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THE END OF THE BLUE BUZZARD

AN EDITORIAL

By its decision in the Schechter Poultry Case, the Supreme Court has finally signed the death warrant of the NRA. During the past months the once proud structure of the New Deal's major achievement has been gradually picked apart, stone by stone. Little more than a skeleton was left for judicial execution.

What is the central lesson to be drawn from the Supreme Court decision, coming as it does as the last act in the grim farce of the Blue Eagle? Is it, as the A. F. of L. leaders would have us believe, a staggering blow at labor, which is now "deprived of the benefits" of the labor-loving NRA? Or are we to conclude logically from the two year propaganda of the Communist Party that it is a "victory" for labor, since it does away with the "Roosevelt Slave Act"?

It is necessary to review the facts. When Roosevelt took office in 1933, the capitalists were faced with what seemed to them a nearly insurmountable crisis. The banks were closed, and complete financial collapse was threatening. The volumes of production and employment were at their lowest points of the depression. Industry as a whole was operating at a loss. The price structure was weakening under an avalanche of desperate competitive price-cutting. Labor was growing increasingly restless, and moving toward direct action.

Strong arm methods were necessary to pull capitalism out of the ditch and to set it going once more along the road of profits. Only the Federal Government was in a position to apply these methods; and the Federal Government could do so only by departing widely from the traditional Constitutional forms.

Roosevelt took control. Realizing that the ponderous machinery of the courts would only get into the picture many months later, he concentrated the full power of government into his own hands, reducing Congress for the time being to a rubber stamp. By a rapid series of measures, he saved the banking system, stopped the bankruptcies of large corporations, and started U. S. capitalism once more going forward—that is, once more in a position to make profits.

Among the measures he used, the NRA was the most grandiose and the most unusual. It was the NRA that was supposed to usher in the New Age of "fullness of life" for all. This was the Roosevelt solution to the crisis—the most ballyhooed measure ever passed by a U. S. Congress.

Essentially the NRA consisted of two distinct parts: (1) Regulations to secure what was called "fair competition." This phrase covered a multitude of capitalist sins. Under its banner, codes were set up to eliminate "destructive price cutting," "retail trade practice," etc.

ulate trade practice," "promote cooperative actions among the actual effect of these regulations, as brought out by the Darrow report, was to increase the domination of trusts and monopolies within each industry, since it was the monopolies that controlled the code authorities.

(2) The second part of the NRA dealt with "labor provisions"—partial prohibition of child labor, regulation of minimum wages and maximum hours, and the famous Section 7a, covering so-called "collective bargaining."

The pretended aim of these labor provisions was to aid "the forgotten man." The actual chief purposes were two: First, the New Deal in its early stages needed the unified support of all classes of the population. The labor provisions, looking on the surface like a concession to labor, were worded in such a way as to soft soap the working class into supporting the New Deal program. Second, they were designed to prevent independent class activities (i. e., strikes) on the part of the workers, by turning the workers' struggles aside into governmental channels. With the cooperation of the A. F. of L. officials, the workers were encouraged to look to Roosevelt for higher wages and better conditions, not to their own efforts; and they were tied up in a complicated system of "neutral" Labor Boards whenever they tried to start actions on their own account.

The NRA, aided by a partial "natural" upswing in the business cycle, did its job. Helped by the "codes of fair competition," the big corporations were once again piling up profits by the end of 1933. Though the labor provisions could not entirely prevent independent working class struggle, they did manage to strangle two strike waves in their infancy, and to keep every large strike from reaching maturity. This was not done without certain real concessions to the workers in some industries. But it should be understood that, with few exceptions, these concessions resulted not from the NRA but from the threat or actuality of militant labor struggles. The business of the NRA as of every capitalist "plan" was to increase profits not along with but relatively at the expense of wages, since that is the only way in which profits can any longer be increased or even continued.

With U. S. capitalism temporarily out of the ditch, a division of opinion set in among the capitalists themselves. During the first months of the NRA, almost the entire ruling class was too worried to ask questions. But as profits returned, more and more bankers and industrialists began to protest against "government interference in business," "regimentation," etc. The ruling class was not unanimous in this protest. The codes of fair competition met with approval, for example, throughout most of the retail trade associations. Again, these codes and also the labor provisions were well liked by the big clothing manufacturers with closed shops, who were helped in their fight against the sweatshops which had been undermining their markets prior to NRA.

But the big shop industrialists and bankers were impatient with "interference." They felt confident of their power to go their own way both against their competitors and on the field of the class struggle. They wanted a return to the pre-NRA structure, at a stage higher of finance-monopoly development.

The Supreme Court decision marks a partial temporary

(Continued on Page 4)

Wage Slashing Drive Begins

Victory Greeted Efforts of Ill. Jobless Masses

C.P. Rivals Mr. Hearst In Slurs at I.W.A.

By GERRY ALLARD
SPRINGFIELD, Ill., May 23.—Over 3,000 jobless workers, from seventy-two Illinois cities and towns, converged on the state capital for the third time Tuesday in defiance of the orders that they were to starve unless the sales tax was increased.

City and state police warned the marchers that they could not march or parade in this city. The jobless did parade. They marched through the heart of the city and passed on the towering state capital building. Weary, hungry and desperate, the marchers proudly marched, waving high their Illinois Workers Alliance banners so the political oppressors who had starved them for nearly four weeks could read and take note.

One Marcher Dies

The plight of the workers was clearly shown by the fact that one of their numbers died and several fainted during the march, undoubtedly from the lack of food. Several women from northern Illinois rode a C. & A. freight to get here. Others hitch hiked, commandeered trucks and cars and still others walked for miles. Nevertheless the hundreds of thousands of starving men and women sent their mass delegations to Springfield to tell the capitalist agents that they were not going to starve without a fight.

That afternoon the sales tax was defeated again for the fifth time. Late that night news eked out that Gov. Horner would give up the attempt to pass the bill as an emergency and instead pass it in the ordinary procedure which requires a majority vote of the legislature. Gov. Horner had a majority from the start but he persisted for weeks to pass the increase in sales tax as an emergency to take effect immediately which required a two-thirds vote of the House. The sales tax increase will not take effect until July 1.

A committee headed by Edward C. Morgan, chairman of the Illinois Workers Alliance, was refused an audience by the Governor. Gov. Horner's secretary stated that the chief was too busy to pay attention to a committee representing thousands of starving workers.

Jobless Make History

The Illinois Workers Alliance put up a militant fight against the sales tax. It was mainly responsible for the six weeks deadlock in the state legislature over the issue. The unemployed made history. They carried their fight for bread to great political proportions. Out of this

(Continued on Page 3)

N.U.L. Protests Paupers Wages on Work Relief

Demands Adoption of Workers Security Bill

WASHINGTON, D.C., May 22.—Reminding the President of his inaugural promises, the National Unemployed League, with headquarters in Columbus, Ohio, and affiliated organizations in 22 states, today condemned the administration's "starvation wage scale" in a letter to President Roosevelt, stating, "The organized unemployed will refuse to work for the privilege of starving on wage rates which are not enough to live on and just too much to die on."

Quoting the President's statement, "that no business which depends for its existence on paying less than living wages to its workers has any right to continue in this country. By living wages I mean more than a bare subsistence level—I mean the wages of decent living."

The League demands that the President live up to his promises and scrap the entire present program by going before Congress for the Workers Security Bill sponsored by the National Unemployed League.

The Bill provides for the 30 hour week in all industry; a program of public works on a basis of 30 hours per week at a minimum of \$30.00 per week; a system of unemployment and social insurance to be paid by the employers and the government through taxation on individual and corporation incomes of \$5,000 per year and over, and taxing gifts and inheritances to provide benefits to all unemployed during the total period of unemployment at a rate of \$10 per week per person plus \$3.00 per week for each dependent. Pending such unemployment insurance, that direct cash relief shall be given on the basis of \$10 for a single person plus \$3 for each dependent weekly.

The Bill proposed by the Unemployed League combines into one document a complete program "to protect the health and welfare of the workers of the land," according to the communication.

NEW YORK (FP)—With the world, and especially Japan, preparing for war at record speed, the exports of steel scrap from the United States reached a new high at 560,000 tons in the first quarter of 1935—a 66 percent gain over last year's record-breaking total and more than was ever shipped in any whole year prior to 1933.

The proportion of steel scrap exported to that used in the United States has increased four times in four years.

Muste Speaks for Workers' Revolution on Nat'l Hook-Up

Choice Between Fascism or Communism He Declares

NEW YORK, May 30.—In a stirring address over WJZ on a national hook-up comrade A. J. Muste, national secretary of the Workers Party of the U. S., pointed to the fundamental maladies of the modern economic system. He concluded his broadcast by placing before the American people the dilemma that stirs the modern epoch—fascism or the workers' revolution. Comrade Muste represented the standpoint of Communism in a three-cornered debate under the auspices of the League for Political Education, in which the other speakers were Norman Thomas and Lawrence Dennis.

The complete text of Muste's address follows:

"I wish to make it clear that in setting forth the Communist answer to the problem confronting the American people today, I am not representing the Communist Party or the so-called Third, Communist, International, with which I have never been a member. I am setting forth the historic Communist position embodied in the experience of the modern working-class and in the writings of its great teachers, which constitutes the program of the United States.

"According to both the popular and the official conception, this nation embodies and was founded to realize certain great social ideals. It was to differ radically from 'the old countries.' There were to be no aristocracies of birth or wealth. No individual or group was to be allowed to exploit and oppress others. Not for a favored few, but for the masses of the population there was to be abundance, security, an equal voice in the government, the opportunity for self-expression and self-development,—"a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

Abundance for All

"The material and technical resources for such a society, unquestionably exist in the United States today. No competent student doubts that insofar as it depends upon natural resources and the productive plant, everybody could have a comfortable and attractive home, abundant food, decent clothing, education, security against accident, sickness, and old age; and the sense of independence and self-respect that goes with these things.

"What we actually have, however, is mass unemployment, widespread poverty, a fifty percent cut in the standard of living since 1929, a society which does not know how to use the thousands of its youth coming out of the high schools and

(Continued on Page 4)



A. J. MUSTE

Drive on Pro-Labor Professors Assumes Wide Proportions

With the dismissal of five members of the staff of Columbia University's medical college this week, suppression of pro-labor professors reached the proportions of a systematic campaign.

Two instructors and three technicians were fired at the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia without a hearing and no reasons given.

Dr. Lienhard Bergel, instructor in German at the New Jersey College for Women, a unit of Rutgers University, dismissed for his anti-Nazi opinions by the chairman of his department, a Nazi sympathizer, was effectively added this week by colleagues and students during hearings being held by the college trustees. The hearing, forced by widespread protests against Dr. Bergel's dismissal, heard evidence piled up to prove the Nazi basis for the action against him.

Hicks Dismissed

Granville Hicks, professor of English at Rensselaer Technical Institute in Troy, New York, dismissed by the university on the grounds of "retrenchment," charged that his dismissal was due to a red scare.

Dr. Winslow N. Hallett, professor of psychology and mathematics at Cedar Crest College, Allentown, Pa., was dismissed on May 11.

C. L. U. to Extend Action

Dr. Hallett's case is unique in being fought not only as an issue of academic freedom but also as a straight labor case. The Central Trades and Labor Council is solidly backing his fight. Dr. Hallett is a delegate to the council and treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers local. The American Federation of Teachers is circulating its hundreds of locals for support

(Continued on Page 4)

N.R.A. FLOPS

Bosses Rush To Cash In On Court Decision

Organization Is Only Power In Labors' Hands

By F. FERRY
The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court handed down last Monday effectively killed whatever was still alive of the NIRA.

It may be of some interest, but probably of no great importance, to look into the reasons why the legislation pertaining to the National Recovery, as it is called, was held to be against the Constitution. It is more interesting and also more vital, as far as the working class is concerned, to analyze the situation for the purpose of being able to see the effect of the elimination of the NIRA. Not to be misunderstood—the workers know from their own experience that the NIRA, all and parts of it, was in no effective way helping them in their fight against the so-called principal employers of this country.

They recall it too well, that whenever there was a conflict between the workers on the one side, and Mr. Ford, General Motors, the large coal companies etc. on the other side, and whenever in such a fight the workers in their innocence invoked the help of the NIRA, the result invariably was special consideration given to the large employers; as in the President's automobile decision or in the decision pertaining to the longshoremen and shipping workers.

Anti-Labor Decisions

The lesson learned by the workers in the anthracite field of Pa. was and cannot be forgotten because it clearly showed that the authorities in charge of the enforcement of the NIRA were neither willing nor able, nor at any time ready to challenge effectively the coal barons for the purpose of securing the meager advantages which the NIRA alleged to give to the workers. It cannot be forgotten how flagrantly the decisions of the NIRA board were violated by men of the type and size of Weirton of the Weirton Steel companies, nor did the workers forget the pitiful and cowardly attitude of the government representatives in the recent Toledo strike, or the humiliation which the National Labor Board or Madam Fannie Perkins was exposed to in the controversy with the rubber barons, in which controversy the government and the blue buzzard representing the NIRA came out second best.

There is very little sentiment left among workers for the NIRA; as a

(Continued on Page 2)

Statement on the Franco-Soviet Alliance

By the National Committee of the Workers Party of the U. S.

The military alliance signed between France and the Soviet Union, and the statement thereon issued jointly by Laval and Stalin, Molotov and Litvinov, mark another departure by the present heads of the Soviet Union from the principles upon which it was established.

The Soviet Union is the only land in which the workers, allied with the poor farmers, succeeded in overthrowing their exploiters and oppressors and setting up a workers' republic as the gigantic first step to a free socialist society. Its great advances are a promise of the glorious future which the working masses throughout the world are striving to achieve. As such it is the elementary duty of workers everywhere to guard the achievements of the Soviet working class, and to defend the Union from all attacks made upon it by its capitalist enemies. In essence, this means the extension of the workers' revolution throughout the entire world.

The workers in the capitalist countries, the slaves of imperialism in the colonies, are thus the only true allies of the Soviet Union. Even though the working class of several countries has suffered cruel defeats in the past year, and has been weakened as a result, it nevertheless remains the only reliable defender of the workers' republic against the destructive designs of world imperialism.

It is precisely because of these defeats, however,

to which both the Socialist and the Communist parties alike have contributed, that the present leaders of the Soviet Union have considered themselves obliged to seek alliances with one imperialist power or another against the danger of attack which threatens Russia most acutely from the side of Hitler Germany and reactionary Poland and Japan.

This is precisely the principle which was violated by the Socialist parties in the last World War, when they betrayed the working class, supported their imperialist "fatherland" and concluded a "peace" with the capitalist class.

This is precisely the principle which is now being violated by the leaders of the Communist parties in their support of the manner in which the Franco-Soviet Pact is being carried through. The latter are thereby preparing to play the same part in the coming world war that was played by the Socialist parties in the last war!

The preparations for the new world war are being made at break-neck speed. All the preliminary steps have already been taken. Never since 1918 have the military, naval and aviation budgets of the imperialist powers been so big as they are today.

In the Far East, Japan is engaged in a brutal war of aggression against the Chinese peoples. In Africa, Italian Fascism has launched a pirat-

ical war against the Ethiopian people, even though both countries are part of the notorious League of Nations.

Germany is rearming at a furious pace with the openly avowed intention of regaining her former imperialist power.

France is increasing her armaments with the hypocritical assurance that it aims to preserve the peace, but in actuality as part of her preparations for a war with Germany for the preservation of the imperialist robberies she committed at the end of the last war.

England is arming heavily for that next world war, whose coming is inevitable unless the working class first crushes imperialism, in order to safeguard and extend her vast colonial empire.

The United States is in the race with the rest and is even now conducting preparatory maneuvers in the Pacific in rehearsal for the war with Japan.

Everywhere, a decaying capitalist society is proving again that war is one of its inevitable products. Once more it is being shown that war is not prevented by "good" or "peaceful" capitalist powers, or caused by "bad" and "bellicose" capitalist powers—but that it is only one of the most frightful and most natural products of capitalism itself. Only in the Soviet Union, where capitalism has been over-

(Continued on Page 4)

Comments

On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Labor . . .

Calling themselves the Sindicato por Defensa de la Mujer, Mexican prostitutes formed the first union of their craft. They voted for a general strike unless their demands are met by June 1. . . . The American Federation of Ministers, Local No. 1, was recently formed in New York City. . . . Labor has a new champion: "American labor will not long stand for price fixing, limitation of output, stifling of competition or other monopolistic or Fascist practices inherent in the NRA," proclaims Herbert Hoover. . . . William E. Green replies: "As for labor, we will follow Roosevelt, not Hoover." . . . Green threatens a general strike to force labor legislation pending in Congress. . . . In September Green denounced the tactic of the general strike and broke the general strike in San Francisco by refusing to support it . . .

Boom . . .

Jiggs, the trained Hollywood chimpanzee, draws a salary of \$350 a week. . . . The U. S. Chamber of commerce reports that the average worker in industry receives \$21.86 per week. The average unskilled worker, \$17.85. . . . The cocker spaniel that played in the "Barretts of Wimpole Street" received \$100 a week. . . . Cotton textile workers in the South average \$10.29 per week for male workers. . . . Samuel Goldwin spent a million dollars to make a star of Anna Sten. She receives \$3,000 a week. . . . The first project under the new works program opened in Mississippi. Wages for labor were \$4.75 per week or \$19 per month. . . . As a sequel to his book, "The Coming American Boom," Major L. L. D. Angus has written "The Boom Begins." . . .

Arts and Letters . . .

Dr. John F. Condon (Jafsie) dedicated an ode, "The Bronx Beautiful," to the Bronx Chamber of Commerce. . . . Huey Long's song, "Every Man a King" is a best seller in the South. . . . "Soviet Russia will end in nothing and so will the Roosevelt Administration end in nothing. Huey Long will not end in nothing. He is stimulating, he is not ephemeral and will not end in nothing," babbles Gertrude Stein. . .

Progress . . .

Five years ago the average length of a screen kiss was 72 inches of film giving four seconds of bliss. Today the screen kiss has dropped to approximately 18 inches which means they last but a second and a half. . . . The fastest airplanes were used to rush bullfrogs from Louisiana to New York for a frog-jumping contest. . . . Virgil Garvey, humane society head, forbade the use of live cats in the Seattle "put-out-the-cat" derby. Dr. D. D. Jones won the race, in which men wearing night-shirts, each carrying a calico cat and lighted candle, gallop 50 yards. . . . Eighteen disciples of Father Devine could not cease ecstasy after a recent "Garden of Eating" session. . . .

Games . . .

Eight men were killed, two seaplanes destroyed and two battleships smashed in the recent Navy "games" in the Pacific. . . . Increase of cadets at West Point necessitates placing three in a room. . . . Lord Rothermere, England's Hearst, says: "To expand the royal air force by 1,000 planes is childish and useless for defense. Germany has 10,000 bombing planes." . . . Mathew Mellon, nephew of Andy Mellon, praises Hitler: "Personally I rejoice when I hear that Germany is rearming. Being a property owner in Germany, I regard Adolph Hitler as having saved my home from the communistic rabble that would have spread all over Europe had he not come into power in 1933." . . .

Society Notes . . .

John Elton, recently discharged from the hospital with a hopeless case of cancer, was evicted from his home in Toledo, Ohio. . . . Margot, Countess of Oxford and Asquith, wore gowns valued at \$5,000,000 at the Silver Jubilee Ball. Queen Mary wore a diamond valued at \$500,000. . . . William Haber, Michigan Relief Administrator, threatens to cut people from relief who refuse to work in the beet fields at coolie wages. . . . The late Alfred Irence duPont left an estate estimated at \$100,000,000. His wife gets an annual income of \$200,000, the Florida estate and the yachts. . . . Mulligan stew was served on May 15 at the Cincinnati transient flop-house. One hundred men were poisoned. . . . Andrew Mellon's \$4,000,000 art treasures are locked securely in the Corcoran Art Gallery to be seen only by the Mellons and their friends. . . . As the Salvation Army celebrated its jubilee in Chicago ten men were evicted from its flop-house. . . .

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INSIDE STORY OF TOLEDO STRIKE

Told by a Leading Participant in the Battle with General Motors

By ART PREIS

(Ed. Note: This is the second of a series of three articles by Art Preis on the great Toledo strike. Art Preis was the editor of "Strike Truth," the Chevrolet strikers' bulletin.)

Two-fold were the lessons of the Auto-Lite strike, lessons which quickly permeated the entire Toledo labor movement, and which in turn affected through the Toledo labor movement the Chevrolet strike. The first lesson was that better conditions for the workers are won on the picket lines. Secondly, the Toledo workers had learned that the struggle of one group of workers is the battle of all workers, in which all labor must cooperate if victory is to be assured.

Side by side with the progressive growth and development of the auto workers union, Local 18384, a new spirit began to animate the other unions as well. One of the significant indications of this fact was the increasing participation of the Toledo Central Labor Union in every strike battle and its response to the appeals for assistance from the organized unemployed.

The Organized Unemployed
It was a well established fact that the Lucas County Unemployed League, acting with the assistance of the Workers Party, had taken the initiative and aggression in smashing the Auto-Lite injunction and reviving the lifeless strike. This action on the part of the organized unemployed served to drive home to the union men that the unemployed, instead of being a serious menace to their jobs and wage-standards, a huge reservoir of potential "scabs," might become an invaluable ally on the picket lines. In the Armour and Swift and Larowe Milling strikes, which shortly followed the Auto-Lite, the Lucas County Unemployed League was officially invited to aid the strikers and in actuality formed the backbone of the mass picket lines.

One of the significant contributions of the Workers Party to the Toledo labor movement, and one which has had a vital bearing upon the present characteristic solidarity, was the weapon of the united front. While the Unemployed League was demonstrating the effectiveness of joint action between the unemployed workers on the Auto-Lite picket lines, a united demonstration was secured for increased relief between the Central Labor Union, the Unemployed League and the now defunct Relief Workers Association. A successful united front anti-injunction demonstration, originally proposed by the W. P., was carried through by the Workers Party, Socialist and Communist parties.

The Famous Death March

In the fall of 1934, on the initiative of the Unemployed League, a Joint Action Committee was organized with several other local independent unemployed groups. A continuous fight of several months duration was conducted to better the relief standards for unemployed single men. A series of extremely militant marches and mass demonstrations, climaxed by the famous six-day and -night Single Men's Death March and the seizure of the Lucas County Court House, were organized and led by Sam Pollock and Ted Selander.

During the latter part of February of this year, the Toledo Building Trades Council initiated a strike among the skilled workers on the Federal Emergency Relief projects in Toledo. The Unemployed League soon stepped to the fore in this strike. The program of the Unemployed League for the conduct of this strike was adopted in entirety. A Joint Action Committee, representing the entire Building Trades Council the U. L. and the Workers Alliance, was set up and a general FERA strike was effected. Mass strike tactics, hitherto completely outside of the experience of the skilled craft unions, were adopted. Again W. P. and U. L. members organized and led the picket lines and a series of splendid demonstrations.

A May Day United Labor demonstration was organized by the Joint Action Committee, endorsed by the Central Labor Union. This was the largest May Day demonstration ever held in Toledo, with A. J. Muste as the principle speaker. It ended in a militant march upon the Lucas County Relief headquarters.

"March of Labor"

While the FERA strike was reaching its height, four other strikes occurred, the outstanding being the general Milk Drivers strike. An unofficial Joint Board of Strategy was devised, composed of the leaders of all the strikes including Sam Pollock, representing the Joint Action Committee. The forces of the various groups of strikers, under the leadership of Pollock, were combined into a joint picket line, called the March of Labor, which by a series of quick concentrations on various struck plants and projects closed them all down effectively.

It is only on the basis of an understanding of this simultaneous development—the organization of the progressive forces within the auto union and its expansion and achievements by virtue of the militant

policies fostered by these forces, and the corresponding development in the entire labor movement of the attitude of working-class unity and mass action, with a weakening of class-collaboration policies—that the subsequent unionization of the Toledo Chevrolet workers, their strike and its unique aspects, can be correctly understood. In the final analysis, what preceded and immediately followed the Chevrolet strike is as significant from a broad perspective as the strike itself.

Showdown Comes in Autos

Following the unionization of the vast majority of the Toledo auto-parts plants by March of this year, the auto workers' union finally approached the last major challenge in its path, the transmission plant of the Chevrolet Motor Ohio Company, employing 2,300 workers. Previous attempts to organize this plant had met with almost total failure. Certain more backward elements and leaders in the union balked at the seeming magnitude of the task, for this was poaching upon the previously inviolable domains of the General Motors Corporation whose illimitable resources would be fully and unhesitatingly used to smash the union. Nevertheless, the progressive forces in the union pressed unceasingly for an organizational drive on the Chevrolet plant. They recognized that all previous union activities had been merely preliminary skirmishes and training for this major onslaught, which carried with it the possibility of a general auto strike and a genuine show-down on the issue of unionism in the automotive industry.

Three primary factors determined the ultimate success of the progressives' program for organization of the Chevrolet plant. The first of these was the general atmosphere of unionism which pervaded the air of Toledo and the steady succession of labor battles and victories and partial victories which followed in the wake of the Auto-Lite strike. The Chevrolet worker might have shunned direct union appeals, but he could not avoid the experiences of his friends and neighbors who were in the unions nor the daily evidences of union activities and achievements which constantly forced themselves into the Toledo press.

The Company Maneuver

Secondly, the officials of General Motors connived with the Automobile Labor Board in attempting to put over a crude maneuver to place the official stamp of company unionism upon the Chevrolet workers. This was an "election" called in the Chevrolet plant for April 9, under the supervision of the completely repudiated Board, to deter-

mine what agency the workers desired to represent them in collective bargaining. The real union had not even requested such an election, but it was the intent of the company to force through a vote favorable to the company union before the genuine union could secure the slightest foot-hold in the plant. The obvious crudity and arrogance of this maneuver acted as a boomerang against the company and served to drive the workers in desperate defiance to the union.

Then there was Jimmy Roland. Jimmy was a plain everyday production worker in the Chevrolet plant. He joined the union in its early stages prior to the Auto-Lite strike. In short order, he got the "can." During the Auto-Lite affair he was one of the handful of union militants who fought the injunction. He was one of the real mainstays of the fight. During his period of unemployment he joined the U. L. and became one of its leading members. He likewise established himself as a leading progressive in the union and was elected to the position of trustee on the executive board.

One-Man Picket Line

Despite his inexperience and youth, Jimmy was class-conscious to the core, intelligent and eager to learn, tireless in his efforts to build the union, honest and incorruptible in every fiber and, above all, a bull dog fighter for his principles. He refused to back down before General Motors. When the Auto Labor Board avoided his appeal for reinstatement on his job, he put on his one-man picket line before the Chevrolet main gate. He was rehired in short order—and placed in an office post at his original wage.

With its hand forced by the imminent Auto Labor Board election, the union was compelled to act promptly and decisively. Ten days before the election a meeting of the Chevrolet workers was called. The phenomenal number of 600 showed up. Jimmy Roland was chairman and acting organizer. Other successful meetings were called in quick succession. The union was flooded with applications for membership. When the elections were finally held, despite the fact that the union advised the workers not to participate in it, the vote of the Chevrolet workers went overwhelmingly for the representative of the union, the business agent, Fred Schwake.

Acted Quickly

Once the vote was over, there was no stalling or delay. Moving quickly and decisively, guided by the strong and militant leadership of Jimmy Roland, as chairman of the elected executive shop committee, the new union men acting through

their committee drew up a union contract and presented it to the plant executives on April 19. Roland firmly and skillfully directed the inexperienced committee through this first treacherous conference, and indicated thereby the undeviating position he would maintain throughout the strike. The committee refused to discuss anything but the terms of their own contract. They would not accept cigars or non-union brand cigarettes offered by the bosses. They declined to lunch with the bosses or deal with them in any but a formal and business-like manner. The class lines were strictly drawn.

Every significant condition in the union contract was flatly rejected by the bosses. That very night a mass meeting of the Chevrolet workers was held and a unanimous vote for strike taken. A strike committee of nine was elected with authority to call the strike. Jimmy Roland was the chairman.

Trying to Stall

Desperately, General Motors sought to delay the action. Top-notch G. M. C. officials flooded into Toledo from Detroit Monday, April 22, at 5 A.M. and called the shop committee into another conference. General Motors was obviously on the defensive. They knew they were dealing with leadership of a different calibre than that of the weak, vacillating, conciliating type of the A. F. of L. officialdom, personified by individuals like the national auto union organizer, Francis Dillon. They kept the committee closeted in conference for twelve straight hours so that the strike could not be called that day. The committee held to its demands like the Rock of Gibraltar.

At 6:15 A.M., April 23, Jimmy Roland and his committee went through the plant and spread the word. The power was turned off, the wheels stopped moving. In a disciplined organized line, the workers marched from the plant. The company foremen tried to threaten and cajole the strikers not to leave. Company handbills, calculated to distort the issues of the strike and confuse the workers, were circulated. The company tactics were useless. In short order, the plant was entirely shut down.

At the plant gate, the strikers were met by a group of the union men, headed by Bill Prior. The progressives aided the strikers to organize a solid, effective mass picket line.

Then the strike committee, as guided by Jimmy Roland, sent a number of telegrams. One went to Washington to the surprised and chagrined Francis Dillon, informing him that the strike was on. The others went to all the union locals in General Motors plants throughout the country, telling them of the strike and urging them to take similar action. Every one of these moves had been previously calculated by the union progressives.

where in certain restaurants, waitresses returned to the wage basis of \$4.00 for a 7 day week. The American worker cannot fool himself that the result can be anything but a general lowering of wage scales and a still more general increase in working hours.

Prepare for Action

He must be ready now that the decks are clear for action. He must give an answer, and the only possible one, to those who up to now have controlled the life and destiny of 125 million people in this country. The American worker must respond to the coming onslaught of the employers against the living standards by an effective method of organization. Their answer must be: **into the unions to fight for higher standards, and to fight effectively as only can be done by strong and all embracing unions.**

WASHINGTON (FP).—By a 6 to 3 ruling, the U. S. Supreme Court refused to reverse the sentence of Angelo Herndon, 22-year-old Negro labor organizer, to 18 to 20 years on the Georgia chain gang, claiming no jurisdiction.

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Censure Silk Workers Board; Fails to Carry Out Decisions

By FELIX GIORDANO

PATERSON, May 22.—The Joint Board of this local of the American Federation of Silk Workers was extended a unanimous vote of censure at a meeting of the Plain Goods Department, held last Saturday. The vote came as a result of an attack against the Stalinist-influenced Board for failing to carry out its own decisions.

At an open hearing of the Mayor's Conciliation Committee held the previous night at Central High School the Joint Board was supposed to present a resolution for public approval, which was then to be forwarded and presented to the open hearing on the silk code in Washington on Tuesday. Such a resolution was not presented and no one represented at the hearing the official view of the union. Tom Morgan, notorious local representative of the U.T.W., was the labor spokesman on the Mayor's Committee, which sanctioned unanimously the passage of resolutions that were very clear in so far as the bosses' demands went, but which became miraculously vague as soon as they began to babble about a standard of wages for the workers.

W. P. Member Speaks

And none of the known members of the Communist Party dared get up and protest at the hearing. It was only a member of the Workers Party who demanded that the resolution which read in part " . . . resolved, that we place these craft minimums on the basis of the program adopted by the workers . . . " specifically state the program adopted by the A.F.S.W., which is for a thirty hour week and a \$25 minimum for weavers.

Having failed to protest of their own accord, the C. P. carried its program to its logical conclusion and did not even support the demand, with the result that the resolution went unchanged.

Not such was the attitude of the officials of the Federation and of the Local of the Dyers. George Baldanzi made no bones about presenting a resolution of his own, which was carried as a substitute resolution for one presented by the Mayor's Committee.

Union Muffs Situation

At this hearing the union failed miserably. It did not mobilize the membership to attend the meeting, it did not present the official resolution embodying its views, it did not even take the floor to try to give official leadership to the workers. What fight there was, what resistance was offered, was not organized by our union, but was instead organized by the dyers' union, which was not affected by the meeting.

The failure of the local officialdom on Friday was not the end, but the beginning of a disastrous chapter in the history of our union. Where the C. P. left off in Paterson, the infamous national leadership of the U.T.W. took up in Washington on Tuesday, with Gorman and McMahon accepting the standard of wages proposed by the Labor Advisory Board, in open defiance of the standard of wages and other labor provisions demanded by the membership of the union nationally only a scant three weeks ago.

An Alarm Signal

Nor can we be surprised; for, had not Paterson, even Paterson, the city of struggles, allowed the Mayor's Resolution to pass?

The events of last Friday in Paterson and of yesterday in Washington bear a warning and sound the alarm.

The membership of our union needs intelligent and alert leadership. The so-called "Progressive Group" failed when it was in charge, and now cannot do anything better than spread a whispering campaign against individuals, instead of presenting a policy and fighting for it. The Communist Party, grown "respectable" with the right turn effected in the trade union policy, does not dare put up a fight against the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L. What is needed in Paterson and in every other Silk center is a new alignment of really progressive forces, a genuine left wing, established on the basis of a sound program of real militancy, and challenging both the old bureaucrats and the Communist Party for leadership in the locals and nationally.

The Manager's Corner

More Builders Are Wanted

Among the New Militant builders Comrade S. W. Semington of Chicago holds the record for the period of the last fortnight. He sent in a total of six yearly subs and two club subscriptions of four each. But there is another sign of activity in this field from Chicago. More attention is being given to general distribution and Rose Casano also forwarded two club subscriptions of four each.

From Los Angeles A. C. Doughty sent in two club subscriptions of four each. From Philadelphia we received from Norman Penn one such club subscription and from Davenport, Iowa, Betty Rowland forwarded one club subscription and two six months subs. Chester Johnson of Minneapolis forwarded four one year subs and our indefatigable builder among the railroad workers in the northwest sent in a club subscription of four. All in all when this is taken together with a number of single subscriptions turned in notably from New York City, this is not such a bad record, but it is, of course, not sufficient for a real serious extension of circulation.

A practical means of quick results in this respect is afforded by the club subscription cards. They are issued in clubs of four three-months subs for each dollar paid in advance, printed on U. S. postal cards, to be deposited in a mail box as soon as the subs are obtained and the investment thus refunded to the builder. We have only a limited number of these cards and they will be good only for a limited period of time. Some changes by the way of real improvements of the New Militant are now in contemplation, hence the limited period for which these club cards will hold good.

The changes that are contemplated are of a far reaching character and as soon as the plans take on concrete shape the announcement

Next New International To Appear Soon

We are making a serious effort to catch up with the past delays in publication of the theoretical organ. The management of both publications has been brought together under one head and we believe that this will facilitate the matter of appearing on time in the future. The June issue will be off the press on June 10. Following that the date of appearance of the July issue will be further advanced and so on until we have caught up.

Time is short for distribution of the May issue and for settlement of accounts, but the remittances are a very important item in assuring a prompt appearance. The May issue features a fundamental Marxian analysis of the present situation in France. From the Lome front one of the most important developments taken up for a thorough discussion is the Long and Coughlin movements. The June issue will carry as one of its outstanding features a new theoretical article on Soviet Russia by L. D. Trotsky.

In this connection let us remind you of the combination offer of a one year subscription for the New Militant and the New International both for \$2.00. This offer also will be good only for a limited period. The best thing to do for those who are interested is therefore to avail themselves of this offer right away.

Speed Is Most Important Now!

The New Militant is in a very serious financial crisis. Only disaster can follow if this situation is not changed. It will go under unless our alarm signal is heeded.

This crisis is brought about by and large due to the fact of the inexcusable negligence in many instances and the undue slowness in others in making settlements for accounts due for bundle orders forwarded regularly. We do not doubt that the bundles have been disposed of; but the remittances are lacking. To say the least, this is an intolerable situation.

We do not believe that our sup-

porters will want to see the New Militant go under. We feel certain that you will all lend a hand to get it out of its difficulty. But action is required without a moment's delay. The first thing to do for those who owe on bundle accounts is to make an immediate settlement. In addition all subscriptions about to expire should be renewed without delay and the New Militant builders get busy soliciting new subscriptions. If this is acted on promptly we can get out of the crisis and continue in existence.

In this we count upon all the friends and supporters of the

As the French Working Class Approaches the Final Crisis

Lessons of the Municipal Elections — 'Victory' Brings Fascist Danger Closer

GENEVA, May 17 (ICL Press Service).—The Marxists have always struggled against the anti-parliamentary cretinism of the anarchists but they have never ceased their vigorous struggle against traditional "parliamentary cretinism." We are far from the thought of under-estimating the importance of the "victories" won in the municipal elections from the 5th to the 12th of March by the socialists and communists, by the "popular front" for short. It is not our object to minimize the extent of these "victories" thanks to which a large enough number of municipalities have passed to the hands of the socialists and communists. We must, however, put the proletariat on guard against the boasts of the incorrigible parliamentarians who try to present these "victories" to us as an "impressive defeat" of the forces of the "6th of February," that is the forces equipped for civil war against the workers.

Whoever believes that is deceiving himself and deceiving the working class by lulling them on the electoral results. On the contrary, the forces of the "6th of February," the forces of counter-revolution and *coup d'état*, will be no less disturbed and no less active after the elections of the 5th and 12th of May. The armed forces of *coup d'état* and civil war are not defeated by ballots. That is what we learned first from the Italian experience, and then from the German and Austrian, and recently from the Spanish events.

The Italian Experience
In 1921, in Italy, Giolitti dissolved the Italian Chamber, hoping thus to weaken the socialist and communist opposition in parliament. The county voted once more against Giolitti and against Fascism, which at the time of the *coup d'état* had only 25 out of 500 deputies. After two years in power, Mussolini sought to sanction his *coup d'état* by new elections in 1924. Once again he was disavowed by the country, especially in the great industrial centers but even in the country. It was after the results of these elections that Mussolini had recourse to a second *coup d'état* by provoking the assassination of the socialist deputy Matteotti by his

bands—it is from this crisis that the present totalitarian state in Italy emerged.

And in Spain? There also, the results of the elections in 1930, evaluated not according to the number of those elected, but according to the real number of votes registered by each party, basically marked a defeat of the forces of the old regime. And in spite of that nothing prevented the forces of reaction from marching to the destruction of the democratic republican conquests.

Disavow "Civil Truce"

Yes: Engels pointed that out long ago. Lenin illustrated it once again: universal suffrage can offer nothing more than a gauge of the forces which are at play in the country; its only value is as an indicator. What then is the meaning of the results of the 5th and 12th of May? The communist "gains" do not signify an approval of the policy of "civil peace" which the communist leadership slavishly following the steps of Soviet diplomacy, practices towards the French bourgeoisie which is allied to the U. S. S. R. Wherever this problem has been posed and despite its being posed in terms disgusting to revolutionary Marxism and to proletarian internationalism ("defeat of the enemy at home") the policy of "civil peace" with the imperialist "allies" of the U.S.S.R. has been clearly disavowed: we are referring to St. Denis. But the communist "gains" as well as those of the "socialists" and of the "popular front" in general signify that even despite the confused and capitulationist policy which was carried on by both socialist and communist leadership, the will to struggle against fascism has taken unshakable roots among the French workers ever since February 12.

A question must be posed to the leaders of the "popular front" after the "victories" of the 5th and 12th of May. What will you do with these victories? How will you utilize this great force which has fallen into your lap in the form of so powerful a network of municipalities? Will you continue to prostrate yourself at the feet of Flandin, Regnier, Laval and others, by

pleading with them to come to the rescue of the working class and disarm and disperse the fascist bands? Will you squander the force put at your disposal by the workers of France as you did after February 12? The race to power after May 5 and 12 will be much sharper and much quicker: who will get there first, the working class or fascism? This is what must be understood and be made understood.

The Dilemma

Upon the solution of this unavoidable dilemma—we or they in power?—depends the possibility of maintaining and extending the victories of May 5 and 12, depends the possibility of a real and lasting alliance of proletarian France with proletarian U.S.S.R., depends the fate and the near future in Europe and the world, the fate of peace and socialism. If on the contrary they rest contented with these municipal election "victories," in the hope of new "victories" in the next political elections in order to continue in this fashion ad infinitum, if they continue to morally and materially disarm the French working class by stupid injections of petty bourgeois pacifism, if they associate themselves with the type of national defense Stalin prescribed in Moscow during Laval's visit while the enemy organizes, arms and trains itself for civil war, the result, the sad result will be that instead of the defeat of the "forces of the 6th of February" they will end up by surrendering themselves to it together with the victories won by the entire working class.

Once more we sound our signal of warning: If the French working class is not to suffer the humiliation and the slavery of our brothers in Italy and Germany; if it is not to suffer the heavy defeats as in Austria and Spain—

Down with parliamentary cretinism!

Down with the disarmers of the working class!

Love live the Workers' Militia! Long live the united front of struggle, which organizes and embraces all the toiling masses of France for the revolutionary struggle against Fascism and against war.

PHILADELPHIA (FP). — Pay boosts, union recognition and a 44-hour week in a temporary truce ending June 1, have ended a strike of 800 Philadelphia teamsters and helpers.

Resolution of the Bolshevik-Leninists For the Coming Congress of the French SP

Motion of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group for the National Congress of the French Socialist Party, June 9, 1935.

I.

The Congress of the Socialist Party considers that the entire national and international situation imposes on the proletariat the task of immediately placing itself in the forefront of the struggle for power. If the working class and all the oppressed are not ready to seize power and expropriate the bourgeoisie, the militarist reaction—the Tardieus and the Weygands and the fascists—like La Rocques, the Bucards and the Taittingers will inevitably seize it.

That is why the Socialist Party proclaims its will to organize the working masses immediately under the slogan of the struggle for power, which must serve as the axis for action by the party on all fields: political, economic, social, military.

The only path to power is the revolutionary path. Between the reformist methods and the insurrectionist methods there is no third road. Only "force is the great midwife of societies."

II.

The prerequisite of this struggle is merciless action against the Flandin government of spoliation and war, which far from defending the rights of the workers within the capitalist regime, methodically destroys them with the support of the fascists, the militarists and the church.

The Radical-Socialist party lends its support in this task. For this reason the Socialist Party considers it imperative to break all connections with it in the elections, in parliament and outside of parliament.

From this also it flows that the whole attitude or practice of benevolent opposition towards the government and its policy (votes in parliament, etc. . .) must be denounced as incompatible with a revolutionary orientation towards power.

The struggle for power demands a break with all promises and all practices of civil peace "even in the case of German aggression" (speech of Blum in the Chamber of Deputies).

ties), even under the banner of the defense of the U.S.S.R. The party must carry on the struggle for the revolution and for the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe, as the only method of avoiding war. If nevertheless war does break out, the struggle for power must be followed up by the continuation of the class struggle, regardless of the defeat of its own imperialism.

The struggle for power must also be combined with appropriate propaganda to win the toilers under arms for socialism.

III.

The Socialist Party declares that the democratic conquests (freedom of assembly and press) must not be confused with the parliamentary state and the Constitution of 1875, which can only be defended by methods of revolutionary mass action. Utilizing these conquests deriving from the democratic period as the method and point of departure for an action which is not restricted by bourgeois legality, the action of the masses directed by the socialists will lead to the decisive struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

IV.

The program of action towards power will develop on the basis of the program of action containing the important demands (nationalization of the banks and the key industries) connected with demands indigenous to every strata of the toiling population (draw up a list of demands principally for the workers, the women, the youth, the peasants, the unemployed, the foreign-born, the employees, the small storekeepers, the colonials).

The struggle for these demands will take place under the aegis of control by the exploited of production, exchange and credit now monopolized by a handful of exploiters. The Party will appeal to the confederal unions for joint action in order to support the organization and mass actions around the above demands, inscribed in the confederal plan.

V.

The propaganda around the above mentioned demands will be connected with the following slogans as the principal objectives and

methods on the road to power:

- Popularization and preparation of the general strike;
- Creation of the Workers' Militia;
- Propaganda for the arming of the people.

VI.

The party emphasizes that the struggle for power can only connote the struggle for the radical destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus (police, administrative, constitutional and military) and its substitution by the workers' and peasants' state, the form of which has been initiated by the Paris Commune, then realized by the Soviet Commune. In the aim of establishing dual power in society the party will begin the creation of the first elements of workers' power (neighborhood committees, workers and peasants committees, factory committees, soldiers circles).

VII.

The party demands the concession of elementary liberties to the natives of the colonies oppressed by the French bourgeoisie (trade union rights, freedom of press and assembly, etc. . .). The working class of France can conquer power only jointly with the peoples and classes exploited by French capitalism in its colonies.

In the struggle for power an important role will be played by the categories of the most exploited and most oppressed, such as the youth, the women and the foreign-born workers. The Congress of the Socialist Party therefore decides to conduct a campaign which will particularly aim at intensively developing a program of demands, suitable for them.

VIII.

Victory of the workers is not possible without strong cohesion, without the constitution, in the fire of struggle of a revolutionary leadership, that is, in the present conditions of organization of the working class, of a regrouping of its conscious elements in a single revolutionary party constituted on a clear political basis derived from the lessons, the victories and the defeats of the past.

The party decides, in order to hasten this regrouping in the fire of action, to hold regular joint meetings between members of different proletarian parties so as to elaborate a unity platform on a truly revolutionary basis.

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the furore created among many sections of the population by their propagandizing of the vision of Plenty must not be lost sight of.

Very complex technical problems are involved in the problem of taking political power and likewise in the job of keeping the machinery of production and distribution going after power has been taken, in a highly industrialized nation. The capitalist story is that "after the revolution" chaos, distress and so on are inevitable because unskilled and inexperienced workers will be running the trains and power stations, making plans for bridges and ships, etc. The story is of course, absurd. It fails to take account of the great competence of the masses of the workers themselves.

Who has constructed this country's vast productive plant anyway? Furthermore, this capitalist tale makes no mention of the fact that technicians and scientists are constantly thwarted under capitalism. They are given scanty funds unless immediate profit is in sight from their work. Countless inventions and discoveries go unused because it would not "pay" the private capitalists who own them to put them to use. The revolutionary party will make it clear that it is well aware of the delicate nature of the technical tasks which the workers must carry out, and that so far from standing for inefficiency and anarchy, it is precisely the socialist economy under workers' control which alone will give full scope to science and will effectively plan for human welfare.

Elsewhere the conception of a Leninist, i.e., a disciplined, revolutionary party (not reformist or not parliamentary) which the Workers Party holds, the role of such a party in the mass organizations today, and in the revolutionary crisis itself, has been set forth.

The Party, standing upon the principles already discussed in this series, must be created of course by the American workers. No one else can do the job for them. The Party must so root itself in and address itself to, the conditions under which the American working class lives that they will feel the Party to be their party—concerned about their problems, able to talk their language, intimately acquainted with their experiences, to be trusted in action, more and more to be looked to for guidance.

We heartily agree, furthermore, with the contention that the Party must know how to popularize its message and even more to dramatize the daily struggles of the workers and the revolutionary struggle as a whole. An emotional loyalty to the revolutionary movement must be developed. A movement which does not care or know how to march and sing and fling its banners to the breeze, is already dead.

This involves the use of symbols. The hold of capitalist, unscientific, nationalistic symbols upon the workers must, however, be broken, not confirmed. The revolutionary movement must, therefore, have its own. They must be such as to bring forward the idea and strengthen the emotion of class—the working class against the capitalist—and consequently the idea of labor internationalism against middle class nationalism. To break the hold of false ideas is difficult enough at best. We should be foolish indeed to make the task still more difficult by using symbols which might confuse the workers, which do not clearly and unambiguously suggest loyalty to class, oyalty to the world-wide brotherhood of labor, and not to any lesser cause!

The events of each new day, both in the U. S. and abroad, make clear the need in this country of such a revolutionary party as the W. P. More than in any previous period in modern revolutionary history the responsibility for leadership rests upon the American working class and its vanguard. If it is essential that this party have an international outlook and constitute a part of an international revolutionary force, it is equally true that such a party in the U. S., the very stronghold of capitalism and imperialism, will play a mighty role in the freeing of the workers in the Latin American nations, in Europe, throughout the world.

Therefore, for an effective American revolutionary party!

For the Workers Party of the United States, committed with its sister parties and groups to the building of the new revolutionary Fourth International!

L. Budenz Resigns From Workers Party

Louis F. Budenz has resigned from the Workers Party and his resignation has been accepted by the Political Committee.

Radical differences between comrade Budenz and the party on a number of fundamental questions were the reasons for the resignation and its acceptance. These differences, first indicated in the article published in the Modern Monthly, were further confirmed in several discussions which followed its publication. The party point of view on these questions has been set forth in a series of articles by comrade Muste in the New Militant.

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

Victory Greeted Struggle of Illinois Unemployed Masses

(Continued from Page 1)

fight they made their organization a great political force in the state and what is equally important, the Illinois Workers Alliance grew by leaps and bounds.

The jobless fought against the sales tax almost single-handedly. The State Federation of Labor supported the sales tax and condemned the Illinois Workers Alliance. The great mass of partially employed workers remained apathetic in the struggle. Within the ranks of the Illinois Workers Alliance great confusion existed over the sales tax. Especially among some of the members who took the position that "whether its an income or sales tax the workers pay the bill, so what the hell." And then there was the wrecking crew of the Communist party who did everything from the start to wreck the march. Despite these obstacles the unemployed workers staged a truly heroic battle for six long weeks.

Wrecking Crew at Work
The Communist party again revealed their insincerity with their fake "united front" policy. They violated the discipline of the march, booed militant non-Stalinist speakers, attempted to take over the microphone at the meeting, and in general made a nuisance of themselves to the Nth degree. No more than fifty Unemployed Council members participated in the affair but still the Communist Party wanted to take control of the situation.

Karl Lockner, Chicago Communist leader, was among those who did all in his power to disrupt the mass demonstration. Having done absolutely nothing to make the march a success the Communist Party leaders arrived at the scene of the march and began "united fronting." They took a handful of Illinois Workers Alliance members with Communist Party sympathies and shoved them to the fore asking for a united front. Here was a proposition that was the height of comedy if its reactions were not so tragic. Members of the Illinois Workers Alliance asked the executive board of the Illinois Workers Alliance to make a united front with their own members so Karl Lockner and other Communist leaders could capture leadership of the march! The Illinois Workers Alliance told Karl Lockner and his handful of "leaders" that they could march in the demonstration but under no circumstances were they to attempt to wreck the Alliance as they had the Unemployed Councils.

Charges that the leaders of the

Illinois Workers Alliance were cowards were made by the Communist Party leaders. Records will prove that in past years the Communist manhandled Unemployment Council did not march in the capital city a single time despite their advanced notice that they would march in defiance of police orders. The Illinois Workers Alliance by its force of numbers marched three times throughout the city in less than two weeks.

While the Daily Worker was in the process of exposing the Hearst press for its lies in regards to the Soviet Union it, too, lied about the Illinois Hunger March. For instance, in the Daily Worker issue of May 22, the day after the march, a front page story stated that there were more than 1,000 marchers. The Associated Press stated that there were more than 2,000 in the parade. In the same item the Daily Worker said that "the marchers were led by the Unemployment Councils." Not one line made reference to the Illinois Workers Alliance, an organization of 150,000 members organized in 266 towns in 81 counties. On the other hand a check-up of capitalist papers from coast to coast revealed that the Illinois Workers Alliance was the organization that led the march. No wonder Karl Radek lauds Adolph Ochs of the New York Times. He, too, has to read the New York Times to find out what is going on in America.

Despite these enemies of labor, despite the array of forces that ranged from the Washington government down to the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and Communist disrupters, the Illinois Workers Alliance led a splendid fight in defense of the unemployed workers. It still continues the fight in hundreds of towns where the organization functions.

What to Attend

Sunday, June 2—Hike to Palisades, Broadway line to Dyckman Street. Meet at Dyckman St. Ferry, 11 A.M. Auspices: Spartacus Youth League.

Saturday, June 8, 8:30 P. M.—Housewarming Party and Dance. Entertainment and Refreshments. 1776 Pitkin Ave. Admission 15c. Brownsville Spartacus and W.P. Friday, June 7th, 8:00 P.M.—Lecture: "The End of the NRA." Speaker: M. Shachtman. Brownsville Branch, W. P. 1776 Pitkin Avenue.

The 'American Approach'

(Ed. Note: This is the concluding article of the series of four by comrade Muste.)

By A. J. MUSTE

IV.

Having pointed out the falseness or inadequacy of some of the means which have been proposed for overthrowing capitalism in the U. S., we must now state positively how the Workers Party believes the job can and must be done.

Fundamentally, as we have already pointed out, the W. P. way is the way of Marx and Lenin. We do not believe that we have a new-fangled contraption with a U. S. 1935 patent for achieving the workers' revolution.

The central position among the forces which must be depended upon to overthrow capitalism belongs to the working class, especially the workers in the basic industries. As the capitalist system declines and presently falls to pieces, presents the masses with growing hunger and insecurity, the threat or actuality of fascism and war, the fight of the workers for direct and simple things, about wages and hours, for the right to exist, necessarily becomes more intense. It has to be fought on a broader front. From a fight in a single-plant, it develops into a fight against a gigantic corporation, against all the corporations in an industry, against industry, the economic system, as a whole. The government, moreover, takes sides more and more openly against the workers, so in order to exist they wage the fight against the government too, that is, the entire governmental system, the State, which supports capitalism. In the course of these struggles the Workers (or Workers, Farmers, Soldiers) Committees or Councils (Soviets) are compelled to take on broader functions. Under the leadership of the revolutionary party, they presently overthrow the capitalist state and become the basic organs of the Workers State.

Allies of the Workers

By workers we mean the working class. It includes the miners, transportation, factory workers. It includes also the clerical workers, agricultural workers, many technicians and professionals who are also wage earners. These have to organize in their economic organizations, just as the factory workers. They will more and more engage in the same kind of struggles as the latter.

The workers must have the support of other oppressed and exploited sections of the population—the farmers, small business people, the persecuted Negro race, colonial peoples who also suffer under the yoke of American capitalism. A lot

How the Job Can and Must Be Done

of people hold that the middle class cannot be gotten to support the workers in revolutionary action. We must not make the mistake of underestimating the problem. Farmers, for example, do in certain cases oppose the Unemployed Leagues because if relief rates or wages on public works are kept up, it is harder to get farm labor to work for a pittance. Small business people often line up with Big Business interests. This is true. It is the job of revolutionists to carry on skillful propaganda work among these and similar elements. But this is not an impossible task. These groups also suffer, and ever more intensely, under capitalism. Their leaders are as intelligent as the workers' leaders and some at least can be won to the revolutionary position. There have been many cases in the U. S. as well as other countries, where these groups have given substantial support to workers in strike struggles. We do not have to accept it as foreordained that they are going to line up with Fascism. It has been shown in Russia, Germany and other countries that they were willing in the war and post-war crisis to support or at least tolerate revolutionary workers' leadership. It was only where socialist and communist party leadership had become bankrupt and these middle class elements sensed that the workers' movement under this leadership had "shot its bolt" and offered no courageous and clear way out, that they rallied en masse behind the fascist banner.

Here in the U. S. there is unquestionably among the masses resentment against restraint and regimentation. What fascism, the triumph of capitalist reaction, means in practice in Europe has been seen by the workers and farmers of this country. It would be absurd to assume that they are now immune to fascist propaganda; but it is certain that the European object lesson has made an impression. The country today is not fascist in psychology. In strikes, organizing campaigns, etc., popular sentiment is with the revolting groups nearly everywhere. (Of course there are exceptions.) The revolutionary Marxian knows better than to get panicky, lose his head completely and insist that the following, real or apparent, of a Long or Coughlin

means that fascism is going to sweep the country next week and that only by some *tour de force*, some colossal exhibition of American salesmanship, some clever building up of a rival personality, can we stem the tide and achieve the workers' revolution. We face indeed a hard fight; but the outcome is not yet decided.

Since the country as a whole has not passed through a feudal experience, as well as for other reasons, the American masses do not, as has frequently been pointed out, regard themselves as a class apart, they are slow in achieving class consciousness. This tends to make labor organization work more difficult. It keeps workers voting for republican and democratic tickets, etc. But this also means that at any rate large sections of the American working population do not have any feeling of inferiority. They are not habituated to oppression and servility. It is a fresh, very vigorous working class, capable of bold and defiant action, easily fooled as yet but nevertheless rapidly becoming more hard-boiled and convinced that "the whole thing is a racket." It is, furthermore, a working class which has never suffered a major disaster. It has not lost confidence in itself. All this is to be kept in mind and used by revolutionists working in the American scene.

Nor is it merely that in the case of the American working class there is no feudal tradition to reckon with. The popular concept is that the United States was meant to be different from "the old countries." It was "a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal"—a nation in which there were not to be rich and poor, oppressors and oppressed, exploiters and exploited; in which not merely a privileged few but all the people should have plenty, security and opportunity for self-expression. This aspiration or "dream" has had a real influence on the thinking and the emotions of the masses of this country. It is not an aspiration which they need to dismiss. It is not only permissible for revolutionists to make use of this factor in American psychology: they would be plain fools if they did not do so.

If, however, we are not to slip into sentimentalism about "the American dream," which would at best accomplish nothing and at worst serve to fan the fires of nationalism, we must point out how the rising capitalist class developed the concepts and slogans of "liberty, equality, fraternity," in its own interest: how after luring the workers and farmers to back them in

their fight against British merchants by means of such slogans, American merchants promptly turned around and wrote a constitution based upon Hamilton's idea that "the people is a beast" rather than on conceptions of freedom and equality for the masses, and so on. We must point out that in the pre-industrial era the conception of plenty, security, etc. for large masses was to a great extent an unrealizable dream, that in the Machine-Age the dream can be realized, but only in a socialist economy in which private ownership in the means of production is relegated to the museum of history along with the ox-cart, an economy in which furthermore artificial national boundaries are wiped out and the international brotherhood of labor realized.

The "revolutionary tradition" of American history can also be utilized—not the romantic idea that Americans are inveterate crusaders prepared to shed their blood for ideals; but the fact that the history of the nation is one of constant and severe class-struggle, that the capitalist class did not hesitate to fight for its class interests whenever the situation required as in 1776 and 1861, that the working class today must be prepared to use all means to carry forward the evolutionary process and establish a higher economy and finer culture than capitalism could achieve.

While the growing impoverishment and insecurity under capitalism in its decline, as we have already pointed out, play a decisive role in bringing the masses to the point of revolutionary action, it is also true that the American standard of living has been comparatively high, that the American worker does not usually feel himself a member of "a poor, oppressed class," and that the appeal to him must be based in a considerable degree on his outraged sense of justice over the things he might so easily have in this highly mechanized economy with its fabulous natural resources, and instead of which he is given a five to fifty dollars a month "security wage!" In other words, those who insist that revolutionary propaganda in this nation must paint the picture of what might be, must show concretely what the machine age could do for the masses if the fetters of capitalism were struck off the Machine, are entirely correct. In this connection, it may be observed that the many varieties of Technocrats are indeed vulnerable in their economic and romantic in their conception of the problem of political power—how we are going to get a chance to put a new economic system into effect—but as engineers pointing to the capacity of our productive mechanism they have made a contribution. And the lesson of

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End of the Blue Buzzard

(Continued from Page 1)

triumph of the point of view. The question here was not an issue between the capitalist class and the working class, but an issue between two groups within the capitalist class.

The Supreme Court said in effect that the U. S. is not yet ready for the social and political structure foreshadowed by the NRA, even though it might have to make use of it to pull out of an emergency. It invalidated the NRA on the grounds that Congress had unconstitutionally delegated legislative powers to the President and attempted intra-state regulation of the relations between employees and employers. The specific grounds are not important, since the Court can always find legal justification for whatever suits the requirements of the dominant capitalist grouping. Nevertheless, they serve to indicate the still immature character of the developing crisis of U. S. capitalism. Finance capital does not yet need a radically new departure. There is now a breathing space, with the old ways, the "Constitution," for the time being "vindicated." But during the breathing space the historical contradictions will ripen further. The Blue Eagle has not gone forever. Like the phoenix, a new and greater Blue Eagle will begin before long to rise from its ashes. And the new Eagle will conceal beneath its wings the Fasces and the Swastika. For Fascism is the necessary capitalist solution to the historical crisis of the capitalist system.

From a survey of the role of the NRA, the central lesson—or, rather, double lesson—emerges:

The workers must defend their rights and advance their demands by militant struggle, by their own independent class actions. It was the misleaders of the workers, above all the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, and not primarily the NRA itself, who permitted the last two years to pass by without advances on the part of the working class. They put their faith in Section 7a, in Roosevelt, in Labor Boards, in "the government." And—not surprisingly—the government of the capitalist class used every one of these agencies to beat back the workers. That is what the government is for. Now, following the Supreme Court decision, the bureaucrats are once more flying to the government, and "demanding" the Wagner Bill, the Guffey Bill, a "new NRA."

In contrast, the answer of the working class to the decision must be a repudiation of this parliamentary horse-trading, whose only possible effect is to befuddle, weaken, and lead aside the working class from its proper business.

The answer must be: Organization, strikes, discipline, militant struggle. The working class has no friend and no support other than its own organized strength. This is what it must learn from its experience with the NRA.

The second, more fundamental, lesson is in fact the central lesson of our entire historical epoch. The NRA proves once more, openly and dramatically, that there is no way out for the working class other than through the socialist revolution. No capitalist "solution," imposed by the capitalist government, can possibly benefit the working class. All such solutions at the present time can only prepare the way for the final capitalist solution—Fascism. The only government on which the working class can rely will be their own government. The independent struggle of the workers to defend their economic and social rights against the capitalist regime must lead to the political struggle of the working class for state power.

This is the lesson of the Blue Eagle.

A Shady Adventure

The recent attempt of David Lasser, Chairman of the Workers Alliance of America, to gather recruits for his organization in territory in West Virginia where for more than two years unemployed leagues affiliated with the National Unemployed League have carried on effective militant activity, met with a cold reception from West Virginia workers. This does not change in any degree the disruptive character of Lasser's adventure.

When the W.A.A. was founded this winter at a conference of certain state and local officials of unemployed organizations, its leaders insisted that it was in no sense an attempt to build an organization "dual" to the N.U.L. Resolutions looking toward conferences for setting up a single, unified organization of the unemployed were carried. W.A.A. officials have recently called certain conferences to discuss his question of unity and of united action.

When the leader of an organization making these professions runs away in the very midst

of the crisis created by the new works relief program, from his own local organization in New York City which has as yet gathered in only a handful of the unemployed of the Metropolis, and apparently carefully avoids the many states and localities in which practically no unemployed organization exists, to attempt an invasion of territory already very effectively covered, he is guilty of playing on the deep-seated desire of the workers for unity for sectarian purposes, and at the same time creating conditions which bring about division and not unity. It would be hard to find in the whole history of the labor movement of the United States a more flagrant and inexcusable instance of "dual unionism."

The Workers Party stands as always for united action of responsible unemployed organizations for special ends by agreed-upon methods. It supports the N.U.L. in its oft repeated demand for a single unified unemployed organization democratically controlled by the rank and file, as against a loose federation created and controlled by a top leadership. Because of our profound concern that solidarity in the face of the common enemy be achieved, we call upon the executive of the W.A.A. as well as the Labor Committee of the Socialist Party, under whose direction we assume Lasser is working, to repudiate the action we have referred to and to see to it that no similar adventures are indulged in in the future. We believe that all unemployed organizations ought to record their condemnation of such tactics in the most emphatic manner.

We agree furthermore with the N.U.L. that it is time for the W.A.A. to make plain whether it has entered into an agreement with William Green and the A. F. of L. officialdom generally, with regard to unemployed work, and if so what are the terms of this agreement. Unity of the workers, employed and unemployed, is not the same as collaboration with the top officialdom of the A. F. of L. which is itself committed to a policy of collaboration with the employing class and the capitalist government.

The Wagner Bill

The Wagner Bill passed the Senate on May 16 and has been reported favorably by the House Committee on Labor Relations. With reasonable certainty it may be assumed that this most bitterly contested proposed legislation will become law before Congress adjourns.

Then what? Will it meet the same fate at the hands of the nine judges on the bench of the U. S. Supreme Court as did the NRA or will it become one of the means, by virtue of its compulsory arbitration provisions, to help start the American working class on to the road of rebellion?

In the bitter contest that has raged pro and con around this proposed Bill is reflected the great paradox of highly developed industrial America: an retarded political development and union organization of its working masses.

It is true that the Wagner Bill provides for the establishment of an independent labor board; it provides for the outlawing of company-dominated unions and requires collective bargaining in which the representatives of a majority of the workers in any plant would speak for all the workers. These are the provisions that are being condemned by industrialists as a government imposed closed shop. They are not inclined to yield even an inch of ground to labor.

The faint-hearted fraternity of reactionary labor leaders take the opposite stand and hail the Wagner Bill as the Magna Charta of labor while fully understanding its compulsory arbitration features. This is not the expression of the paradoxical position of today for in regard to this point they are heart and soul with the industrialists. They could wish for nothing better than the kind of legislation that would help them put a stop to the prospective strikes which they dread even more than do the hard-headed exploiters who are determined to fight the issues out boldly and brazenly.

The real significance of the Wagner Bill lies not in the provisions that ostensibly outlaw the company union but in what follows. This is the compulsory arbitration features. It provides for the creation of a National Labor Relations Board, composed of three members to be appointed by the President—Section 3 (a)—None are to be appointed by labor. It provides that "the findings of the board as to the facts, if supported by evidence, shall be conclusive." In its clause (f) under Section 9 the Wagner Bill provides that labor disputes shall be placed under the jurisdiction of Federal District Courts, and it expressly prescribes that "the jurisdiction of the court shall be exclusive and its judgment and decree shall be final, except that the same shall be subject to review by the Supreme Court of the U.S."

If any more proof be needed of the compulsory arbitration features of this Bill it would be necessary to mention only the provisions for punishment of what is called "unfair labor practice affecting commerce." Translated into common everyday language this could hardly mean anything but strikes.

The NRA has been declared unconstitutional in all its code provisions. Insofar as its celebrated Section 7a is concerned, the collective bargaining clause, chairman Biddle of the present Labor Board has already recommended that it be scrapped because of the Wagner Bill being on the way. This Bill is now about to reach its final reading in the House. To the workers it will represent a contradiction

(Continued from Page 1)

colleges, universal insecurity among industrial workers, farmers, small business people, professionals, curtailment of liberty and the exercise of severe and brutal repression against efforts of the masses to right their wrongs.

This appalling contrast between what might be and what is does not, in our opinion, spring from superficial causes. It arises from the nature of the economic system—capitalism—under which we operate.

"A revolution in technology has occurred since 1789 and is still in process. Steel, automobiles, electric light and power, are produced and distributed not by individuals in individual enterprises, but through socialized, 'cooperative' enterprises. Ownership and control, however, of these enterprises, and with it the right to make profit from them, to exploit the labor of those engaged in them, is still on the same individual basis, operated under essentially the same legal and political system as in 1789. It is just as impossible for this antiquated system of private ownership and profit to function, to supply the needs of the population today, as it was for the feudal slave-holding economy in the Southern states to continue to do so in 1860. The sys-

tem acts, obviously as a brake upon production so that, as the phrase goes, you have "want in the midst of plenty."

"If, therefore, the workers and farmers of the United States under the political leadership of the Workers Party were to come into power, they would take steps to end immediately private ownership and control over natural resources and over the plant for production, distribution and communication which their toil and skill have built. Ownership and control would be vested in society represented by the new Workers' State. The owners, so-called, would not receive "compensation." It is the workers and farmers, not the industrialists and financiers who have been coining profit from their toil, who have "compensation" coming to them! The new state will as a matter of fact take whatever measures may be necessary to make it impossible for the old owning class, the czars of industry and finance, to get back into power. All inhabitants, however, who are not engaged in organizing resistance to the new regime and trying to restore the old order of special privilege, insecurity and war, will have their opportunity to do useful social work and to share in the products of that work.

by the fact that while it presumably recognizes their right to collective bargaining, outlaws company unions, etc., it attempts to shift the fate of all the conditions of the workers in industry and in union organization from the field of battle in strike struggles, where the workers have their real strength and where militancy counts as an important asset, to the decision of labor boards and judges of the capitalist courts.

Needless to say the final decisions by the courts will be properly backed up by policemen's clubs and steel helmeted soldiers. In this is concealed the attempt to completely disarm the workers. Hence the joy of the reactionary leaders who prefer this means of taking off from their shoulders the responsibility of the old time crude betrayals which are becoming increasingly dangerous to their salaried positions.

But if and when enacted, this Bill will reflect a yet greater contradiction in the American scene. The workers have already learned some bitter lessons of what they can expect from industrial disputes referred for settlement to labor boards and to the capitalist courts. The cleavage that is developing out of these experiences between the working masses, who have nothing to lose but their chains, and their union officials who try to sit on the safety valve to prevent an explosion, is bound to increase with an ever growing speed.

More conclusive proof will be at hand to convince the former that regardless of the latter it will be necessary to rely only on the kind of relations with the employers that they can establish and enforce through union organization and through the welding of their strike weapon. Not the reliance on governmental legislation but on their own militant action should be the watchword.

The Franco-Soviet Alliance

(Continued on Page 4)

thrown, is no imperialist policy pursued; only there can and does a natural policy of peace exist.

The task facing the workers in the capitalist countries, therefore, is an enormous intensification of their efforts against the coming imperialist war. The only preventive for war is the extermination of imperialism itself. Nothing short of that can be effective, and all phrasemongering about "disarmament," the League of Nations, "arbitration" and the like is so much dust in the eyes of the masses calculated to facilitate the work of the warmongers.

To exterminate imperialism, however, the working class must follow a policy of intransigent class struggle against its classic enemy. It cannot for a moment relax its vigilance. To every militaristic and war step of every imperialist power, the working class must consistently reply: "Not a man, not a penny for imperialist war!" In every war that breaks out despite the efforts of the working class, the latter must be prepared to utilize the crisis of the capitalist rulers in order to change the imperialist war into a triumphant battle of the workers against the exploiters, for their overthrow and for the establishment of the workers' republic which will truly bring an end to war and suffering.

This is the position taken by the Workers Party. It is identical with the position taken by all those parties and groups throughout the world with which our party is associated in the work of welding together the vanguard of the working class into a new and genuinely revolutionary world movement—the Fourth International.

The position of the Socialist parties, and of their International (the Second) is just the opposite. Just as in 1914, they are now talking about supporting the so-called "democratic" capitalist countries in the coming war with the Fascist countries. And just as in the last war, they will sit by quietly while the democratic rights of the workers—the right to free press, free speech, free assemblage, to organ-

ize, to strike—are destroyed by the very "democratic" governments which they are supporting.

The argument of these Socialist parties, now as then, is a lie and a deception, because whatever the ostensible and apparent reason for entering the war, the fact remains that in it every capitalist country, "democratic" or otherwise, pursues purely reactionary and imperialist aims. For all of them, wars are wars for new banditry and conquest or for the preservation of yesterday's banditry and conquest.

In the early period of the Communist parties and their International (the Third), that is, in the period of Lenin, their position was identical with the present position of the Workers Party. In the period of their degeneration, that is, in the period of Stalinism, their position has drawn steadily closer to that of the Socialist-patriots.

In the joint statement issued in Moscow on May 15, 1935 by Laval, Stalin, Molotov and Litvinov, it says: "Above all, the duty falls upon them, in the interest and maintenance of peace, not to allow the means of their national defense to weaken in any sense. In this regard, M. Stalin understands and fully approves the national defense policy of France in keeping her armed forces at a level required for security."

In a speech in the League of Nations on April 18, Litvinov declared in the name of the Soviet Union: "Our standpoint is that of the equality of the nations and their indisputable right to security and to all the means of guaranteeing themselves this security. All the peaceful states have the right to arm themselves in order to protect their security."

By these declarations, the spokesmen of the Soviet Union and the Third International are depriving the Communist party of France of the possibility of conducting an effective struggle against the militaristic armaments measures of French imperialism. With these declarations in the hands of the French capitalist class, the French Communist party is henceforth able to argue only as to what measure of armaments and militarization is best calculated to "protect the security" of French imperialism.

In other words, it must now consistently assume the fundamental position of *defense of the capitalist fatherland*. With these declarations, the spokesmen of the Third International covers up the fact that the army of imperialism ("democratic" or not) is not only, basically, an army for imperialist aggression against other imperialist powers, but that it is used to subjugate the colonial peoples of France, and the militant working class of France itself!

Just as the Socialist and Communist parties were jointly responsible for the catastrophic defeat of the German working class at the hands of the Hitlerites, so they are now jointly preparing for the new social-patriotic betrayal of the masses in the coming war!

The Workers Party reaffirms its uncompromising opposition to imperialist war and the imperialist powers—be they represented by Fascist Italy, Imperial Japan, Nazi Germany, Republican France, Monarchical England, or Democratic United States. The Workers Party calls upon the workers in every capitalist land to concentrate all their forces, all their forces, all their blows, against the real enemy: the capitalist class at home. The Workers Party renews its pledge of unreserved solidarity with the Soviet Union and will continue its work of rallying the American workers to form a bulwark of support and defense of the first workers' republic.

Down with imperialism and its wars!
Strengthen the lines of struggle against exploiter and oppressor!
Hail the fighting solidarity of the international working class!

Hail the workers' revolution and the workers' world—the only real and lasting guarantee of peace, freedom and security!

Muste Speaks for Communism on Radio

"Citizenship in the new state will likewise be the prerogative of all who are engaged in useful work, industrial, agricultural, clerical, domestic, technical, professional. The workers of these various categories in the various enterprises will be organized in Councils or Unions democratically controlled. They will elect representatives to the higher governing bodies and eventually to the National Council or Congress.

"A National Planning Commission, with subordinate and cooperating commissions in various industries and localities, will be established. Its business will be to plan for the most efficient production of goods and services of all kinds, to utilize fully the many inventions and discoveries already available but held out of use by their owners because no private profit can accrue from them at present, to set the scientists and technicians to work freely and with adequate resources in order to plan for still greater efficiency in the use of our resources and thus for greater abundance of leisure as well as goods. It should be added that the Workers' State will envisage not only national but international planning. National boundaries are artificial and restrictive today as state boundaries had become in 1789, and

socialism is in essence an international, a world economy. Every effort to establish "planned" production under private capitalism breaks down, since the warfare between rival capitalists in a nation and capitalist groups in different nations disrupts such efforts.

Obliterating Insecurity

"The removal of the brake of private ownership which shuts down factories, plows under raw materials and stifles the scientist and technician, and putting in its place the social, that is, scientific, use of natural resources and the productive plant, will mean an immediate and substantial improvement in the standard of living of the masses. That improvement can be continuous. The specter of insecurity will be removed. The undemocratic economic domination of the few over the many will be at an end. No one can predict the cultural advances which may follow this release of the human spirit. On no other economic basis can the "American dream" of liberty, equality and fraternity be realized under the conditions of modern life.

Like every ruling class, the present capitalist class will seek to maintain its power. In the period of its rise and expansion capitalism could accumulate profits and also raise the standard of living of the masses. In the present period, as is clear enough on the face of it, it can no longer do this. Profits can be made only by fiercer exploitation, cutting down the living standards of the masses, taking away even such concessions as were previously made.

"Since capitalism must keep pushing the standard lower and lower, it must eventually seek to destroy every vestige of democratic rights, every means of resistance that farmers, workers, small business men, etc. may have. For obviously no matter how meek, peaceful, conservative an organization of these elements may be, at some point it will try to resist the imposition of further impoverishment and distress. To maintain their system, the capitalists will then seek to destroy any such organization in utter disregard of law, constitution and bill of rights. In other words, capitalism can save itself in the present period only by the resort to Fascism. Under these circumstances to assume that democratic processes will be maintained is an ostrich policy. Unquestionably the struggle and strikes of the workers against impoverishment and injustice which now goes on daily will have to be waged ever more intensively and on a broader front, becoming eventually a struggle against the economic system as such and against the government which resists even moderate adjustments as witness the Supreme Court decision on NRA and becomes more and more openly an undemocratic agency of oppression. The choice is between Fascism and revolutionary action for a new social order.

The Choice for All

"To those elements in this country who are well aware from their own experience that something is radically wrong but who hesitate to face the clear and drastic alternatives, we point out what has happened to similar groups and classes in Germany and elsewhere. They espoused Fascism because they wanted an improvement in their standard of living; they are being beaten down to the level of bare existence. They desired security; and they have insecurity. They wanted national self-respect and peace; they are being rushed down the precipice to war. They wanted freedom and recoiled from the "regimentation" which they were told would obtain under socialism or communism; they have gotten the extreme of regimentation. They wanted a life based on the old virtues, and recoiled from the march forward to a new culture; they have gotten all the indecencies of Hitlerism. They wanted to go back to the "good old days" before the war; they are being swept back to the middle ages, to barbarism, to savagery. Capitalism today means retreat, reaction, Fascism, war, the collapse of civilization. The one road to security, to peace, to freedom, to cultural advancement is the road of the workers' revolution.

"This is your choice—capitalism which means reaction and chaos or a Workers' World which means a higher level of civilization and culture."

Drive on Pro-Labor Professors Spreads

(Continued from Page 1)

of Dr. Hallett. The local unions are requesting their internationals to take action. If Dr. Hallett is not soon reinstated, the Central Trades and Labor Council will appeal for aid to the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

The Pennsylvania Unemployed Leagues, in which Dr. Hallett is also active, announced today that if Dr. Hallett is not reinstated before June 10, graduation day at Cedar Crest, the Unemployed Leagues of Lehigh, Northampton and Carbon counties will throw a mass picket line around the college. Dr. Hallett has asked the Non-Partisan Labor Defense to rally support of labor organizations nationally.