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Illinois Workers Plan New Hunger March

HIT SALES TAX Will Fight to Last Ditch Says IWA Leader

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—A call for a mass mobilization of the unemployed and relief workers of Illinois for a march on the state capital, Tuesday, May 21, was issued tonight by the Illinois Workers Alliance.

The instructions issued to 266 units in 81 counties were released following an emergency conference of the state board members held here. The call, issued by the executive board and signed by Edward C. Morgan, state chairman of the Illinois Workers Alliance said that "the unemployed refuse to starve while there are dozens of ways to raise relief funds."

"The state executive board feels that it is absolutely necessary to vigorously oppose the attempts to starve the unemployed and dispossessed of Illinois," the call stated. "The fight against the sales tax and for the reopening of relief stations continues. We will fight to the last ditch in defending the bread and beans of our people."

Calls for National Support
The call of the state executive board of the Alliance was supported by Paul A. Rasmussen, Milwaukee, national secretary of the Workers Alliance of America with which the I.W.A. is affiliated, and Gerry Allard, Springfield, leader of two previous marches staged by the unemployed.

Rasmussen departed for Chicago and Milwaukee today pledging support of the national movement of the jobless in the fight to reopen the relief stations in this state. "The courageous expression of our Illinois membership in its effective resistance against the closing of relief stations and in opposing the sales tax is commendable," Rasmussen said. "It has aroused the membership in all parts of the country. It is our intention to throw the full support of every affiliate and sympathetic group behind the march of the Illinois Workers Alliance."

"The Workers Alliance of America calls upon all trades unions and other labor organizations to support the fight of our state division. It is imperative that an iron front of the jobless and employed workers be effected in this march. This is a fight that will decide whether the common people of Illinois are to be reduced to further exploitation or whether they will bring to a stop the disgraceful and abhorrent program of a reactionary class government."

New Castle Jobless Storm Relief Office

By FRED RAYBURN
NEW CASTLE, Pa., May 13.—Despite attempts of local and state police to break their ranks the Co-operative Workers of America are continuing to picket relief offices here. The C. W. of A. is a local unemployed organization with branches throughout Lawrence and adjoining counties. The picketing started on May 2 with the demand for adequate cash relief and the stopping of evictions.

On Thursday evening, May 9, while Governor Earle was preparing to address the American Legion in the "Cathedral," a delegation of the C. W. of A. demanded his appearance before them. The attempt of his secretary to speak in his behalf was turned down by the delegation. Smoked out, the Governor appeared and arranged a meeting at his office in Harrisburg on May 13.

While the delegation was in Harrisburg interviewing the Governor a mass demonstration took place at the local relief offices. George Papcun of the Workers Party was the principal speaker. In a spirited and timely address comrade Papcun brought the workers a message of struggle.

A mass meeting is planned by the Workers Party, New Castle branch, in the near future on the program of the Workers Party with comrade Papcun as the speaker.

A.J. Muste to Broadcast On Radio May 30, 10 PM

Comrade A. J. Muste, National Secretary of the Workers Party, will speak over station WJZ on an NBC hook-up on Thursday, May 30 at 10 P.M. He will represent the revolutionary point of view of the Workers Party in a symposium in which Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party and Lawrence Dennis, Fascist, will represent opposing opinions. All readers of the New Militant and friends of the W. P. are urged to tune in on this broadcast. It is the first time a leading spokesman of the party has given its position over a nationwide hook-up.

ILGW Pledges To Support Ill. Relief Battle

Prompt action in protest against the stopping of all unemployment relief in Illinois, was taken today by Dressmakers Union Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U., an organization of 30,000 workers, one of the largest in the American Federation of Labor. In response to the appeal issued by the Workers Alliance, a national organization of the unemployed, Charles S. Zimmerman, manager of the dressmakers union, immediately wired to Governor Henry Horner of Illinois, vigorously scoring the stopping of relief to the millions of jobless in Illinois and pledging the support of his powerful organization in the fight. The telegram follows in full:

"Thirty Thousand Members of Dressmakers Union Local Twenty two, I.L.G.W.U., affiliated with the A. F. of L., protest emphatically stopping relief to Illinois jobless. We place our strength and influence behind Illinois Workers Alliance in its fight against hunger and misery and join them in their demand that relief stations be reopened."

A similar protest has been sent to Harry Hopkins, head of the FEERA in Washington. At the same time, the dressmakers union sent a message of solidarity and support to Gerry Allard of the Illinois Workers Alliance in Springfield, Illinois.

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—350 union bakers went on strike this morning, demanding a signed contract which guarantees an increase of \$1.65 in the weekly wage scale, elimination of compulsory insurance, and a reduction in the number of day-rate hours.

The strike will also affect 400 union bread salesmen, who will have no bread to deliver. Five of the smaller bakeries have accepted the terms of the union bakers.

Wage Levels Hit New Low as FDR 'Redistributes' Wealth

NEW YORK (FP). — \$21.86! That's the weekly wage of America's average factory worker after two years of the New Deal. It's the figure for March, 1935, as reported by the U. S. Department of Commerce.

Skilled workers received a little more than that—\$24.25. But unskilled found, on the average, only \$17.85 in their pay envelopes, and women workers in industry were paid an even smaller amount, \$15.47.

The general average has risen since March, 1933. Then it was \$14.56. A year later it had climbed to \$20.53. In February of this year it reached \$22.09, but since then it has slipped again.

This \$21.86 represents a monetary wage boost, but only a doubtful gain in real wages. Food prices have jumped at least 35 percent during the same period, government statistics reveal. Clothing and home furnishings cost about 25 percent more than they did when Roosevelt came into office, and rent and other

Youth Confab Swayed by SYL In Minneapolis

Left Wing Delegates Carry the Field

By REGINALD L. BURKE
MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — Left wing delegates acting in concert with the Spartacus Youth League in a surprise attack on the reactionary sponsors of the Minnesota "Youth Today Conference" succeeded in wresting away control of the conference.

Overriding the "harmless" plans of the Minneapolis Community Fund, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Junior League, and other individual capitalist and social bigwigs, they passed resolutions favoring the right of youth to strike, opposing militarization, and calling for a solution of the capitalist impasse by the socialist planned economy. A revealing development of the conference was the refusal of Young Communist League delegates to vote for the resolution for a socialist economy.

The Spartacus Youth League of Minneapolis prepared a pamphlet which was issued to the five hundred delegates as they entered the Hotel where the conference was held. The pamphlet pointed out that the conference was part of a nation-wide move "to mobilize the energy and enthusiasm of youth for the upholding of the very social system which today dooms millions of young men and women to a future of importance and despair."

Purpose of Conference
The real purpose of the conference, said the pamphlet, was to demonstrate to wealth contributors that the various social agencies, such as the Community Fund, fulfilled a conservative function in diverting the youth to harmless pursuits.

"The sponsors of the program have very shrewdly arranged it, so they hope, so as to annul the natural radicalism of youth, which if given free play would bring all their plans to naught."

The pamphlet then proceeded to point out how the conference should be organized so that the control could be wrested from the reactionaries.

The pamphlet created a sensation, both among the youth and among the sponsors. The latter, taken completely at a loss, tried several pitiful tricks to prevent its circulation. Social workers and members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce came to the distributors and said, "These are just the things we want: give us all you got; we want to distribute them in the meeting for you." Their devices failed, however, to stop the distribution.

Nor did any of the parliamentary tricks of the reactionaries in the meeting itself avail them; the convention swung solidly behind the progressive forces, who good naturedly tolerated the presence of Walter Pitkin (famous windbag, author of "Life Begins at Forty," "How to Get a Job," and other humorous works) who was supposed

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Expelled Professor



WINSLOW N. HALLETT

Allentown CLU Backs Teacher In College Fight

N.P.L.D. Organizes Wide Campaign for Reinstatement

ALLENTOWN, Pa., May 22.—Professor Winslow N. Hallett of Cedar Crest College, dismissed for his labor activities by the Board of Trustees, has been joined in his fight for reinstatement in the local college by the Allentown Central Trades and Labor Council and the Pennsylvania Unemployed League.

The central body appointed a committee of four to see the college trustees. If Professor Hallett is not reinstated by May 23, the central body is committed to launching a campaign against the college. Professor Hallett, treasurer of local 359 of the American Federation of Teachers, is a delegate to the Central Trades and Labor Council.

P.U.L. Protests

The Pennsylvania Unemployed League passed a resolution denouncing the dismissal of Dr. Hallett as a move against organized labor and notified its county organizations to take action. Dr. Hallett is active in the Lehigh County Unemployed League.

Florence Curtis Hanson, national secretary of the American Federation of Teachers, has pledged the support of the national organization to Dr. Hallett's fight for reinstatement. The Allentown and Philadelphia teachers locals have condemned the college trustees. Through the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, North Dakota State College local of the teachers has pledged its support of Dr. Hallett and is rallying Northwestern labor organizations to his fight.

President William F. Curtis and the Board of Trustees of Cedar Crest have refused to give any reason for Dr. Hallett's dismissal. The formal notice contained no charges. The American Association of University Professors, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the American Federation of Teachers have all requested a written statement of the reasons for his dismissal but have been met with stony silence by the trustees. In conversations with Dr. Hallett, however, President Curtis definitely stated that his teaching ability was in no way in question, and admitted that his work in the unions and the unemployed organization were the basis for the trustees' action.

Church Considers Case

The Eastern Synod of the Reformed Church, with which Cedar Crest College is connected, is now in session, and liberal ministers have pledged themselves to bring Dr. Hallett's case on the floor of the convention. The Church League for Industrial Democracy, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense and the Committee on Academic Freedom of the Civil Liberties Union have sent telegrams urging the synod to demand Dr. Hallett's reinstatement.

Letters of protest should be sent to the President and Board of Trustees, Cedar Crest College, Allentown, Pa.

HARTFORD, Conn. (FP).—Wage boosts have ended a 17-day strike of more than 1,500 union teamsters in the Connecticut valley.

Central Union Slams Dillon For Settlement

Worse than Hitler Toledo Body Finds

TOLEDO, May 17.—The Toledo Union Leader, organ of the Toledo Central Labor Union, bears sharp witness to the bare-faced treason of Green, Dillon and Co. in the Chevrolet strike. In addition to the story of the settlement, the paper bears a three column editorial headed "Mussolini—Hitler—Dillon."

To quote: "The strikers voted not to allow Dillon the privilege of addressing them until after the vote was taken. When Mr. Dillon came into the meeting hall the animosity felt against him by the workers manifested itself in loud boos from all sides . . . he flew into a violent rage and told the officers of the union that the charter of the union was revoked . . . when Taylor tried to pacify him he showed even more plainly his inability to stand the gaff. . . . He left the hall amid the boos of the workers who bitterly resented his autocratic and dictatorial attitude."

Dillon's Dictatorship
"His dictatorship however had the desired effect. The officers of the union, fearing this one man who had the power to take away from thousands of workers the union charter that they had paid for in strife suffering and money, pleaded with him to return."

"Never in the history of the labor movement have I witnessed such a case of domination, such an arrogant disregard of the rights of workers or such a positive dictatorship over free Americans as was shown by this representative of the A. F. of L. who is hired out of money paid into the Federation treasury by per capita tax on the rank and file."

"Dillon was not alone in assisting the writing of an agreement which was 95 percent in favor of the company. J. A. Wilson, ex-president of the Pattern Makers Association of America, was sent here according to reports as the direct representative of President Green."

"The sabotage practiced against the workers by these high hat, well paid and well fed individuals beggars description in polite language."

In Fitting Company

"Mussolini, Hitler, nor any of the present dictators could possibly take a more arrogant stand. The cheap landing of Mr. Knudsen (vice president of the G.M.C.) through the public press by Mr. Dillon had the subversive ring of a political job holder. It is now up to the local unions in Toledo and elsewhere to find out from President Green if hired organizers are placed in the field under his instructions to act as dictators, and to force the rank and file to vote as dictated under pain of being put out of the labor movement."

"If that is the policy of those elected as officers in the A. F. of L. the quicker we workers know it the sooner we will be able to start a fight for American freedom by purging the labor movement of dictators who live off the per capita tax of we workers."

COOLIE WAGES Low Scales Will Drive All Union Rates Down

"Fear of Strikes" Disturbs Bill Green — Would Rather Talk

In the days when black slavery was legal in the South, the slaves had security. They were worth something to their owners; and as a consequence were fed, clothed and sheltered, and given medical care, so that they might be strong and healthy.

The work relief rates just issued by "our" President Roosevelt as a part of his "security" program legalize a new slavery in the South, a slavery of starvation and nakedness, without shelter, without medical care, an endless, hopeless, dismal, slavery that guarantees to millions of "free" Americans an existence worse than that of Indian Pariahs.

Bakers Strike To Gain Union Demands in NY

Fighting against low wages, discrimination and firing of union men, the bakers and drivers of the Gottfried Baking Co. plants in Manhattan and Bronx struck work at noon Monday.

All workers in the plants, salesmen, drivers, bakers, helpers and maintenance workers including a large number of women workers, organized in Baking Factory Workers Local 50 of the Baking and Confectionary Workers International Union, are out. The plants are tied up solid. Attempts to move a few scab trucks led to clashes with pickets. One Gottfried thug fired on pickets. Some scabs were beaten up in a fight and it is reported that a couple of trucks driven by scabs landed in the river. Company officials called up the union to inquire about lost trucks—but there were no detectives nor divers available at strike headquarters to assist in the search.

Herman Gund, general secretary of Local 50 stated that steps are being taken to spread the strike to the Westchester plant of the company and also to tie up the Moore Baking Co. of Astoria, subsidiary of the Gottfried Co.

Local 50 was formerly a part of the Amalgamated Food Workers, an independent industrial union. To unify the ranks of union labor, it joined with the International, an A. F. of L. union, recently. On the terms of the unification, Local 50 Baking Factory Workers has the right to organize all employees of the Baking Factories including drivers. Organized work is proceeding to line up all baking factory workers in New York in Local 50.

The demands of the union include: union recognition, reinstatement of six men fired for union activity, increased wages and improved working conditions that will overcome the speed-up.

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Key Lumber Plants Walk Out Industry Tied Up on West Coast

SEATTLE (FP).—With the industry's key plants in Longview finally affected by the strike, 35,000 timber workers are confidently holding their ranks firm.

In an attempt to keep workers at the Long Bell and Weyerhaeuser mills at Longview from going out, the operators offered a peace proposal granting 50 cents an hour, a 40-hour week with time and a half, and recognition of the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union, but not the closed shop. This was rejected by an 8 to 1 vote and 3,000 mill workers walked out.

Strikers are demanding union recognition, abolition of the blacklist, 75 cents an hour, and a 5-day, 30-hour week. Refusal of the Longview workers to accept a separate agreement has strengthened the sentiment for a uniform agreement for the whole industry.

Longview pulp, paper and sulphite workers expect to be out by May 29, the present contract expiring on May 26. The local has already sent a resolution to all pulp locals calling for strike action on May 29.

Unemployed organizations in the Pacific northwest are cooperating by taking care of picketing employment agencies and relief stations and by instructing all members not to take jobs in struck mills.

Readers Attention! Change of Address

From June 1 the address of the Workers Party, the Spartacus Youth League, the International Workers School, the New Militant and the New International will be 55 East 11th Street, New York City.

The Pioneer Publishers remains at the present address, 96 Fifth Avenue.

The Very Minimum

\$19.00 per month is not the minimum wage, as the newspapers headline. Unskilled Southern workers may consider themselves lucky to receive \$19 a month. Not only has Harry Hopkins the right to vary wages within ten per cent, which immediately sets the minimum at \$17.10 instead of \$19.00, but the wages are not paid "for time lost because of voluntary absence, illness, completion or postponement of project, or permanent dismissal."

A worker trying to support himself, his wife and his children, to pay rent, buy food and clothes for all on a wage of \$19 a month may be excused if he is ill from "undernourishment" or "exposure." But if he is ill his pay ceases, and he must go through the red tape of getting back on relief. The worker falls ill because his wages are too low—according to Roosevelt's "security" program the remedy is to cut his wages, and let the man and his family starve to death while waiting to get on relief.

"The workers' wages depend on the completion or postponement of the project." Every time a job is finished, or postponed by some governmental whim, the worker loses even his pittance during the period when he is neither working nor on relief.

\$19 a month is not at all the minimum. It is cut in the provisions of the order itself to \$17.10, and will be cut in practice to even lower scales.

Truly the slaves of the old South were fortunate not to live in the era of Roosevelt "Security."

Lower Everywhere

\$19 per month is the lowest scale in the lowest zone, the deep South. If the scale will be lower in practice there, it will be proportionately lower throughout the country.

In order to wring every last possible penny out of the unemployed three divisions have been created. The country is divided into four zones, the wages varying according to zone. Labor has been divided into four categories, unskilled, intermediate, skilled, and professional, wages varying according to category. Finally the places of work within the zones are divided according to population, cities of over 100,000, cities of over 50,000, towns of over 25,000, over 5,000, and under 5,000, wages varying again according to size of the city.

Thus \$19 is set for work in zone 4, for unskilled labor in towns of less than 5,000.

The highest wage, for professionals, in zone 1, the North, in cities of more than 100,000 is \$94 a month.

How Scales Were Determined

The wage scales, say the reports, were determined by checking wage data with other wage information, including civil works earnings, weekly earnings in private industry, construction wage data, etc."

Apparently the procedure followed, was to obtain the lowest possible wage rates from every source, divide the resultant average by two, and proclaim the result as a profound study of the wage levels of workers.

A comparison of wage scales of the Roosevelt relief program with the scales on the PWA shows a catastrophic drop. Under the PWA in the South, non Zone 4, unskilled labor received 40 cents an hour, skilled labor \$1.00. Under the new "security" program unskilled labor receives 19 cents per hour in cities of over 100,000 (12 cents an hour in rural districts), skilled labor receives 42 cents and hour in cities

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Comments

On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Land of the Free . . .

Because she participated in an eviction demonstration, Mrs. Stella Petroski, of Wilkes Barre, Pa., mother of eight children born in America, faces deportation to Poland. . . . Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., at the Boy Scouts' Silver Jubilee, disclosed that the organization has a "red flag" list of more than 2,000 persons considered unfit to lead or influence American boys. "The greatest bit of patriotism being done in the United States today is being done by the Boy Scouts. Our red flag list is in constant use." . . . The Order of Red Men and the Elks have gathered over a million signatures to a petition urging legislation against "reds". . . .

And Home of Brave . . .

Bruce Barton, the man who Bah-bitted Christ, states: "It is a hard thing to say, but we are used to luxury in this country and it has softened us." . . . Curtis Wilson, gassed war veteran and evicted miner, lives with his family of nine in a one-room tent on Paint Creek, West Virginia. On rainy nights the family huddles in a corner to keep dry. Two of the children have never lived in a house. The family receives a weekly food order of \$2.50. The father's war compensation was cut off by Roosevelt's economy program. He is entitled to the maximum bonus. . . . According to TIME magazine, President Roosevelt at the Woodmont Rod and Gun Club in the Blue Ridge Mountains, lunched on venison steak, returned to the private lake where he reeled in ten large trout. Following a dinner of broiled pheasant he sat down to write the scathing bonus veto message. . . .

Great Minds . . .

Roger Babson advocates: "(1) Temporary disenfranchisement of relief workers; (2) payment on relief jobs of only sixty-five percent of going private wages; and (3) life pensions for Senators. These measures would show business men and industrialists that the administration does not believe in Communism or the destruction of private property, but is trying to work along sound lines and at the same time keep the radicals in check". . . . A correspondent from Curryville, Pa., writes to B. C. Forbes, Hearst Mouthpiece: "Our patience is reaching the breaking point at the meddling of our alien population. If this government doesn't suit them, send them back where they belong." Forbes replies: "Doesn't that ring truly American--of the America of pre-brain-trust days?"

Higher Learning . . .

The Illinois legislature demands an investigation of Chicago University after Walgren, the drug-gist, removed his niece because of "radical social teachings" there. . . . An expensive expedition to Central America is planned by the University of Chicago for Dr. A. E. Emerson that he might study social conditions among termites (white ants) . . . The Federal Grand Jury Association of New York proclaims: "Un-American principles have been taught in workers' schools in the past. We register disapproval of further use of Federal funds for such unpatriotic activities. It is well to preface workers' classes with a study of Americanism and the words and tune of the Star Spangled Banner." . . .

Fearless Journalism . . .

In October, 1934, the San Francisco Argonaut stated: "In Merriam the people of California have a promise and a symbol of strength, progress and stability of traditional growth." . . . For political advantage Merriam sniffs on the Townsend plan, government co-operatives for the unemployed, and a higher income tax. Today the San Francisco Argonaut declares: "All one can discern in Merriam is cobwebs from an empty skull. Heaven help us from the folly of having chosen such a man as governor." . . .

Society Notes . . .

The largest crowd in years assembled at the Youngstown, Ohio, Y.M.C.A. to hear Sally Rand, fan dancer, discourse on "The Economic Dangers of Communism." . . . Cowhand Percy Gassaway, Congressman from Oklahoma, has adopted the slogan: "Every Woman a Queen!" . . . Barbara Hutton's dad paid \$3,000,000 to get rid of Prince Midvanti. . . . After the Toledo sell-out Edward F. McGrady, first assistant to Fannie Perkins, stated: "Other American Federation of Labor strikes in the auto industry will be cleaned up in short order." . . . John D. Rockefeller is nearly 97 years old. . . . Director W. C. Mendenhall, of the U. S. Geological Survey announces that America's oldest house, a tiny insect that lived 30,000,000 years ago, has been discovered. . . . Roger Firestone, grandson of multi-millionaire tire-man, Harvey Firestone, was voted "most likely to succeed" by Princeton seniors

INSIDE STORY OF TOLEDO STRIKE

Told by a Leading Participant in the Battle with General Motors

RT PREIS : This is the first of a series of articles by Art (the great Toledo strike. s was the editor of "Truth," the Chevrolet bulletin.)

he will deny that the Toledo Chevrolet strike was one of the most remarkable labor battles ever fought in this country.

1,300 raw recruits to unionism, from a group of production workers formerly considered among the most docile in industry, for three weeks fought to a stand-still one of the most powerful corporations in the world. But one week in the union, they over-rode the timidity and actual hostility of their own national leaders in calling the strike and conducted themselves with a militancy, discipline and precision scarcely ever excelled in American labor history. On their own initiative, in the face of the outright opposition of their own higher officials, they spread the strike to tens of thousands of other auto workers in distant cities and effectively paralyzed an entire giant corporation.

They distinguished themselves not merely on the picket lines, however, but in that complex and treacherous field of negotiations. They demanded and secured direct negotiations between their employers and elected workers from their own ranks. The pressure, authority, propaganda and intimidation of the government, press and employers combined could not deceive or demoralize them. They forced some measure of concessions from an hitherto unyielding gang of industrial overlords.

Went Down Fighting

If in the end they bowed to the shameless and brazen treachery of some of their own leaders and returned to work with very partial gains, they did so only after the most stirring resistance and protest conceivable under the circumstances. Far from succumbing to a disillusionment and demoralization which might well have shattered their ranks, as has happened in similar circumstances with other older and more experienced union groups, within 24 hours they met again to denounce those who had betrayed them, to analyze their successes and mistakes in preparation for a future battle which they are determined to make, and to present an unbroken front of loyal unionism more fighting and progressive than ever.

No competent observer would regard such an example of working class struggle and solidarity as something spontaneous. The record of the present leaders of the A. F. of L., their methods and attitudes as proved in similar past instances in steel, rubber, auto, textile and other basic industries, would indicate that more was needed than spontaneous will to off-set the demoralizing and shattering effects of their restraining, demagogic and bureaucratic domination. From what occurred in the Toledo Chevrolet strike, certain questions must

inevitably arise. What was their leadership and guidance, what the program, what the forces that determined the course of these events? Further, and more significant, what were the means and methods employed by this leadership?

Role of the W. P.

The answer to the first question is generally known and conceded. All competent observers for the capitalist press of the nation, including such an informed reporter as Louis Stark of the New York Times, attributed the leading influence to the Workers Party. It was publicly recognized by Francis Dillon, national A. F. of L. organizer, who fought the progressives and temporarily curbed the strike. It has been openly acknowledged directly and indirectly by official representatives of both the Socialist and the Communist parties in Toledo.

More vital for the future guidance of the American working class, however, is the answer to the second question. That answer lies correctly not merely in the immediate and apparent events preceding and during the strike, but in events which are rooted in the entire course of the labor movement in Toledo for the past two years. It derives entirely from the activities and development of the Workers Party in Toledo.

Toledo Before Auto-Lite

Until the time of the Auto-Lite strike of last May, Toledo to most people was merely a stop-over between Cleveland and Detroit or the place where a boxer named Dempsey gained immortality by successfully pounding with his fists a fellow named Jess Willard. Its only other claim to distinction was the fact that all but one of its ten banks had collapsed two years before Roosevelt stabilized the banking system of the nation by closing all the banks. In 1932, 60 to 70 percent of its formerly gainfully employed population was unemployed.

Toledo was also a notorious cheap-labor, "scab" town. Whatever unions were in existence were weak and ineffectual craft unions among the skilled trades. Year after year they continued in their sleepy and ineffectual way. There was no expansion, vitality or activity.

Latent Power of Workers

For a labor movement built on exclusive and craft lines solely, totally unconcerned about developing genuine power so long as they could fortify the comparative handful in their own ranks, the fact that Toledo was the glass and auto-parts center of America was not even recognized. They did not know, or were unconcerned about the fact that a stoppage of production in even a few plants in Toledo would be sufficient to paralyze automobile production, and indirect-

coal and other basic products which for the past few years has been sustained largely by the continued expansion of the automobile industry. The Toledo industrial workers had a weapon for power in their hands which they did not know either existed or how to use.

Today, Toledo is a union town to a very great extent. Within one year it has won a name for itself as a stronghold of progressive and militant unionism. Over twenty successful or partially successful strikes have been waged in the past 12 months in all of which mass picket lines and mass action have been the characteristic weapon of labor. In almost every strike those who have organized and led the picket lines have been Workers Party members. Starting with the famous Auto-Lite strike, through the Larowe Milling and Armour and Swift strikes, up to the General Milk Drivers and FERA strikes, the Workers Party has laid down the lines of the militant strike strategy employed, and its members have personally led the struggles. Their participation was known and welcomed, often officially invited, their advice and tactics were considered and largely pursued.

The First Battle

It was in the Auto-Lite strike that the W. P. first showed its mettle and sowed the seeds of militant unionism and working-class solidarity which are today the characteristics of the Toledo labor movement. With but five or six actual party members at the time, none of whom were connected with the union, the Workers Party, with the aid of the Lucas County Unemployed League, which the W. P. had organized and in which its members had been most active and prominent, went on the picket-lines, at a time when the strike was completely demoralized, defied the injunction against mass picketing, to which the reactionary leaders of the auto union, Ramsey and Bossler, had timidly submitted, revived the strike, built up mass picket lines, reorganized the scattered ranks of the strikers and personally led the workers on the firing line in the six-day "Battle of Chestnut Hill" against all the forces of the police, deputies and National Guards.

But the activities of the Workers Party only began with this strike. The next job was to clean out the union, weaken the reactionary and backward influences, and establish the union on a fighting, progressive basis. Several of the most courageous, intelligent and active members of the union were brought into the W. P. Working under the guidance and discipline of the W. P., they began to organize a progressive bloc inside the union. These progressives drew up a slate of officers which they ran in the union elections, capturing seven out of twelve

offices. Among those who were placed in office was Jimmy Roland, the fighting leader of the Toledo Chevrolet strikers, who from the beginning was a leader of the progressive forces. Progressives were elected to positions on their executive shop committees of the different plants which were organized and were placed upon the general executive committee of the local. The W. P. inside and outside of the union began to expose the policies of Ramsey and Bossler. Its members built up an air-tight case based on iron facts with which to lay open their anti-union activities. When the progressives were organized to sufficient strength, they placed charges against these corrupt leaders, fought them openly on the floor of the union and had them ousted from office.

In Passing

In this connection, a passing word should be given to the stupid charges voiced in the Daily Worker editorial of May 6, titled "Renegades in Toledo." This editorial, obviously written in New York by some hack entirely ignorant of the Toledo situation, asserted that the "American Workers Party" was making an alliance with Ramsey, "an A. F. of L. official," to split the strike. This is not merely a deliberate lie, but a silly one, since everyone in Toledo knows that there is no such official as Ramsey in the union, and that it was the W. P. members and progressives in the union who forced his ousting eight months ago.

Following the cleaning up of the union, the progressives pushed forward a program of intensive organization in the union. Plant after plant was organized, signed contracts secured from the employers, and the union's position consolidated and company unionism smashed in all the plants already organized. The militancy which the workers had learned in the Auto-Lite strike held good. Violations of the terms of the contracts by the bosses met with immediate and strong action. Inside and departmental strikes were numerous. The union men were constantly vigilant in the maintenance of their rights.

General Motors Next

One plant alone remained, in particular, to be organized. But this plant was a harder nut to crack than the others had been. This was not the plant of some local capitalists. It was a part of that huge network belonging to the seemingly all-powerful General Motors Corp., the Chevrolet Motor Ohio Company, key transmission plant for the Chevrolet Corp. Workers in this plant had always shunned unionism. They would not even accept leaflets. Not more than a small handful had ever been induced even to attend an open union meeting. The spy-system, the blacklist, the company union reigned supreme. But forces were at work inside and outside of the Chevrolet plant which all the power and intimidation of General Motors could not offset.

(Continued next week)

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

The battle of the Toledo Chevrolet workers seems to have set off the spark of another strike wave. In the Northwest the lumber workers have succeeded in shutting down operations. The Independent Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, on strike at Camden, plans to spread its fight all over the Atlantic Coast. Philadelphia teamsters tied up the city's food supply in a surprise walkout. And now comes word from Washington that all negotiations for a peaceful settlement in the coal industry have broken down and that a national strike of the men of the picks is on the order of the day. Only passage of the McGuffey Coal Stabilization Act, say the Washington correspondents, can head off a national walkout. That act, supported by a considerable section of the operators as well as by the United Mine Workers, provides for government regulation of the industry. The U.M.W. sees in it a substitute for the price control features of the coal code which have broken down completely.

Newspaper Guild . . .

One of the most interesting and dramatic organizations in the American scene will hold its second annual convention early in June at Cleveland, Ohio. About 125 delegates from various branches of the American Newspaper Guild will gather to face the problems of the professional worker in a declining capitalist world. It is indicative of the nature of these problems that the big issue will be that of affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

The question arose within the Guild soon after its formation. But only a handful of members then recognized the importance of a tie-up with organized labor. The idea has made giant strides in the past year. With some experience with publishers under their belt and the example of the Newark strike fresh in mind, the issue of affiliation will be the major one. At last year's convention at St. Paul, the question was not allowed to assume large proportions. The newspaper workers had not had the necessary experience. Things will be different at Cleveland.

There is no way of telling what the convention vote on this all-important matter will be. The pro-affiliation forces favor a referendum of the entire membership. A New York membership meeting held early in May endorsed affiliation by a ten to one majority. The Newark Guild, after their experiences in the

Newark Ledger strike, are solid in their support for closer ties with the organized labor movement.

Split? . . .

Anti-affiliation forces are talking about the possibility of a split if the proposal carries, but the likelihood of any such action is considered remote. A letter, signed by nine members of the Board of Governors of the Newark unit and printed in the "Guild Reporter," are significant:

" . . . it is our conviction, grown out of the Ledger strike, that the Guild must get into the A. F. of L. . . . We are concerned over an apparent move by a group strongly opposed to affiliation to panic the general membership with the threat, at least implied, of a split in the Guild if affiliation is voted. . . . There is the very real likelihood that at least a few good units will not be able to withstand the onslaught of their employers if we remain out of the main stream of the labor movement. No one questions the right to oppose affiliation. But when that opposition is backed up by the threat to withdraw, the opponent has talked himself out of court."

Copper . . .

In an effort to solve the problem that has been created by the division of the Montana copper miners into craft unions, the Montana State Miners Council has been organized. It is indicative of the nature of these problems that the big issue will be that of affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

Here we have another effort to solve the problem of industrial unionism by the council method. In rubber, electrical equipment, manufacturing and many other industries, this shoddy substitute for the real thing, has been introduced to kid the workers into believing that they have industrial unionism. The situation in the metal mines is especially important. At the last session of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., representatives of the Mill, Mine and Smelter Workers protested the action of the Metal Trades Department in taking all the skilled men out and leaving only the unskilled in the miners' union. Their appeal was rejected. The formation of the Council is an attempt to meet this situation. But as long as the local craft organizations are under the discipline of the internationals, united action in the industry is far from certain.

The Manager's Corner

From the Toledo branch we have been informed that the membership is starting an immediate drive to obtain one hundred subscriptions for the New Militant. Knowing that the Toledo branch means business when it sets out to do a job there need be no doubt that this will also be carried through to a successful conclusion. But there is more to this decision than the good will and the desire of these comrades. They have witnessed by actual experience what it means to have a live organ guiding and supporting their every step in a serious struggle. Their decision is a tribute to the effectiveness of the New Militant.

At the same time it is a certainty that the organ that served them so well in this recent magnificent struggle will prove equally as effective in the task that the Toledo militants now have ahead of them; namely to strengthen the progressive forces in the automobile unions and in this manner to build a much more potent instrument for the struggles still to come. It is because of this reason that other branches should without delay take up and follow the example now set by the Toledo branch.

In the office certain steps have been taken to assure a greater economy of publication and which, we believe, will serve also in the long run to assure greater efficiency. The managements of the New Militant and the New International have been consolidated under one head. With the cooperation of all the supporters of these publications the greater efficiency can be obtained. But remember please, we count on this cooperation. For our part we shall undertake the following: The New International will appear regularly every month. The May issue is now off the press and the June issue will appear the early part of the month and each subsequent issue similarly advanced until we catch up. For the New Militant we shall gradually advance the press date until it will also appear earlier in the week and thus in a more suitable time for distribution.

From our branches and supporters we expect the following: First we require more concentration and more systematic attention to the building up of a greater circulation

for our press. Secondly, prompt remittances must be made for all bundle orders received and for all subscriptions due to be renewed. Thirdly, and above all, we must have immediate remittances on all accounts due. There are today entirely too large sums outstanding for both publications and the financial crisis caused by this fact will surely lead to a catastrophe unless action is taken right away. This matter we put up to the branches and supporters. Prompt action on this is the cooperation you must give.

All New Militant builders are asked to get in touch with the office immediately to tell us what they can do on the questions raised above. In this connection we wish to discuss with them also some concrete plans that we are now working on designed to make this organ a much more effective and impressive one in the future. We need more New Militant builders and we expect to hear from all who are willing to give a hand.

We have on hand still a limited number of 25c three months subscription cards sold only in clubs of four or more and paid in advance. Those who are ready to assist in building circulation should forward a dollar for each club of four, for which the cards will be issued. They are printed on regular U. S. postal cards and as the subscriptions are obtained by the builder, one by one, the money invested is thereby returned and the cards can be forwarded to the office for entry of the subscriptions on our mailing list. Please remember, we have only a limited number of these club cards and no other 25c three months subscriptions will be accepted.

On June 1st we are moving into new headquarters. Our new address will be 55 East 11th Street, New York City.

Bronx Housewarming

Bronx Branch W. P. and S.Y.L. Entertainment by Group SATURDAY EVENING, JUNE 1 859 Westchester Ave. Dancing and Refreshments Admission 20c

Letters to the Editor

Wrong on Mass Pressure Reader Says

Editor, New Militant:

When the U. S. Supreme Court reversed the verdict in the Scottsboro case, you published an article which, while it mildly reproved the International Labor Defense for not having organized "sufficient" mass pressure, gave it credit for having forced a reversal on the Supreme Court. Aside from the fact that the article failed to mention that Samuel S. Leibowitz played a leading role in the hearing before the Supreme Court (which the New Militant had predicted repeatedly was going to happen while the I.L.D. and the Daily Worker swore up and down that this one-time favorite of theirs was out of the case), the article misconstrued the real forces at work in the Supreme Court's reversal.

Last week the New York Times announced that the Supreme Court had reversed sentence in the case of Jess Hollins, Oklahoma Negro youth sentenced to death on a rape charge after he was tried by a jury whose panel included no Negroes. The Times and the Daily Worker report that the Court cited its decision on Scottsboro "as precedent" for the Hollins case.

If one took literally the remarks in the New Militant article on the Scottsboro case one would believe that the Court had reversed because of the I.L.D.'s "mass" pressure. If one took literally the remarks in the Times and the Daily Worker on the Hollins case, one would believe that the Court is governed by "precedent" - and then one could be confident that henceforth and forever all sentences will be no good unless there were Negroes on the panel. Neither of these conclusions is true.

The fact that the Hollins case was almost unknown until the Supreme Court acted, the fact that there was

no organized mass pressure behind Hollins (not even the organized "masses" of the I.L.D.) gives the clue to the truth about both cases.

Traditional economic oppression of the southern Negro masses has been trebled and quadrupled by the crises since 1929. There is profound discontent among them. The discontent has not yet been organized, except in isolated cases such as the Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

But any additional provocation would ease the task of serious forces seeking to organize the deep discontent already prevailing. And the Supreme Court, which views social problems from the viewpoint not of this or that capitalist clique or group, but from the broad viewpoint of the capitalist class as a whole, does not desire at this time to give such provocation. Even where there is no organized mass pressure as in the Hollins case, it reacts to the threat of potential mass protest.

And this applies also to Scottsboro. Despite all the bungling and disruption of the I.L.D., despite the isolation of the Scottsboro boys from the Negro masses (not even the influential Father Divine who has replaced the gangster-lawyer Leibowitz as the I.L.D.'s current matinee idol, can swing more than a limited section of the Negro mass behind him), despite the pitiful isolation of the Scottsboro boys from organized labor which should espouse their cause, despite all negative factors, the Supreme Court set aside the verdict because it does not want at this time to precipitate a serious conflict with the oppressed millions of Negroes.

In the Hollins and Scottsboro cases, we have really the fruits of unexpressed, of potential protest... of spontaneity, you might say. Think what a harvest we might have if every defense case coming before the courts had the backing of a united labor movement—if spontaneity were translated into

organized protest. We will never get that through the I.L.D. and it is a misfortune that the New Militant, even for a moment, should have given substance to the illusion that the I.L.D. is not without its virtues.

The I.L.D. is the defense arm of the Communist Party, and that speaks worlds for its character. Whole sections of the labor movement, political and economic, which have no defense arm should long ago have united to create a joint defense body including many party and non-party viewpoints. This is the object of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense which is moving steadily toward that goal.

With fraternal greetings, —HARRY STRANG.

Tobin Skunk Should Have C P Rat for Pal

Editor, New Militant:

The New Militant recently had a cartoon showing the Citizens Alliance of Minneapolis taking its pet skunk, Dan Tobin, for an airing. Naturally, the cartoonist showed the workers of the city drawing back in disgust. But not everybody has shrunk from the odor given out by Tobin. The Communist Party has launched new attacks on the leaders of Local 574, insinuating that Tobin is justified in kicking that glorious local out of the Teamsters Brotherhood. The cartoonist should show a little Stalinist rat snuggling up close to Skunk Tobin and showing real appreciation of the poisonous odor which all the reactionary cabal hopes will stifle the genuinely revolutionary elements in the Minneapolis labor movement. Rats of course do not go about on leashes, but sometimes they are trained by masters who sit far away when they do their little tricks. —H. S.

The Party on the Flying Trapeze

Editor, New Militant:

The following is a quotation from United Action, organ of the Communist Party, Minnesota District,

May 1, 1935 issue:

"Walter Frank deserves the support of the voters in his ward. He has been known for a long time as an active and militant trade unionist. The bureaucrats do not like his fighting qualities, but these qualities give assurance that he will fight to carry out his pre-election program. He is not a member of the Communist Party, and the Party has had many serious disagreements with him; but there can be no doubt about his sincerity and willingness to serve the interests of the workers, and on this basis the Communist Party endorses his candidacy."

The following is a quotation from the Rank and File Federationist, organ of the Communist Party's A. F. of L. "Rank and File Committee," July, 1934, issue:

"To Walter M. Frank, secretary of the Lathers No 190, who for years proclaimed himself as leader of the militant rank and file, goes the official credit for leadership in the sellout (of the May drivers' strike in Minneapolis) . . . When Walter Frank, the great 'left-wing' heard of the death of a special policeman, C. A. Lyman, vice-president of the American Ball Co., he rushed to the battleground and announced the truth to take effect immediately though officially it did not take effect till nine hours later. Mr. Frank rebuked the victorious pickets for cheering. He wept for the death of the special policeman."

What do you say, Walter? We are speechless.

What to Attend

Saturday, May 25, 8:30 P.M.—Dance and Entertainment at Branch 1 headquarters, 420 E. 19th Street, given by Branch 1 W.P. and S.Y.L.

Sunday, May 26, 10:30 A.M.—Hike to Hunters Island. Take Lexington Ave. Subway (local) to Pelham Bay Station. Auspices S.Y.L.

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

Franco-Soviet Pact . . .

Why was it necessary for the Soviet Union, according to the lackeys of Stalin, to enter into the mutual assistance pact with French imperialism? The Stalinists would have us believe that history began yesterday; that is, with the advent of Hitler to power in Germany. German fascism is the main enemy of the October Revolution. It is preparing, with the aid of Japan and Poland, an imperialist war of intervention. To put obstacles in the way of Hitler and thereby maintain world peace, it was necessary for Soviet diplomacy to make use of the contradictions in the camp of capitalism; namely, the antagonism between French and German imperialism. These "tactics" are falsely compared—after eighteen years of Soviet power—with the tactics of Lenin in the course of the civil war when Soviet Russia was ringed around by white guard armies and imperialist troops.

But history does not begin with Hitler. German fascism came to power with the "permission" of the Stalinist Comintern. It came to power by the defeat of the German workers, due directly to the betrayal of the German and the world proletariat by the Stalinists. Stalinism is capable of resorting to the worst features of capitalist diplomacy, but was and is incapable of practicing revolutionary policies, the essence of which is to utilize the contradictions, not only as between capitalist enemies, but the far deeper ones that exist at all times, and particularly in the epoch of the decline of capitalism, between the classes.

Stalinist Wreckage . . .

The passage of power from the Leninists in the Soviet Union to the Stalinists, took place over the bridge of "socialism in one country." It was over this bridge also that the October Revolution passed from its period of upswing accompanied by the world-wide strengthening of the proletariat, to the period of decline and defeats under the "savior" Stalin. The Third International turned its back on world revolution while the Soviets engaged in building socialism in one country. The October Revolution lost the offensive while Stalin resorted to the theory of "pure defense" in order to protect the gains of the five year plans.

The German Revolution was felt to be a threat to peace, the peace necessary then to "build socialism in one country." Hence the Stalinists gave no guidance to the German workers; hence they failed to use the class contradictions within Germany, refused to enter into the "counter-revolutionary" united front with the social democracy, and "permitted" fascism to come to power as the easier course, the course of lesser evil. Thus Stalinism, itself a major cause of the German debacle, is historically the cause of the "necessity" for signing the pact with France.

But the fever of the anti-united

front days in Germany now gives way to the chills of the "popular front" and the "sacred union" in France. Both the fever and the chills are manifestations of the same disease, that cancer that saps the strength of the October Revolution—Stalinism. The Bolshevik-Leninists clearly predicted in advance that if Stalinism persisted in its course in Germany, then Hitler would come to power and become the worst threat to the very existence of the Soviet Union. And now again the Bolshevik-Leninists warn that if the French proletariat are misled into following the betraying course laid out by Stalin in France, fascism will again be victorious there too.

In Germany the Comintern refused to enter into a united front with the socialists, then known as social-fascists. But in France Stalinism enters into a "popular front" not only with the socialists but with the bourgeoisie itself. As the guarantee of French imperialism for its pact, the Stalinists will tie the workers to their bourgeoisie, will bring about the "sacred union" of civil peace, will aid in the building up of French militarism, will advocate that the proletariat aid its own bourgeoisie if that bourgeoisie is the ally of Stalin. Stalinism pursues the policy of the lesser evil for the preservation of French bourgeois democracy, hoping thereby to keep fascism from power. This is the road best calculated to lead the proletariat to bloody defeat. For the sake of maintaining the power of the bureaucratic Bonapartist regime in Russia, a diseased growth on the Soviet system, Stalin would sacrifice once more the interests of the world proletariat.

Rules of Class War . . .

The rules of class war are in many senses analogous with those of war in general. The enemy of the working class is the bourgeoisie at home and abroad. The war should at all times be waged against the enemy. In war no enemy is ever defeated by pursuing a course of "pure defense." The Stalinists would pursue that strategy in defending the Soviet Union; that is, the first stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The tactics in France and in connection with the Franco-Soviet pact are not in disagreement but in complete accord with the larger and completely false strategy of the Soviet bureaucracy.

If the workers are to capture and maintain power, then they must pursue the Marxist strategy of world revolution, that of turning the defence at the proper moment into an assault on all the positions of capitalism. Today the decisive field of battle is France. The working class of the entire world must rally to the aid of the French workers and help them arm for the final struggle against French imperialism. That will be the best defense of the U.S.S.R., a defense which cannot be entrusted to the Stalinist betrayers.

The Left Socialist Conference --A Letter and A Declaration

Ed. Note: We publish herewith a letter from comrade Seegers on our previous report on the Paris Conference of the Left Socialist Parties and groups (Internationaler Arbeiterkongress). It appears to us that comrade Seegers misunderstands the import of the position taken by the German Socialist Workers Party (S.A.P.) on the question of the Fourth International. The declaration of Schmidt and Sneevliet, the leaders of the newly-formed Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party of Holland (R.S.A.P.), which is also printed below, throws more light on the real nature of the dispute.)

Letter of Comrade Seegers

Editor, The New Militant,
Dear Comrade:

In the issue of March 30 there is an introduction to a translated reprint from De Baanbreker a note on the Paris Conference February 14. In this introductory note you state that the S.A.P. (Socialist Labor Party of Germany) appeared as the chief saboteur of the slogan for a New (Fourth) International.

From the reports on the Paris Conference that I have received (and certainly you have or should have the same information) this does not seem to be the case. Against the motion of Comrades Sneevliet and Schmidt voted only the two Scandinavian comrades and the comrade from the I.L.P. The S.A.P. and five other comrades abstained because they wanted to demonstrate that they are for a New International but believe it will be attained in a different manner. As the official organ of a responsible revolutionary party, we should be careful to avoid misleading statements, and I therefore hope you will correct this statement in the next issue, or print this letter instead.

The resolution submitted by the

S.A.P., for which ten of the twelve delegates voted, with only one vote against it (Comrade Schmidt abstaining) is as follows: "In the face of the total failure of the Second and Third Internationals the conference notes that the international revolutionary labor movement is at present without a real leadership having the confidence of the movement and that it is therefore necessary to create such a leadership, i.e. a real, proletarian international. "The conference emphasizes that the necessary international revolutionary leadership can develop only as the result of a historic process and only through the co-operation of the revolutionary elements inside and outside of the prevailing Internationals. It further declares that this leadership can develop only on the basis of a fundamental renewal (Erneuerung) of the international workers movement.

"To accelerate the achievement of a proletarian international capable of action (aktionsfaehig), which alone can realize the necessary unity upon a revolutionary basis, the parties represented at the conference resolve:

"1. To concentrate with all their power upon initiation of international actions;

"2. To utilize all possibilities for the coordination of the ready-for-action forces in the international frame and at the same time to expand the International Arbeitergemeinschaft."

For this resolution voted 10 of the 12 delegates, against it only Comrade Sneevliet, Comrade Schmidt (O.S.P.) abstaining.

According to the Neue Front, the S.A.P. was ready to sign the motion submitted by the two Dutch Comrades, namely: "The conference declares that the proletariat, in order to conduct the international struggle, must create for itself a new international," if it had been submitted as a declaration instead of

Ed. Note: This is the third of four articles by comrade Muste. The fourth article will appear next week.

By A. J. MUSTE
III.

It is a short and easy step from an undervaluation of internationalism to a nationalistic attitude—or at least to attitudes and expressions which play into the hands of those reactionary forces which use "patriotism," "Americanism," nationalism, chauvinism, in order eventually to smash the workers' movement and to impose Fascism upon the masses. I am thinking of such slogans as "Advance America."

The hold of patriotic sentiment on the masses and the havoc wrought by capitalists and militarists by playing upon it, have been abundantly demonstrated. Those comrades who insist that we have here a crucial problem and that we must know how to deal with it are entirely correct. Yet for the very reason that we are dealing here with explosive material we have to be careful that the bomb we plan to use against the enemy does not blow up in our own hands!

Borrowing Symbols

The idea that seems to underlie a good deal of the discussion on this point is that if the revolutionists would take over the patriotic symbols and slogans, they would get the following instead of the Longs and Coughlins; and attaching new ideas and aims to these symbols they would make the masses fighters for a workers' world. It is a tempting idea to many who foresee the danger of a Fascist triumph and who behold the contrast between the immense following of the demagogues and the handful of supporters of the revolutionary movement. If only we could use their tricks and get the masses to jump on our bandwagon! But, alas, the easy way is not necessarily the right way.

The same eagerness quickly to win a mass following for the idea of a non-profit economy, by the way, leads some to propose that the middle class which seem more rebellious than the workers should be "sold" on the right brand of revolution, instead of looking to the working class as the spear-head of the revolutionary movement. This quick cure Comrade Budenz correctly rejects. Let the middle class organize as a middle class, and the result will be reactionary, to maintain, not to overthrow, the profit system. But "merely threaten a general strike and chills and fever run through the present body politic."

A Deadly Parallel

Equally dangerous and deceptive is the despairing resort to "patriotism." How and why that is the case can be made clear, as one of the comrades has written in about this question suggested, by an illustration from another sphere. Religion, the argument would run, has a great hold on men. It is true that religion, its institutions and symbols, have been used as supports of the existing order. But it is also true that the great prophets of religion have denounced the rich and

as a MOTION, and the majority of the delegates probably would have followed that example, according to Neue Front. As it was, only the two Dutch comrades and the representative of the International Youth Bureau voted for their motion.

Whatever the merits or demerits of the conference and the decisions, I believe revolutionists should be fully (so far as possible) and fairly informed about it. The following parties or groups were represented: 1. The I.L.P. (England); 2. The O.S.P. (Holland); 3. The S.A.P. (Germany); 4. The Independent Labor Party of Poland; 5. The Socialist Party of Sweden; 6. The Iberian Communist Federation (Spain); 7. The "Red Front" (Austria); 8. The S. P. (Maximalists) of Italy; 9. Friends of Workers Unity (Doriot), France; 10. R.S.P. (Trotskyists), Holland; 11. The International Bureau of Rev. Youth (Stockholm); 12. The Group "Mot-Dag" (Norway).

Fraternally yours,
WILL A. SEEGER.

Declaration of Schmidt and Sneevliet

The organ of the S.A.P. "Die Neue Front," in the March 1st edition, in the course of a report on the Paris International Conference in February, presents the Dutch resolution on the new international as an abstract "proclamation" of the new international.

This presentation is false and without foundation.

Both Schmidt and Sneevliet said quite clearly that they realized that a new international could never be formed by a mere "proclamation." Both of them understood the difficulties connected with the formation of the new international. Both of them stated with equal clarity that the first step toward the new international must be the recognition of the necessity for a new international. They refused to add to the confusion surrounding this question by voting for ineffective, compromise resolutions.

The proletariat needs above all clarity and precision on this question. The S.A.P., with its resolu-

Twin Evils of Labor — Nationalism & Reformism

powerful, have pictured a world of peace and brotherhood, etc. Let us harness the institutions, emotions, symbols and slogans of religion to the revolutionary movement, therefore, and to carry the latter to victory! The realist, the Marxist, knows that this is a fantasy. Religious institutions are a bulwark of the existing order. Keep the minds and emotions of men bound to religious ideas and symbols, and you keep them bound to the existing economic and political order. The hold of these ideas and symbols must be broken. As one great prophet pointed out, you cannot put "new wine into old wine-skins."

The state, the governmental system under which we live, is likewise an agency and bulwark of capitalism. We have to overthrow the capitalist state. But that means that we must break the hold of the symbols and the emotions that attach to the present state.

A Practical Example

When in the great unemployed convention in Columbus in 1933 hundreds of honest but politically undeveloped workers were roused to fury against us by labor spies and Fascists, and Arnold Johnson was about to be dragged from the platform and lynched on the ground that he was radical and un-American and did not properly respect the flag, we did not "wrap the stars and stripes around us" or make any effort to claim that we were "patriotic." Arnold Johnson stood his ground, pleaded for reason and calm consideration. When quiet was restored, we claimed that those who raised the issue did so in order to serve the capitalists and their political henchmen by breaking up the Leagues and that the waving of the flag, patriotic appeals, etc. were constantly used for precisely this purpose, as when men were led to slaughter in "the war to end war, the war for democracy," etc.

Statements about "serving" the nation, the country, the community, have also to be carefully guarded. The notion that the country is "our" country—i.e. everybody's alike, that there is such a thing as nation or community, a mystic something to which we belong and which protects us, is cultivated by the ruling class for the purpose of hiding the fact of class cleavage, of exploitation for the purpose of making the worker think that when he goes to war he is fighting for "his" country, instead of against himself and for the capitalists.

American Tradition

The same caution holds for an uncritical use of "the American revolutionary tradition." There are, to be sure, revolutionary traditions in American history, to which we shall have occasion to refer again. But the dominant American tradition has been that of capitalist expansion, exploitation, imperialist adventuring. Years of experience in workers' education have demonstrated to my complete satisfaction, and I know that all who attended the classes at Brookwood or similar ones elsewhere, will back me up in this, that outside of the actual experience the American worker gets of injustice the most effective way to make him class-conscious is to teach him the real facts of American history, American history, i.e., from a Marxist viewpoint. And this is by no means to teach him in an uncritical fashion that anyone who oppresses labor is a "black betrayer of the ideals of the Founding Fathers" or that "Hancock and Adams slept with a price on their heads."

Quite the contrary, it involves pointing out that Washington was the 30,000 acres of western lands; that Hancock and Adams with their mercantile business threatened destruction by laws passed by a British parliament in the interest of British merchants, acted in line with their class interests when they engaged in the Revolutionary War and brought the American farmers and artisans into it; that as soon as possible after the war was over they conveniently forgot the "principles" of the Declaration of Independence and in the most high-handed fashion imaginable put over a constitution which protected their property interests against the farmers who had manned the revolutionary armies; and that this constitution has been used ever since as an

instrument of class-domination; those provisions in it intended for the protection of the masses either being perverted like the "due-process" clause or simply not enforced like the amendment granting civil and political rights to Negroes.

By this means faith in America, i.e. in capitalist America, is broken down, and that is a prime essential for the building of a working-class revolutionary movement.

We have nothing to gain and much to lose from a romanticizing of American history. The unvarnished Marxian interpretation of it is a priceless instrument in our hands. Certainly in an age when patriotism is the dominant emotion upon which capitalism in its decline calls in order to fasten the chains of reaction and terrorism upon the masses, we must not fall into the trap of arousing sentiments upon which the demagogues can in any case play much more effectively than revolutionists can, and which in the end can only be used to destroy the revolutionary movement.

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The Constitutional Amendment

At this point may properly come an analysis of Comrade Budenz's suggestion of "a proposed amendment to the constitution" as a, or the, means to "strike a death blow at the profit system." On the face of the article in question this amendment to abolish private ownership, wage slavery etc. is presented as the fundamental basis for an American revolutionary movement. It, the amendment, would "safeguard its integrity" (not, e.g., firm adherence to Marxist and Leninist principle); the movement will "give a focal point to the struggle by basing itself" on this amendment. "The proposal of this amendment, as a basic starting point, is essential for any real revolutionary movement in the U.S."

If this was not intended, if the amendment is proposed as a slogan, the basis for a tactical maneuver at a certain point, then certainly it was a grave error not to make that clear in a serious and formal political document as this article proclaims itself to be.

A "Parliamentary" Revolution

If the expressions describing the proposal are taken at their face value, then it must be said that it is clearly and utterly out of accord with the position of the Workers Party. No indication to the contrary being given, one must assume that the amendment is to be put

Fourth International Party Formed in Fusion in Holland

From The Bulletin of the International Communist League (Bolshevik-Leninists).

On March 2, 1935, the two Dutch workers' parties, the Revolutionary Socialist Party (R.S.P.), member of the International Communist League, and one of the signers of the "Pact of Four" of August 1933, and the Independent Socialist Party (O.S.P.), also a signer of the pact, which had, however, not immediately started unity negotiations on account of internal divergences, held their last separate congresses before the fusion of the following day.

The conditions on which the fusion took place had been formulated during a preparatory period of several months. The R.S.P. congress accepted the conditions unanimously, whereas in the O.S.P. a small minority was opposed.

The Name of Party

The fusion congress took place on March 3. There were 1,100 delegates, numerous guests and onlookers. The spirit was enthusiastic, since a revolutionary workers' party was formed which would have nothing to do with the Second International. The R.S.P. had never been a member, but the majority of the O.S.P., as a left wing, had only left the Dutch Social Democracy a few years before. The name for the new party was proposed by the R.S.P.; several comrades of the O.S.P. preferred the more simple and, from the revolutionary point of view, less forceful name of U.S.P., that is "United Socialist Party," which was voted down by a large majority.

The formation of a Dutch workers' party proclaiming the necessity for a New International is an important event in the life of the international proletariat. It is the second of the same sort, as the Workers Party of the U. S., formed in December 1934, proclaimed even more clearly the creation of the Fourth International as a most urgent task.

International Affiliation

There exists in the heart of the new Dutch party some difficulty on exactly this point. The O.S.P. is a member of the Amsterdam Bureau of Left Socialist Parties and Groups. The Bureau, it is true, is a very loose organization, functioning mainly as an information bureau. Several of the members even recognize the necessity for a New International, although generally hostile to the slogan for a Fourth International. Those that recognize the Fourth International, incidentally

into effect in the manner prescribed in the Constitution, viz., by action of Congress, ratification by state legislatures, etc. This is certainly suggesting in a most extreme form the possibility of revolution by parliamentary method which Comrade Budenz has often violently denounced. In a country where it is impossible to get an amendment to abolish child labor passed, the profit system is to be abolished by constitutional amendment!

If the idea is to use the proposal of such an amendment as a slogan, a tactical maneuver at a certain stage of political development, then it is a matter of tactics and not of principle which would have to be discussed on its merits and from all angles when it came up as a definite political proposal in a given historical setting. Even so the question whether it fostered a fetishism of parliamentarism would have to be very seriously considered.

As for tactical considerations, in view of the difficulties and delays in getting any kind of constitutional amendment passed in this country, the proposal does not appeal to me at least. Nor can I conceive of it as making any appeal to workers or farmers generally. There are quicker ways of getting results, and ways more calculated to build labor militancy, as when in 1916 the threat of a general railroad strike forced the Adamson eight-hour law through Congress and got a verdict of "constitutional" from the Supreme Court—which, incidentally, can always have a few judges added to it if the will and the power are available.

If we ever had a situation where passage of a constitutional amendment abolishing capitalism was actually in sight, well, we could then dispense with formalities and write a brand-new constitution for the Workers Republic!

Logic of a False Position

There is one other possibility, viz.: that the idea is that the workers will gain power by revolutionary means and then enact a constitutional amendment. This idea has no merit either. In the first place, when the workers are once in power as a result of revolutionary action, they will not need to stop with an amendment. In the second place, it encourages the notion that in the main the machinery of capitalist government will remain and will serve the needs of a workers' order. That notion is of course a flat contradiction of the position set forth in our Declaration of Principles.

The final article in Comrade Muste's series will appear next week.)

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

A. W., HAMILTON—

Question: In his article on April 6, Comrade Muste states: "If, however, any party refuses to face and discuss the issues we raise, such a party is not revolutionary and a true revolutionary cannot remain in such a party." Is this not the same as Stalinist ideology of leaving the mass organizations to the mercy of the reactionaries because the reformists inside them would not listen to them?

Answer: In the first place the Stalinists used to quit the mass organizations for reasons, theoretical at least, which are other than that which you give here. They merely drew a correct conclusion from an INCORRECT assumption by declaring that the A. F. of L. etc. was "fascist" and that they therefore could not remain inside these organizations.

Secondly, Comrade Muste refers specifically to the revolutionary party of the working class and not to its mass organizations. Different workers have different ideas as to how they are to achieve emancipation, and, based on these various conceptions, form themselves into political parties with different ideas and principles (revolutionary, reformist, etc.), so that, because it is contrary to his beliefs, it is obvious that a revolutionary-minded worker cannot remain in an organization which preaches reformism or whose activities lead to revolutionary defeats. This was the essence of Comrade Muste's statement.

The mass organizations of the working class, however (trade unions, unemployed organizations, etc.) are composed of all sections of the class regardless of political or other beliefs because there are economic interests binding the workers together, and the limited framework of such organizations permits unity of the class within them. It is the duty of the advanced worker to stay with the masses at all costs, and to build up the broad organizations embracing them, as means of teaching the proletariat that their emancipation lies beyond these narrow boundaries.

bination of empty, mechanical, parliamentary democracy with a "strong" policy, which it is true is not, nor yet need be, openly fascist, but which, in case the depression in Holland should become more intense, could take on an even "stronger," a pre-fascist, character. For this reason the defense of the political and economic positions of the Dutch working class requires a revolutionary party which can have no community of interest with the bourgeoisie—as have the social democrats—which does not act solely in the interest of the Russian national bureaucracy—as does the C.P., in any case without influence.

Bi-Weekly Organ

The R.S.A.P. has a bi-weekly ("The New Torch"). The theoretical review of the R.S.P. ("The New Way") has been replaced by The International, monthly theoretical review of the R.S.A.P.

The new party has about 4,500 members, that is to say more than the C.P. of Holland.

A Left opposition has formed in the C.P.H. during the last year, most of it leaving the party. However the K.A.P. (German Communist Labor Party, ultra left) tendency in the split-off was so strong that the R.S.A.P. gained little with the exception of Comrade Van Riel, former member of the C. C. of the C.P.H. who was one of the leaders of this opposition (C.P.O.).

A Forward Step

There can be no doubt that the formation of the R.S.A.P. marks a step in advance, not only in the life of the Dutch workers, but in the international arena as well. The danger of war becomes more and more acute. No one of any political development can believe that the Third International in case of war will be any less catastrophic than its collapse in Germany on the eve of Hitler's rise to power. It is even less credible that the social democratic parties will behave in any other way than they behaved in 1914. The task of the Fourth International is to pose and to attempt to solve the problems which no other organization can solve. For that reason the existence of two parties on the same basic platform, the W.P.U.S. and the R.S.W.P. is a great advantage. Let the opportunists ridicule the numerical weakness of the parties, let the centrist "revolutionaries," such as the S.A.P. cook up their recipes for a New International, let the Stalinists boast, as they did in Germany until 1933—"The existence of living parties growing in both America and Holland furnishes a beginning which may perhaps prove decisive precisely in case of war."

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Progressives Organize!

An individual cannot successfully cope with a machine. Even a group of individuals getting together in a crisis and agreeing on a program are in the end no match for an old well-oiled machine.

That is the lesson which was hammered into the progressive unionists in Toledo, Cleveland, Norwood and other General Motors centers by the betrayal of Dillon a couple of weeks ago. Already they are taking steps to build the militants in the auto industry into an organized force.

The moment progressives undertake such a move they are met with the objection: "But this means having an organization within an organization. This means that a certain group is going to try to dominate the union. Then another group will start up—The union will be divided."

It is curious to have this cry raised so constantly in a country which works under a party system, where it is an accepted thing that the parties, Democratic, Republican, etc. organize to advance their respective programs. What should be more natural in a democratic organization such as the trade union movement purports to be, than that groups should organize about a program, bring it to the attention of the membership, etc.? Could anything be more educational for the membership? Is there any better way to bring issues into the open and have them decided in an open and above-board fashion?

As a matter of fact, in some of our most respectable and conservative unions such as the typographical, two or more parties have operated openly, put up slates in elections, etc. for years. There are hundreds of unions throughout the country in which groups with different programs have functioned year after year, and this has not meant the collapse of the union.

Honest workers must not be led astray by the crimes and mistakes which have been committed by the Communist Party in the trade unions. It is true that the groups they organized and influenced set out to "capture" unions, often by allying themselves with reactionary and gangster elements in order to get votes. It is also true that the C. P. pursued a disruptive policy in the unions. Today, in a feverish attempt to win back the confidence of the trade unionists which they lost by these insane methods, they actually play the game of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats as they did in Akron.

Progressive unionists, whether they be also members of the Workers Party or not, will seek to influence the unions by working out sound policies for the unions, advocating them openly, doing everything in their power to educate the membership, make them acquainted with the policies they are advocating. If they are defeated they will take the licking and get right to work again in order that the policies they advocate may eventually win the day. They will gain the confidence of the membership by their willingness to work harder for the union, fight more valiantly on the picket line, etc. But they will not be deferred from organizing and fighting with all their might for the policies in which they believe.

What is the alternative if the militants do not organize? That there are then no groups, no "machine" in the union at all? Not at all. The officialdom in the trade unions is organized, openly or secretly. They have their machine, their cliques, through whom by strong-arm methods, by job control, deceitful propaganda, they control the membership, often without the membership being aware of it.

It is these bureaucrats, these Tammany politicians, in the trade union movement who raise the cry, "We must not have an organization within an organization." They do it in order to defend their jobs, to maintain their own policy of collaboration with the bosses. They know only too well that once the militants cease acting as individuals, cease depending on an occasional joint action in a crisis, but make themselves into a permanent, independent, fighting force, the day of the bureaucrats is done.

Progressives, militants, organize! You have a right to organize! You must organize if trade union democracy is to be maintained! You must organize to save the unions from reactionaries, racketeers, and betrayers, to make the unions into mighty weapons of defense and offense for the workers!

Auto International

One of the problems which the militants of the Federal Automobile locals will have to give careful attention in the immediate future is the setting up of an international union with a charter from the American Federation of Labor. At the close of the recent meeting of the A. F. of L. executive council, when the General Motors strike was on, William Green announced that the charter for an international union which had been promised to the automobile workers a long time ago, was to be issued "as soon as things quieted down." Well, thanks to Francis Dillon's strenuous efforts on behalf of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, the General Motors strike had been "settled" and except for a flurry here and there in the automobile centers, "things have quieted down."

The first move of the progressive automobile workers should be to demand an end to delays, to call for the international charter immediately. The Federal locals cannot act together quickly and effectively so long as they are loosely tied together in a council which has no real power. Furthermore, an international union and its locals have, under the A. F. of L. set-up, much more control over their own affairs than the Federal locals which are merely puppets in the hands of the bureaucrats. One of the ways, therefore to make Dillon betrayals more difficult is for the automobile workers to get their own international charter immediately.

In the second place, much may depend upon the way in which the new international is set up. Doubtless the Green-Dillon proposition will be that for a year at least the present council which is dominated by them or some group they appoint, shall serve as the provisional executive board of the new international. Then when this outfit is fairly secure in the saddle it will call a convention and by the methods so well known to the labor politicians, will see to it that "safe and sane," that is, machine, delegates are elected, so that the convention may put the politicians into permanent control of the union.

Doubtless the Green-Dillon outfit has already sent reassuring word to General Motors and the rest of the automobile corporations: "We will take care of everything and see to it that no hot-heads, no wild young men, no reds, have anything to say about the new union. Trust us and you will be safe. See what we were able to do even in Toledo!"

Progressives must insist on a convention of delegates elected by the rank and file of the local unions. The situation in the automobile industry is such that a convention, in which the workers can compare notes and make plans for a national organization and a national strike when conditions are ripe, is urgently needed. At such a convention the new international must be drafted and officers elected.

One other basic consideration must receive careful attention at once. As things stand the A. F. of L. proposes to assign a considerable percentage of the workers in the automobile industry to the machinists and other craft unions. The auto workers have been led to believe that the Federal locals were a stepping stone to industrial unionism. It is reported that when in a recent interview Green was asked whether the new union in automobiles could be described as "industrial" he answered that he could not be sure! In other words, the auto workers can be sure that the new international will not be an industrial union if the genuine sense if the A. F. of L. leaders have their way.

With a dozen or twenty unions in the industry there will be continual bickering and strife between the job-holders in the unions. The employers will assiduously play off the one against the other. In strikes they will be scabbing on each other as has happened so often under the craft union set-up. The workers will be the victims of these conditions. The new international will be seriously handicapped if not crippled from the outset unless it is in the full sense of the term industrial, embracing all the workers in and about the automobile and auto parts plants.

Let the slogan of genuine industrial unionism be raised immediately. Let an educational campaign be set under way among the auto workers, both in and out of the Federal locals. Let the question be raised in the central labor bodies and in all local unions that can be reached. The soil is ready for such a campaign. Let all the militant and progressive forces get behind it, and it will sweep the country.

Mass Meeting

The United States and the European Powers
Are Preparing for War!

HOW ARE THE WORKERS PREPARED TO
MEET THE NEXT WAR?

Speakers:

A. J. Muste

National Secretary of the Workers Party

Manny Garrett

Editor of Young Spartacus

FRIDAY, MAY 31st, 8 P.M.

Germania Hall, Third Ave. and 16th St.

Auspices: N. Y. District Workers Party of U. S.

\$4.75 A Week - The Roosevelt Standard

Union Wages To Go Down

(Continued from page 1)

over 100,000 (22 cents in rural districts). For the South then, city relief wages drop from 40 to 19 cents and from \$1.00 to 42 cents per hour. The first step into the promised land of Roosevelt security.

Under P.W.A. Rates

In the North P.W.A. wages were 50 cents an hour for unskilled and \$1.20 for skilled labor. Under the new scheme they will be 34 cents and 53 cents in the cities (25 and 34 cents in rural areas).

This is the way President Roosevelt goes about "lifting up the underprivileged."

The lack of any provision for prevailing rates in the new bill is of paramount importance. It means, in effect, that skilled workers will no longer work for union scales, as they did under the P.W.A. Whereas they now work five or six days per month at union rates to earn their fifty or sixty dollars, under the new plan they will work the 40-hour week, four weeks a month, to gain the same sum. On the new scale will be played the funeral march of union wages.

Not Isolated—Competing

Many liberal papers deplore the new program as "creating a caste of the unemployed, as isolating a large body of the American people and condemning them to semi-slavery."

But the unemployed will not be "isolated in a semi-slave caste;" not at all. On the contrary the unemployed, far from being isolated, will be in direct contact with the employed, and will tend to pull down the wages of all labor to the minimum level of the program.

Workers on "government" projects (frequently let out to private contractors) will work at program wages side by side with "privately" employed workers. It is evident that the interaction of the two wage scales together with employers' greed and government connivance will drive all wages down to the security level.

Instead of creating an "isolated caste of semi-slaves" consisting of the unemployed, the new program will make the whole working class, in time, a caste of semi-slaves. Under the modern wage system there is no such thing as an isolated caste, for wages of one section of the working class inevitably react on the wages of every other. It is not from empty idealism that labor organizations proclaim that "an injury to one is an injury to all."

Green's Nightmares

There can be little surprise that even the doddering A. F. of L. officialdom was stirred out of its rosy dreams of peaceful and endless collaboration by the announcement of the new program. William Green is reported to say: "I am fearful

(1) of protest strikes among the unemployed, and I am also fearful that private industry will use these rates to reduce the wages they are now paying."

We are accustomed to the sight of William Green trembling with fright at the mention of direct action, of strikes. But here his whole philosophy is summed up; he is fearful of lower wages, but he is equally fearful of raising them by strikes.

Bills, Not Action

At present Green and the rest of the A. F. of L. skates are putting their faith in the Wagner Bill. This bill, which would relieve Bill Green of his "fearful" strikes, may pass. Roosevelt having taken two important steps to the right, the work relief program and the bonus, must now cover up with a gesture to the left. The Wagner Bill furnishes him with just the proper cover, nothing more than an empty gesture, it has, nevertheless, the endorsement of the A. F. of L. In practice it will have no more effect than the now half-dead National Labor Board—i. e. it will serve to "arbitrate" workers out of the gains they might make by strike action.

William Green feels the sand running out from under his feet. But it is not from William Green and his fears that workers can expect any aid.

The new program contains a clause which permits the Works Progress Division "to upset the entire scale by exempting projects where necessary in 'accordance with local wage conditions.'" This simple clause really invalidates the whole published scale, and leads us to suspect that the scale is nothing more than a "feeler" to see how the people will react. In practice the scale will be even lower if the administration can get away with it.

It Depends on Labor

At the same time workers can force the scale up—anything that can go down, can, in this case, go up—if workers force it up.

The new program provides minimum wages at best 19 dollars a month, and maximum at best \$94 a month. It provides that only one member of each family may work for that sum. All food, clothing, rent, furniture, amusement, medical care, etc. for the whole family, no matter what size, must be found in that sum.

The wages are not steady. The work is irregular, depending on the projects in hand. The worker is docked for illness. He is liable to permanent dismissal. The Works Division (appropriately named) can cut his wage, paid, as an added insult only monthly, at whim.

The worker is at the mercy of the government for which he toils at slave wages.

There is but one recourse: not votes, not bills, not laws, not labor boards, not William Greens, but direct action, organization and strike action.

Gould Speaks Youth Sways In Kansas City Mpls. Congress

By JEFF RALL

Kansas City, Mo., May 18.—"The Future of American Youth" was the topic of Nathan Gould's address, delivered to an attentive and enthusiastic audience gathered at the Workers' Modern Library to hear the message of the Spartacus Youth League presented by its national secretary.

"He who has the youth has the army," stated Comrade Gould, quoted from Karl Liebknecht. The imperative need of rescuing the working class youth from the dangers of fascist demagoguery and mobilizing them behind the revolutionary party was convincingly set forth. Both the Young Peoples Socialist League and the Young Communist League have conclusively demonstrated their inability to rally the youth for revolutionary action, he said, and the responsibility thus rests with the Spartacus Youth League to fulfill this duty imposed upon them by history.

The belief that the American working class is inhibited with conservatism and a tendency to balk at revolutionary solutions was emphatically repudiated by Comrade Gould, as he pointed to the magnificent examples of heroism and the capacity for self-sacrifice displayed by the workers in recent strike battles. These militant actions prove that the American workers will not accept fascism and the continued assaults of capitalism upon their living standards with folded arms and passive acquiescence. With a vanguard worthy of their allegiance they can and will be led to a revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Workers' State. Further, such a vanguard has been created, asserted Comrade Gould—the Workers Party of the U. S. and the Spartacus Youth League.

(Continued from Page 1)

to summarize the discussion in a "safe and sane" manner.

The most progressive report was made to the conference by the employment discussion group. It included resolutions indorsing the Lundeen bill, favoring government operation of idle factories as a temporary measure, calling for equal wages under the NRA for black and white, favoring the right of youth to organize, strike and picket, urging the expenditure of war funds on education, and opposing the militarization of C.C.C. and transient camps. The last of the series of ten resolutions which were passed by a majority of the delegates from all over Minnesota read: "We realize that most present measures for relieving unemployment are palliatives only, we believe that the ultimate solution of the depression and unemployment lies in a socialized planned economy."

Leo Tuuri, communist candidate for alderman, rose on this resolution to say, "Although I am a Young Communist, I do not favor the passage of this motion. We desire unity, and unity can only be obtained on the basis of a minimum program."

Replying to Tuuri, a member of Spartacus countered, "Zero is the minimum program conceivable. Logically you ought to favor nothing, and you would have unity with everyone." A Young Farmer-Laborer remarked that "The demand for socialism, after five years of depression, is certainly the most minimum of minimum demands that could be included in a 'minimum' program."

The resolution carried by an overwhelming majority, the Young Communists abstaining to the surprise of all. One youth remarked: "I always thought that the Communists were revolutionaries."

S. Y. L. Fights for a United Protest on Memorial Day

On May 30, the bosses and profit-seekers will hold their Memorial Day services and parades, calculated to whip up the jingoistic and patriotic spirit of the American working class youth. The desires of the class conscious youth to show their determined opposition to the whole spirit and meaning of Memorial Day and to the profit system that gives rise to it, has been repeatedly manifested by the powerful pressure towards broad youth demonstrations and rallies.

Last year the Young Communist League, by its maneuvers to foist its own name and leadership over the united front, and its arbitrary attempts to dominate the demonstration, forced a rupture of the united front and resulted in two separate demonstrations.

S.Y.L. Efforts for Unity

This year again, a genuine united front for May 30 has not been achieved, partly because of the injurious activities of the Stalinist Youth organization. The Spartacus Youth League proposed from the very beginning to both the American Youth Congress continuations committee which was arranging the united front, to the Young Peoples Socialist League and the Y.C.L. respectively, that a broad united front arrangements committee be set up to include the major political tendencies and city wide organizations. This united front committee would include the members and organizations in the continuations committee.

But the Y.P.S.L., capitulating to the pressure of the "Old Guard" and "Militants" in the S. P., decided to withdraw from the demonstration on the pretext that it "could not participate in a united front with the dual unions of the T.U.U.L., which split the labor movement."

The Spartacus Youth League, in a letter to the City Executive Committee of the Y.P.S.L. made it clear that such a stand cannot possibly be condoned by a revolutionary youth organization. The letter reads in part:

Letter to Young Socialists

"The argument that the Y.P.S.L. cannot march with the T.U.U.L. unions seems to us a spurious and a specious one, directed against the whole conception of the united front. In the first place, it is rather late in the day to raise this particular issue—where are the T.U.U.L. unions that the Y.P.S.L. objects to? But even granting that they may exist, then in what manner can the Y.P.S.L. reconcile its marching with the I.W.W. unions on May Day and rejecting the Stalinist paper unions on May 30? Moreover, it is inconsistent with your past policy: for some six months T.U.U.L. unions have been affiliated to the American Youth Congress, why only now, when the T.U.U.L. is being liquidated overnight, does the Y.P.S.L. suddenly become conscience-stricken?"

"We are not the apologists for the Stalinists nor for their dual

unions. But we stand for a broad and representative united front. There would be no question if the Y.P.S.L. were being asked to work together with the T.U.U.L. to win the working youth into the trade unions, but here it is simply a matter of expressing in a united front action a joint opposition to militarism, to the war program of the imperialists, to fascism. The Y.P.S.L. will be taking upon itself the full responsibility for splitting the demonstration unless it reverses its position of last week."

Opposes Stalinist Disruption

The Spartacus Youth League dissociates itself completely from the position of the Y.P.S.L. But how do things stand with the Y.C.L.?

The sectarian and bureaucratic policies of Stalinism are now reaping their full fruit. The dual paper unions of the T.U.U.L., the ultimistic attempts at domination, the tactics of wrecking what they could not control—all those policies that have so discredited Stalinism in the eyes of the labor movement, and have made it possible for the trade union bureaucracy and the Old Guard leadership of the S. P. to reject and refuse the formation of a real united front stand out today as solid barriers in the way of every move towards a united front.

Although it has superficially changed some of its old policies and methods, the Y.C.L. still persists in many of them: in packing the united front conference of May 11, publishing dishonest articles in the Daily Worker calculated to lump the S.Y.L. together with the Y.P.S.L. (May 14), attempting to dominate the demonstration, etc. The S.Y.L. was and is anxious to see as broad and genuine a united front as possible on May 30. But the Y.C.L. is determined to exclude the "counter-revolutionary enemies of the working class."

Refused Speaker

The Y.C.L.-controlled continuations committee refuses the S.Y.L. not only a speaker but even representation on the arrangements committee! We requested this as a guarantee that the Y.C.L. would actually stand by their word for a genuine united front. The refusal of these elementary conditions makes it impossible for the S.Y.L. to participate. We do not intend to tail along in a Stalinist demonstration, without representation and without voice, giving their farcical "united front" the cover of our banner and our name.

For these reasons the S.Y.L. has decided not to take part in either the Y.C.L. or the Y.P.S.L. demonstration or mass meeting. Instead it will call its own mass meeting on the meaning and significance of May 30 and explain our stand to the working class youth. The meeting will take place next Friday, May 31, at Irving Plaza. We call on all our readers and sympathizers to demonstrate with us their understanding and determination to fight consistently for a genuine united front of the working class.

French Situation Is Feature of May "New International"

More brilliant, more interesting, and as fundamental as previous issues, is the comment already made of the May issue of the New International, now off the press. It is a special issue, the main body of its contents dealing with the present situation in France and the problems of the French labor and revolutionary movement. "Where is France Going?" is the title of this exhaustive and extremely timely Marxian analysis of French politics. Is it going toward murderous Fascism—or the workers' revolution?

Nineteen solid pages of material make up this article fully on the subject with fundamental analyses carried in our press for example during the months and weeks preceding the Hitler seizure of power in Germany. An estimate is given of the existing class forces in France today and the way out, the only way out, for the working class is shown in unmistakable fashion. It is impossible for the thinking worker to understand the present day situation in France without reading this article.

One of our European correspondents contributes an article on the problem of Abyssinia—"A New Nerve Center of Imperialist Lust." For the first time in an English publication its readers may learn about this African native state not yet conquered by the imperialist robber bandits. They may learn about the reasons for the feverish mobilization by Mussolini in what very clearly appears as a planned attempt to make an end to the independence of this native state and

to finally and fully subject it to imperialist plunder clothed in the black shirts of Mussolini's hordes.

Comrade Muste contributes an article in this issue: "Labor in 1935—Panorama and Prognosis." In his usual direct and forceful style Comrade Muste deals in this article essentially with the forces within the labor movement—reactionaries and progressives, and forecasting the prospects of the latter, he concludes: "Then Lewis, Hillman and Green will not be the only ones claiming to represent the workers in Washington, and in any case the decisive events will not then occur in the White House with the smiling Roosevelt presiding as the cigars are passed, but on the picket lines in the steel, coal and automobile towns, as the gas bombs and the bullets fly about."

The May issue of the New International contains also an article beautiful in style and forceful in its analysis dealing with the native question in South Africa, written by R. Lee of Johannesburg. It contains a further installment by R. Gotesky on the discussion of "Marxism: Science or Method?" and other valuable material.

Readers of the New Militant and their friends cannot afford to miss this issue and we shall be glad to accept your order either for single copies, bundles or subscriptions. We take this occasion also to mention in reply to inquiries that we have a very small number still left of the first issue of the New International. The price per single copy is 25 cents.

ART PREIS

Editor of the suppressed strike bulletin, "Strike Truth"

JAMES P. CANNON

Editor of the "New Militant"

Inside Story Of The Toledo Strike

Sunday, May 26th, 8 p. m.
Irving Plaza, 15th st. & Irving Pl.