Social-Democrats could be. The advent of Fascism, the reasons why the workers' movement did not prevent it, the debate of the C.P. in Germany, the fact that in seven years, and such years, the Third International, claiming to be the general staff of the world revolutionary movement, has had no congress—all this, the W.P. claims, can only mean that the working class of the world has entered upon a new epoch, as truly as a new epoch dawned with the debate of the Second International in 1914.

Confronted with such a situation, the revolutionary vanguard must first decide whether the basic principles of the movement remain or whether a new set is to be worked out. The W.P. bases itself upon the principles of Marx and Lenin. No

one has come forward with any others that merit serious consideration.

The Point of Departure

It then becomes necessary to ask how the basic principles have been perverted, misapplied, departed from. How can the revolutionary movement possibly go on, unless it is simply to make a leap in the dark, save on the basis of an evaluation of the past, its successes and its failures? Since when has it become scientific and realistic for a movement not to strive earnestly to benefit by its own experience? To propose to "start from scratch" with a brand-new revolutionary movement is to cry for the moon. We cannot wipe out history. Our opponents will talk about it if we do not. It is not even true that the workers of the U. S. are nauseated with discussion of these issues. Most of them do not know anything about them, it is true. They are uninterested, rather than nauseated. But will any one say that there is less discussion in the S.P. for example, or among the more advanced workers generally, about revolutionary principles and the evaluation of European events, etc. than a few years ago?

Less now than ever before is it possible or advisable for the revolutionary movement in the U. S. to ignore or isolate itself from European or world-experience. As capitalism in the U.S. rapidly approaches the same stage of development as in European countries and resorts to much the same devices to thwart the labor movement, we can learn very direct and specific lessons from European experience. Fascism is not a remote or abstract issue for American workers. War is not a remote or abstract issue for us. Furthermore, the issue is international, not national issues. Still further, it is utterly impossible to comprehend what is happening to the pocket-book, the home, the dinner-table of American workers and farmers, or to devise a way out, save by an understanding of what is happening to world-capitalism and of what the working class of all lands can do about it.

Unity—Its Real Meaning

One other point in this connection. It is true that the workers desire unity. They must achieve unity in order to win their freedom. But a revolutionist has no business to lapse into sentimentality or middle-headedness. As we have pointed out on other occasions, there was a united labor movement in Austria, but it went down before Fascism because it was united on a false, social-democratic, basis. We must not, therefore, seek to evade the controversy as to what is the sound basis for unity. Rather must we fight with all the mental resources at our command for our conception as to what that basis is. Are we then to become a "debat-

ing society" or an "academy of theoreticians"? If by that is meant that we have vigorous internal discussions over real issues, in the national and international sphere, we say, By all means: no organization has any vitality which does not have that sort of internal life. If, however, it is meant that we talk and write, but do not act, that we develop an ingrown party, the answer is that we shall permit that to happen at our peril. Again and again we say, the Party must get into the class struggle, yes, here in the U.S.A. It must prove itself in action, and if it does not, it will be thrown into the garbage-can, where it would belong, by the working class. Theory is with us the guide to action and is to be tested in action.

The Question of Stalinism

Are we to be an "anti-Stalinist" rather than an "anti-capitalist" party? It seems to me that there are certain comrades in the Party who from different angles take an unrealistic view of the matter here raised. On the one hand, there are comrades who to all intents and purposes say that we have to answer the Stalinists' arguments and if we do that we can dispose of them and go ahead, and those who from a slightly different angle contend that until the C.P. has been put out of the running, by whatever means, there is very little we can do.

For one thing, the Stalinist arguments have all been answered, but that has not meant the C.P. disappear. The arguments of the capitalists have all been answered too. Only comrades with a very academic, intellectualistic, i.e. non-Marxian, approach could possibly think that arguments, oral or written, by themselves, dispose of institutions and organizations. We have to demonstrate to the workers not only that we can win a debate with the C.P., but that we can offer them a living alternative, a revolutionary party that can actually function in the class struggle. Obviously, if we have to prove that we can function in order to win the leadership of the workers as against opponent parties, we have to function while these parties still exist and are also at work. Who would expect to be otherwise in the world of reality? Who can give the matter a moment's thought and then propose that we put off trade union work until the C.P. has been liquidated rather than contest the field in the unions now with the C. P.? Yes, comrades, again: Project the party into the class struggle!

The Ostrich Method

On the other hand, there are comrades who practically take the position that the Party should ignore the existence of the C.P. "simply go ahead with its work," spread its anti-capitalist message, build branches, help organize the unemployed, enter the unions, etc., but eschew controversy either about principles or practical matters. If the comrades referred to in the preceding paragraph suffer primarily from being academic, these latter comrades are afflicted with a sentimental outlook. It would indeed be pleasant if there were no serious controversies in the working class, if they were all engaged in a united attack on the capitalist system. But then the revolution would be here! The world does not happen to be as we would like it. In the real world we must fight those who mislead the working class in order to fight capitalism effectively. In any event, they will attack us and leave us no alternative but to fight.

And though argument about principles does not of itself suffice to wrest leadership from an opponent party, it is just as true that in order to achieve leadership the Party must do more than conduct picket lines. It must demonstrate its intellectual superiority. Partly because only thus can the most advanced and intelligent workers and intellectuals be won. Chiefly, because the Party's job is not merely to conduct a series of skirmishes with the employing class, but nothing less than leadership in the overthrow of capitalism. The Party must have intellectual competence and satisfy the advanced workers that it has.

The Job Before Us

It makes a tremendous difference, however, whether the attack on Stalinism is regarded as a means or as an end, whether we think of ourselves or act as if we considered ourselves critics of another party which is after all to do the job or whether we are really conscious of being the revolutionary party whose task is to rally the workers for the assault on capitalism, which justifies itself in action on a broader and broader scale, and pays just so much attention to other parties as may be necessary as an incident in that major task. We are the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, revolutionary Party and our pre-occupation is not with the C.P. but with the capitalist system in the U. S. and throughout the world—the system which with our sister parties we aim to overthrow.

(The third article of Comrade Muste's series will appear next week.)

on the plantation owners of Arkansas, Rodgers may yet be saved from a six-months' sentence in jail. To save him would be a real aid to the share-croppers and their union, of which he is a leading militant.

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

S. W. PHILADELPHIA—
Question: Do not Stalin and other of his followers prove that Lenin claimed that it was possible to completely build a Socialist society in the Soviet Union alone?

Answer: The sole theoretical justification given by the Stalinists for the "theory of Socialism in one country" consists of two quotations from Lenin, one from his article on the United States of Europe, written in 1915, and the other from his unfinished article on Cooperation, written in 1923. Everything else that Marx, Engels and Lenin said, wrote, or did is ignored, as are the programs of the Party and Young Communist League during the October period and all the opinions expressed by the Party leaders during that time, including those of the now-supporters of the "theory."

Space does not permit a demonstration of the fact that even the quotations adduced by the Stalinists do not permit them the claim that Lenin was an advocate of the "theory" which Stalin first advanced in 1924, but if you will refer to "The Draft Program of the Communist International, a Criticism of Fundamentals" by Trotsky, a copy of which is available from almost any of the former C.L.A. members, you will find a complete analysis of this question under the chapter headed "The Theoretical Tradition of the Party."

(H), NEW YORK—
Question: What is the difference between a "minimum" and a Marxist program?

Answer: The posing of the problem in this manner puts the entire question in a false light. The confusion surrounding the term "minimum," where the program of the political party is concerned, flows from the attempt to decree history, i.e., to set up, a priori, and regardless of time and space, the concept of what a program must be, and to label this "Marxist." When a program, under definite historical conditions, obviously advances the historical needs of the working class but is nevertheless "less" than that which the historical ultimatum would "like," it is sometimes accepted by them but labelled "minimum" IN CONTRAST to "Marxist." Actually such contrasting is impermissible because that program, conditioned as it must be by the life process, which moves social forces in a progressive direction, IS MARXIST.

Let us recall a historical example. When the Bolsheviks, under Lenin, divided the land equally among the peasantry, this was sharply criticized by Rosa Luxemburg as having nothing in common with Socialism. The progressive character of the program of the Bolsheviks is now obvious so that if we were to follow the methodology of those who contrast "minimum" with "Marxist" we must necessarily conclude that the Bolsheviks had such a non-Marxist "minimum" program. Actually it was Marxist in the fullest sense of the word and Trotsky had occasion to point out that if they had followed Rosa Luxemburg's "Marxism" they might have been left with this but in all probability without the proletarian power.

"It would be possible to speak of Socialist perspectives only after the establishment and successful preservation of the proletarian power. And this power could preserve itself only by giving determined co-operation to the peasant in carrying out his revolution. If the distribution of the land would strengthen the socialist government politically, it was then wholly justified as an immediate measure. The peasant had to be taken as the revolution found him. . . ." ("History of the Russian Revolution").

The gist of the matter is this: Revolutionists may, without illusions, adopt a program which does not contain all that they would like to see fulfilled but which advances the historical needs of society under a given set of circumstances, and such a program IS MARXIST even if it be labelled "minimum" to show its historical conditioning.

Question: Is the "Declaration of Principles" of the Workers Party a Marxist document?

Answer: YES! The "Declaration" contains the following points which are essential prerequisites for advancing the historical needs of the proletariat under present-day historical conditions: The recognition of the decline and reactionary nature of present day capitalism (imperialism); the recognition of the nature of the capitalist state power; the need for the overthrow of capitalism through a revolutionary struggle for power; for a vanguard party; for the dictatorship of the working class; for workers' councils (soviets); for a classless society; for a new International, for the defense of the Soviet Union; for a struggle against imperialist war and fascism; for a program of immediate demands and the united front; against reformism, Stalinism and centrism.

The Forgotten Men in America's No-Mans Land

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

By HARRY STRANG

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

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

Interviewed after the meeting, Rogers told something of the situation in Arkansas, the fight of his union and his own persecution at the hands of the landowning class. "Our union is made up of share-croppers. A sharecropper is a man who owns nothing but his own labor-power. Generally, whether Negro or white, he has no vote. He lives on a great plantation and farms a little corner of it. The plantation owner furnishes him, that is gives him seed, a mule, tools and food, as well as a rotten clapboard shack. The cropper and his family work all year, planting, cultivating, picking.

NRA a New Burden

"He is supposed to get half the market price brought by the crop. That would be little enough. . . . but by the time the landlord gets through with his 'deducts'—whether reckoned honestly or with a

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

"Poverty, illiteracy, tuberculosis, pellagra, malaria, starvation . . . that is the life story of the share-croppers of Arkansas as well as of other parts of the country. In Arkansas the average family earns about \$300 a year. Half the population of the state are living off that much—if you can call it living."

The croppers have been promised salvation a thousand times, but they never got a step nearer until they began to take their fate in their own hands. When Rogers and others began to organize the Southern Tenant Farmers Union last July, the croppers at Tyroneza went for it in a big way. Today, according to Rogers, it has 10,000 members in 50 locals in eastern Arkansas, with a few in southern Missouri and eastern Oklahoma. It has held the largest mass meetings ever held in the history of Arkansas—and held them in the face of a fierce government-backed terror campaign launched by the landowners.

Color Issue Raised

"I used to hitch-hike when I went out organizing," Rogers related, "and it was quite safe. We started in the summer and the owners thought it was just a little pre-election stunt by political fakery. Election passed, and we went on organizing the union. We took in Negroes and white, mixed up in the same union. We showed the croppers that militant unity is the only road, that class matters rather than color. The union grew.

"Then the owners changed their attitude. They did not wait for us to strike. They raised the color issue. Then, before we could even pose demands, the terror began, and now I can't move around in North Eastern Arkansas safely even in a

high-powered car. Deputies, night-riders, vigilantes are the exploiters' answer to the croppers' first move to improve their living conditions."

Rogers outlined some of the acts of terror perpetrated by the agents of the landowners. A few of them follow.

On November 20, 1934: W. H. Stultz, President of the Union, and three organizers were arrested and jailed while organizing Cross County. They were held in jail for 40 days. At the trial in February the judge ordered a verdict of "Not guilty." The union meeting was broken up by Sheriff Stacy who acted on orders from plantation owners near Parkin and Earle, Arkansas. A gang of gunmen accompanied Sheriff Stacy, including Floyd Roberts, planter, O. R. Belford, plantation rider (foreman), W. W. Hazlip, Justice of the Peace, and Walls Campbell, Justice of the Peace at Parkin, Arkansas. O. R. Belford took charge of A. B. Brooks, Negro minister and Chaplain of the Union and beat him so badly that it was necessary for Sheriff Stacy to secure medical treatment.

On January 26, 1935, Rogers was arrested at Marked Tree, while addressing a meeting of Negro and white croppers. Fred H. Stafford, deputy prosecuting Attorney for Pointsett County had been stationed with his stenographer at the edge of the crowd with the evident intention of framing someone. Rogers was tried for "anarchy" by a jury composed of 11 planters and business men and 1 tenant farmer. He was sentenced to six months and a fine of \$500. The case is now on appeal.

Threaten Lynchings

On February 1 Lucien Koch and Robert Reed, both of Commonwealth College, Ark., were forcibly taken from a church at Gilmore, Arkansas by an armed mob carrying a rope with which to lynch them. Both were severely beaten and "pistol whipped." The mob was led by Jake Lewis, a plantation rider and Benton Moore, formerly an officer of the law in Crittenden County.

On February 2 Rogers, Koch, Atley Delaney and Robert Baker were arrested and jailed by J. Mays, city marshal of Lepanto, Arkansas.

They were terrorized while in jail by a mob of planters who threatened to lynch them. They were held in a flooded cell for three days without adequate food or fire.

On February 9 Powers Haggood, of the Socialist Party and several union officials were prevented from holding a meeting at Birdsong by planters and officers.

On March 6 Will Irving, share-cropper and union member was shot in the arm by a plantation rider named Lancaster.

On March 16 Norman Thomas, H. L. Mitchell, John Herling and Howard Kester were manhandled and slugged by a drunken mob of planters and officers at Birdsong. Bob Frazier of Tyroneza, Arkansas, reputed head of the recently organized Ku Klux Klan was in the mob. There were many prominent planters in the mob who took no active part except to encourage the others.

On March 21 a mob, many of whom are identified, attempted to lynch Rev. A. B. Brooks, Union Chaplain and organizer at Marked Tree, Arkansas. After the mob had failed on four occasions to lure Brooks from his cabin they turned their guns upon his home and riddled it with bullets. Brooks is in hiding.

Shoot Union Men

On March 22 W. H. Stultz was taken to the office of Chapman-Dewey Land Co. in Marked Tree by A. C. Spillings, Fred Bradsher and Bob Frazier. Stultz was told by Frazier and Bradsher that they would personally see to it that "Your brains are blown out and your body thrown into the St. Francis River."

On March 26 the home of C. T. Carpenter of Marked Tree, attorney for the union, was fired upon by vigilantes in Marked Tree.

On April 1 Walter Moskop, one of the members of the trio which toured eastern cities in behalf of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, escaped from his home when he was told by his eleven year old boy that the vigilantes were closing in on home to kill him. Andy Smith, riding boss for Chapman-Dewey, lay in hiding throughout the day near Moskop's home. Moskop is a native of Arkansas and has had his home in Marked Tree for years.

On April 2 the home of E. B. McKinney, another member of the party which toured the east in the interest of the union and vice-president of the union, was riddled with more than fifty bullets while his family and some friends were inside. Two men were badly shot and the entire household terrorized when the mob told them that unless they all left Marked Tree within 24 hours they would be killed.

The Federal government, that friend of the oppressed, sent an investigator to Arkansas, Mrs. Mary Connor Myers. She didn't like to make trouble for the plantation owners, but so terrible is the plight of the croppers, so obvious the crimes against them, that her report necessarily reflected some criticism of the landowners' methods. As a result, the Department of Agriculture and the AAA have suppressed the Myers report. Senator Robinson of Arkansas, Roosevelt's floor-leader in the upper House of Congress, uses his power to block all requests for the publication of the report. He vetoes any Federal intervention on behalf of the croppers.

The Federal government knows what is going on in Arkansas, and it wants nobody else to know about it or to do anything about it!

N.P.L.D. Aids Defense

Rogers stated that the only solution is further organization and further struggle. He said that since the terror was loosed against the croppers, the union has moved ahead. "Down in Arkansas we are fighters," he says. "When the owners began to fight the union, the croppers came to the sensible conclusion that a union must be a good thing for the croppers. So in they came, and no terror can stop them."

Rogers came before the higher court of Arkansas in October. His defense is being handled by a union committee which has the backing of the Ward H. Rogers Defense Committee, a joint body including the Workers Party, the Socialist Party, the I.W.W., the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, unions and other bodies. If this committee succeeds in raising the needed funds and bringing aggressive pressure

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Lessons of the Toledo Battle

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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

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

3. The Toledo workers were subdued not by General Motors and not from any lack of courage and militancy on their own part, but chiefly by the perfidious treachery of Francis Dillon, the chief representative of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy in the situation. The lowest forms of trickery, the most brazen intimidation, were employed by him. For public consumption he pretended to urge the Norwood committee to call their men out in support of Toledo. Privately he told them to throw copies of *Strike Truth* into the waste basket. The *New Militant* has told the story of how he literally forced the Flint workers to stay in, condoned their working on scab transmissions, and insinuated that the Toledo strikers were yellow and unworthy of support. His henchmen beat up a Toledo union militant in Flint.

This mouther of phrases about "democratic" America and the "democratic" A. F. of L. told the Toledo strikers, the strike committee, the union executive board, BEFORE THE VOTE Monday night that if they did not vote to accept the company's compromise proposal, he would withdraw the union's charter! This is his notion of democratic procedure! Thus when the Chevrolet strikers had barred him from speaking at their meeting—correctly so in view of the slimy role he had enacted—he played, desperately and despicably, upon their

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

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

4. The next most important factor in the partial undoing of the Chevrolet strikers was the organizational and political inexperience of the strikers themselves and their leaders. Of the marvelous battle put up especially by Jimmy Roland and some of his colleagues we have already spoken. Nothing can dim that achievement, yet there were defects which must be avoided in the future. The importance of making a fight for a militant daily bulletin was not sensed and the Strike Committee backed down on it too readily when the union executive at Dillon's behest vetoed the idea. Technical details such as regular strike committee meetings, secretarial service, etc. were neglected. The calling of a conference of all striking locals was too long delayed. When Roland for the Strike Committee at last got the call out, Dillon was in a position to countermand it. The power of the reactionary forces in the labor movement, and the length to which they would go in betrayal, was underestimated. *Strike Truth* was the greatest weapon of the strike. It was a fundamental error to allow it to be suppressed.

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

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

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

The Pulitzer Prize for Poison Pens

The Sacramento Bee wins the Pulitzer prize for the year's best newspaper reporting. The prize is awarded by a board of editors and professors of journalism, on the advice of the publishers of big capitalist newspapers, such as Adolph S. Ochs of the Times, whose recent death, Karl Radek of the Communist International tells us, should be mourned by "newspaper men of every class."

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

For example, when the defense counsel told the jury that a conviction would be used by reactionaries to renew terrorism against workers (a prophesy which came true a few days after when the cops told Mike Plesh, an acquitted defendant, to get out of town or be beaten up), the Bee reported that defense coun-

sel had threatened "red terror" in the event of convictions!

The closing argument by Attorney Albert Goldman of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense so profoundly affected several jurors that they held out against convictions for 66 hours. When he concluded, he was given a hand-written note by a Bee reporter explaining that "for reasons which will be obvious," the report in the Bee would not represent what the reporter really thought. The Bee did not dare report Goldman's argument honestly; it was afraid of awakening sympathy for the defendants.

The campaign of lies against the defendants, their ideas, organizations and counsel, created the atmosphere in which reactionaries on the jury could bulldoze Juror McIntire into a horse-trade which sent innocent workers to prison and gave an impetus to reaction. The Sacramento Bee, which might better be called the Sacramento Viper, led

the swarm of loathsome creatures whose hissing and buzzing dominated the jurors' "deliberations."

For its efficiency in wielding a reactionary poison pen and bending to its ends the talents of its kept reporters, the Bee gets the Pulitzer Prize and thousands of capitalist editors envy the achievement.

There can be no over-estimation of the importance of the workers' own press to counteract the poison pens of the bosses' kept journalists and kept journals. The *New Militant* alone, with its honest, accurate weekly reports, gave a true and complete picture of the Sacramento trial. Build the *New Militant* and help scotch the Sacramento Viper!

CLASSICAL LANGUAGE

A Yale student specializing in classical languages has been arrested at the Colt Arms picket line in Hartford, Conn. He called the boss a skunk.

Stalin's Treason in France

Some Startling Quotations from l'Humanite of Paris

wish to conquer war. (l'Humanite, April 4)

Péri and Pertinax

Blum rates Pertinax, of the Echo de Paris, among the "awkward friends" of the U.S.S.R. (Populaire, April 21) because, bourgeois realist that he is, he considers the question of an alliance with the U.S.S.R. from the point of view of relative force, without attaching any importance to vague promises. Pertinax is solely concerned with "French" interests. If he were solely concerned with "Russian" interests he would no doubt write as Péri, true friend of the U.S.S.R., writes:

"Others believe that M. Laval together with John Simon would be disposed to replace the project of an Eastern Pact by an Air Alliance open to all the signatories of the Locarno Treaty, the U.S.S.R., and the Little Entente. They boast of having obtained the support of Poland and of Germany for this system.

"Well, without a second thought we can say, this system has nothing to do with peace. Those who support it would precipitate the very rule of cannons which the masses wish to avert at any cost.

"Aggression will not be discouraged if the sole risk to the aggressor is the risk of not being actively assisted. Passivity by itself is an encouragement to adventures.

"In the concrete case under

consideration, the system invented by M. Laval would limit itself to an agreement that Germany might carry on its Eastern projects, that France would lend no assistance, but at the same time would offer no opposition." (l'Humanite, April 4).

Péri and the C.P. of France, from the point of view of the national interests of the Soviet bureaucracy, and Pertinax from the point of view of the national interests of the bourgeoisie advance, in fact, the same political line.

If, as Thorez has informed us since July 1934, it is the Communists who love their country well, it follows that those who do not love their country, the bourgeoisie, are "the traitors."

This is just what Cachin informs us in an article for April 10, in which he concludes:

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

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

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

From which we conclude that the country, at present under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, does not understand where its real interests lie.

P. Vaillant-Couturier moreover makes no effort to conceal it from the country, he undertakes a crusade "To the rescue of French culture."

"If the proletariat, according to Marx, 'has no fatherland' they have now as internationalists something to defend: that is the cultural patrimony of France, the spiritual wealth, the works of its artisans, its workers, its artists, and its thinkers." (l'Humanite, April 13)

In other words: if the proletariat has no fatherland, nevertheless for l'Humanite it has had one for some time—the French patrimony. "Conquer the country" for Cachin and P. Vaillant-Couturier means to reconquer, by means of brainstorms in l'Humanite, their positions of 1914.

The Announcement of Treason
From such equivocations can come nothing but treason. Happily for the proletariat, the C.I. and its various sections have just advertised their treason, without any equivocation or shame.

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

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

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

"We will aid by every means, even by the sacrifice of our lives, the victory of the Soviet Socialist Union in its war against all those who attack the land of socialism."

The proletariat is no longer to struggle for the defeat of its own imperialist government, but for the defeat of "German imperialism and its allies."

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

The appeal of the C.P.F. on the occasion of the municipal elections confirms us (l'Humanite, April 21): "The most sacred duty of the proletarians of the entire world is the defeat of aggressors against the Soviet Union and the defeat of all the aggressor's allies."

"The communists want the UNIFICATION OF ALL FRENCHMEN, who work in the factories, docks, offices, stores, laboratories, schools, universities, and the workers of all nationalities and races who share the same suffering and the same hopes."

There we are, twice warned. Blind are the workers who do not immediately draw the correct lessons and the consequences thereof.

—(From La Verite, Paris)

Stalin-Laval Communique

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

Lenin in his time denounced the League of Nations as a "thieves kitchen" and the Versailles Peace as a brigands' peace and the breeder of a new war. Stalin joins the League of Nations and pledges the Red Army to defend the status quo established by the Versailles Treaty.

Lenin said: turn the imperialist war into a civil war. Stalin says: Do not interfere with the military operations of your own capitalists.

Down with perfidious Stalinism!

Long live the watchword of Karl Liebknecht—the watchword of the Fourth International:

The enemy is in our own country!

Election Battle In Minneapolis

(Continued from Page 1)

assembly and organization for the workers: use of public places for meetings and demonstrations without police interference.

Follows an analysis of the Farmer-Labor Party, its inability to fulfill the tasks of the working class, the attainment of the socialist society. "The Farmer Labor Party is not truly a revolutionary workers party, nor can it become one. It will not serve the workers when the big bosses decide to take away the rights which are looked upon by the people as 'constitutional guarantees.' The Farmer-Labor Party puts its faith in parliamentary debate, which the capitalists have shown they will abandon the moment it goes against them."

"Workers of Minneapolis: Elect the Farmer-Laborites to office but watch their every move, do not trust them. They will serve the workers' movement only if the workers' organizations force them to."

The leaflet concludes with an appeal to join the Workers Party, to build the revolutionary party and the revolutionary International.

St. Louis Gas Strike is Solid

(Continued from Page 1)

the daily strike paper: A certain Republican hack, Mr. Easterday, the City Engineer, decided to cut a gas line with scab labor. He arrived on the day in question at the pit where the cutting was to be made with a carload of police, and a scab plumber, a certain Shaw.

We quote: "Meanwhile the scab had gone down and another Union Brother standing on the opposite side of the ditch tried to persuade Shaw not to scab. Easterday thereupon lost his head, and running around to where this brother was standing, he tried to push him into the ditch. He succeeded in upsetting his balance, but went down into the ditch with him; and whereas this Brother landed on the water main, Easterday flopped right into the mud hole at the bottom of the ditch. A scab made a rush at this Brother and made a pass at him with a sledge hammer. The Brother, sitting astride the water main, saw him coming and let go with both feet, catching the scab square in the face and sending him reeling into the mud hole with City Engineer Easterday. When these two worthless final waded out of the mud hole they were a sight for sore eyes."

The working masses are searching the political line which will prevent war, or if the war breaks out in spite of the efforts of the proletariat, will accomplish the overthrow of the capitalist regime, which is responsible for war, and substitute the socialist regime for it.

We wish to show merely by quotations from l'Humanite, the daily paper of the Communist Party of France, which can easily be verified by anyone, what is the real political line of the Communist International toward war.

The international line of the 3rd International is thus defined in the sixth condition of admission:

"All parties desiring to affiliate with the III International must denounce not only social patriotism, but social pacifism with its falseness and hypocrisy as well; they must systematically reveal to the working class that without revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international tribunal of arbitration, no debate on the reduction of armaments, no democratic reorganization by the League of Nations, can preserve humanity from imperialist war."

That was the line of yesterday. Today, since the C. I. has been reconstructed (after the expulsion of the Leninists) on the dogma of "Socialism in one country," that is to say, independently of the world revolution, the international line of the 3rd International is the following:

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

The Peace Policy of the C. I.

The political line is based on the following premise: there are imperialist nations interested in peace, and others interested in war.

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

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

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

Under these conditions what is the task of the C.I.? To join Soviet diplomacy in an attempt to convince the various imperialisms "which are interested in peace" of the necessity of mutual assistance pacts.

The following shows how the organ of the French C.P. goes about the task (From l'Humanite, April 2, 1935):

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

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

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

To help Laval "understand," Péri becomes positively lively and pressing:

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

"Everything indicates that Laval has given up the Eastern Pact and mutual assistance. The Minister of Foreign Affairs has deliberately renounced the only formula capable of preserving peace and putting a stop to armament. His deplorable attitude earned him the felicitations of the Volkische Beobachter yesterday. But it will rouse against him the anger of all those who sincerely

SPEAKER:

Max Shachtman

War and the Stalin-Laval Agreement

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