

NEW MILITANT

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Left Groupings Confer in N. Y. Needle Trades

Lovestonites Dampen and Dominate Conference

Decisions to set up a "Council of Needle Trades Progressive Groups," publish a paper and engage in a drive to set up and strengthen progressive groups in all locals was made at a conference called by the "Progressive Group" of Local 22 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and held at Manhattan Opera House, last Saturday afternoon.

Representatives from eight progressive groups in the I.L.G.W.U. and one group in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers were seated as delegates. Representatives from a number of groups were not seated on the grounds that they were not known to the sponsors of the conference. They were however allowed to remain as fraternal delegates. A large number of individual members from locals of the A.C.W.U., I.L.G.W.U. and Millinery Workers Union where no progressive groups exist were present as observers taking no part in the proceedings. Two local unions were represented by two sets of delegates each. In local 1 the group controlling the administration as well as a smaller opposition group had delegates seated. Cutters Welfare League, a progressive group of local 10 were seated. Delegates from a Socialist group in the same local were present as observers.

Max Bluestein, a business agent of local 22 and representative of the progressive group of that local was elected chairman. Chas. Zimmerman, manager of the same local, made the keynote speech. He strongly condemned the class collaboration policies of the Hillman administration of the A.C.W.U., contrasting with it the "record" of the I.L.G.W.U.

J. Brandon of the Progressive Unionists, present by invitation, told of the great need of a city and nation-wide organization of progressives. He congratulated the delegates for the step they were taking and pledged the support of himself and his organization for progressive action. His speech was well received.

The report of the Credentials Committee caused a bit of debate, a number of delegates protesting against their non-seating. In reply Zimmerman and others argued that since these representatives were not known to them they could not be seated as regular delegates. It was stated, however, that if the groups represented by these delegates were properly introduced to the officials and found kosher they will be accepted as part of the center.

A complete program was presented to the conference by Murray Gross, office manager of local 22, in the name of the progressive group of that local. This report which had not previously been presented to any of the groups, not even that of local 22, was accepted in total with only one slight addition. One amendment was proposed and ruled out of order by the chairman on the grounds that he knew that Zimmerman also supported the view expressed in the amendment and therefore there was no need to accept it in the constitution. One addition was made. Will Herberg, of the Lovestone group, who is educational director

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Green Acts to Stall New Rubber Union

AKRON, Ohio.—Despite requests from major local rubber workers unions, William Green, A. F. of L. president, has delayed calling a convention to organize an international until July.

His rubber organizer, Coleman C. Claherty, explained that Green was sending questionnaires to all locals to determine their attitude. Since a convention will be called. Since all the unions have voted for the international, the A. F. of L. bureaucracy is simply trying to postpone the progressive move.

The question of whether the international will actually be an industrial union, including all employees, or whether the craft workers will maintain their seven international is the focal point of dispute in arguments on forming the international.

Last year when the United Rubberworkers council was formed Claherty, aided by the crafts, obtained control. Of course, he will fight to keep them separate and continue the council, if possible.

Progressives Unite to Fight Expulsion in Teachers Union

Split Threatens as Right Wing Socialist Administration Moves to Comply with Green's Demand for Red Hunt

The Teachers Union of New York City, Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers, is now facing the most serious crisis in its history, with the panic-stricken right wing Socialist leadership driving full speed ahead for the expulsion of a large, growing left wing movement.

Two weeks ago, by a vote of 14 to 9 in the Executive Board the Administration put through a motion calling upon the Executive Council of the national organization to investigate the local. The investigating committee, consisting of the president, the secretary, treasurer and the legislative representative of the national body, conducted its hearings in New York on June 8 and 9.

Second Expulsion Attempt
This is the second attempt in recent years on the part of the Administration to answer the challenge of the left wing, which for years has been fighting its backward policies and bureaucratic practices, by expulsion.

In 1932 it appointed a Grievance Committee headed by Professor John Dewey to consider expulsion charges against five left wing leaders. The proposal of the Committee to expel was defeated; so was a subsequent proposal to suspend. The Administration then "compromised." It pushed through a constitutional amendment abolishing membership meetings with the power to decide policy! A Delegate Assembly, roughly corresponding to a shop chairmen's body, was instituted to replace the membership meetings.

The opposition forces, adapting themselves to the new situation, made steady progress. At recent Delegate Assembly meetings it defeated the Administration on a number of crucial questions. In the elections just held for members of the Executive Board and for officers, it gained over 40 percent of the total vote.

New Frame-up
The investigation is a clear

frame-up of the left wing. The administration is climaxing a series of flagrant abuses of democratic practice by attempting to pin a red label on the opposition and kicking it out. Rallying against this policy of split, the left wing groups formed a united front, the first since the 1932 expulsion drive. A mass meeting to protest the investigation, attended by nearly one thousand union members, was held on June 7. At the last Delegate Assembly meeting on June 12, the vote on the question of the investigation was announced as 80 for to 77 against. The demand for a recount was ignored by the chairman, and the meeting was hastily adjourned.

The situation at this writing is extremely tense. The investigating committee, having completed its hearings, will make its recommendations in August, after the national convention. In the meanwhile, the united front is continuing its fight, the success of which depends upon its ability to solidify a program extending further than the mere plank against expulsion.

SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS UNION EXPANDS

MEMPHIS, Tenn. (EP).—Reaching out into Texas and Oklahoma, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, which has been the target of the lawless violence of Arkansas planters, is increasing its influence and power. The executive council at its June 3 meeting in Memphis received charter applications for locals with over 11,000 members.

Most of these are already organized locally but want the benefit of the strength and experience of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. I southeastern Oklahoma and northeastern Texas the American Farmers and Farm Laborers Union with headquarters in Madli, Okla., 9,000 strong, applied for membership. The American Agricultural Workers Union with headquarters in Bonham, Tex., 2,000 strong, also applied.

Furriers Unite Police Destroy In One Union American Flag

'Red' Union Dissolved Joins A. F. of L. International

After years of fighting, of mutual scabbery, the two unions in the New York fur market, the Joint Council of the International and the Fur Workers Industrial Union have merged, the latter joining the International on terms which made possible a genuine unity.

This unification on the basis of reinstatement of all members without discrimination, elections within forty days, with all members eligible for office, etc. is a victory for those who fought for unity on a progressive basis. Progressive forces within the International, particularly in Toronto, plus the about turn in Stalinist trade union policy made the merger possible. The rise of a progressive group in the Fur Workers Industrial Union, fighting against the bureaucratic excesses of its leadership, helped to push the latter to accept, after a lot of bluff and blustering, the terms offered by the International.

The final terms of settlement are virtually identical with those voted at the International Convention held in Toronto last May. The entry of the industrial members of the International, the affairs of the International previous to the election and the election itself, will be under the jurisdiction of the committee of seven elected by the International Convention. So far this committee has fulfilled its tasks with admirable skill.

A meeting of about 2,500 furriers called by the F.W.I.U., recently renamed the Independent International Fur Workers Industrial Union, held in Cooper Union last Wednesday, voted unanimously to accept the terms offered by the International Convention through the Committee of Seven. Already at this meeting the line to be followed by the Stalinists after entry into the International, was indicated. An attack was launched against the progressives, the Fur Workers Unity Group while right wing members of the International were praised and applauded.

The tasks of the progressives are

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Police Destroy American Flag

Assault Mass Picket Line for Hallett Reinstatement

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—Pickets from the Unemployed League and trade unions of Allentown were attacked by police as they attempted to picket Cedar Crest College, a girls school near Allentown, in protest to the recent dismissal of Prof. Winslow N. Hallett for his activity in the Unemployed League and American Federation of Teachers.

City police and state troopers guarding public streets leading to the college brutally attacked the pickets as they attempted to march. The American flag at the head of the line was torn to shreds by the police and thrown into the shrubbery at the side of the street. Wayne Morton, leader of the line, was arrested on charges of "disorderly conduct."

Later in the day, General F. D. Beary, Commissioner of Police, realizing the public indignation aroused by the act on the part of the police, permitted the pickets to march peacefully on streets near the college. This was in direct violation of a proclamation issued during the 1934 text le strike by Mayor Fred Lewis limiting picket lines to 10 persons.

Pickets in Cap and Gown
After the commencement exercises, which were in progress during the picketing, Professor Hallett, in cap and gown, joined the line. Also on the line was Rev. Paul Cotton, recently ousted from the pastorate of the Bethlehem Presbyterian Church because of his activity in the Unemployed League.

When Dr. Cotton presented a petition signed by the picket line to Dr. William F. Curtis, President of the College, he was ordered off the college grounds. "Get out and stay out," said Dr. Curtis, losing his academic dignity.

The following organizations were represented on the picket line: The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Local 119; the American Federation of Silk Workers, Local 10; the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Local 111; the Shirtworkers Union, Local 128, all of Allentown.

NPLD Pushes Campaign for Mini Freedom

Opening Gun Will Be Banquet in N. Y. On June 26

NEW YORK CITY.—The Non-Partisan Labor Defense, leader of the fight for Norman Mini against the labor-haters of California who are now keeping him in San Quentin Prison, will open a campaign for his liberation with a cold-plate dinner in this city on June 26. As in the trial, the N.P.L.D. will make its fight for Mini a fight on behalf of the eight Sacramento criminal syndicalism defendants and against the criminal syndicalism law used to railroad them to prison.

Among the speakers at the dinner will be A. J. Muste, National Secretary of the Workers Party; Herbert Solow, who spent four months in Sacramento directing the N.P.L.D.'s work during the trial; Murray Baron, leading Socialist and trade-unionist of New York; Carlo Tresca, well-known anti-Fascist; and Louis Berg of the Executive of the N.P.L.D. Sidney Hook, Professor of Philosophy at New York University, will preside.

The dinner will be held at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place, at 7 P.M. Tickets costing 50 cents each are being sold by members of the N.P.L.D. They are also available at the following places: New Militant office, 55 East 11th St.; Socialist Call office, 21 East 17th St.; Il Martello office, 94 Fifth Ave.; League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th St. Admission at the door will be 75 cents. Proceeds will be used for the Mini defense fund.

N.P.L.D. for Unified Defense

In response to the call of the N.P.L.D., delegates from the National Labor Committee of the Socialist Party, defense arm of the S. P., and the N.P.L.D. held a preliminary conference Monday at which the possibilities of building an aggressive unified defense were discussed. It was decided to postpone activities a week, in view of the absence of delegates from the I.L.D., which represents Mini's seven co-defendants, and from the General Defense Committee (I.W.W.). Since the meeting, the N.P.L.D. has announced, the G.D.C. has appointed an observer. An observer attended from the A.C.L.U. also.

A new invitation has been sent to the I.L.D. and the conference will reassemble in a few days to take practical steps toward expanding itself, and beginning the appeal fight, both through an attorney for Mini and a mass protest campaign against all the Sacramento convictions.

Opinions of a number of lawyers consulted recently by the N.P.L.D. are that the affidavit given by a juror to Herbert Solow and Jack

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Bakers Strike Ends After Fierce Battle

After three weeks of militant picketing, marked by violent clashes with company thugs and arrests of pickets, the Gottfried Baking Company strike is over.

An agreement carrying a substantial increase in wages and partial recognition of the union has been reached.

On Wednesday, the strikers voted by a majority in favor of the terms and later in the day the agreement was signed by Jack Chick, president, Herman Gund, Secretary, and Theodore Wharton, organizer, for local 50 of the Bakery and Confectionary Workers International Union, and by B. Gottfried, vice-president for the company.

The agreement provides for the firing of strike breakers hired during the strike; immediate reinstatement of strikers; sharing of work during slack seasons and arbitration of disputes during the life of the agreement. Though full union rates were not secured, wage increases of from 20 to 50 percent were gained. Wages will now range from 41 cents and hour for women helpers to 90 cents an hour for oven men.

Interviewed in his office, Herman Gund, secretary of local 50, declared that he did not consider the settlement a victory as it did not provide for full union wages and a closed shop. Considering the situation in which a good section of the inside workers remained at work, and the lack of finances, they were the best must," said Gund, "be considered as the first step in our fight for complete unionization, not only of the Gottfried plants, but for all baker factories in the city.

Unemployed Leagues Hold Mass Conventions

Shoulders to the Wheel—Everybody Behind the Eight Page New Militant

We all want it!!

The Workers Party needs it!!

We're going to get it—The eight-page NEW MILITANT.

On August 1 the first enlarged paper is due to appear.

The increase in size will mean far more than a 100 percent increase in the efficiency of our party organ and organizer. The big job we have to do demands a bigger and a better paper.

Are we going to get it? Will we be able to forge a really effective weapon against war and fascism? It depends on every party member, every sympathizer, every worker who realizes the need for reaching the American masses with the clear voice of the Workers Party.

We have plans.

We have a print shop, comrades to work, comrades to write news and articles.

WE NEED CASH!!! And we need it right away.

The Workers Party is due for another big step ahead. The establishment on a firm basis of the eight-page NEW MILITANT will be such an advance.

Send in your contribution. Begin sub-gathering. Put your shoulders to the wheel. The enlarged NEW MILITANT is the most important job before the party at the present time.

131 Delegates Participate in W. Va. Jobless Convention

Class Struggle Measures Accepted; Fighting Executive Elected

HUNTINGTON, W. Va., June 8.—

In an inspiring two day session the state convention of the West Virginia Unemployed League marshaled the lessons of the recent past before it and cast an eye on its prospects for the future.

131 delegates were in attendance, taking an active part in all the proceedings and viewing with a critical eye all measures proposed for the development of the organization.

A real organization patriotism was manifest throughout all the sessions. The unemployed workers, having many sad experiences with their officials, were clearly resolved to see to it that only those of the highest integrity and representing the rank and file should be their new leaders.

The principal speaker at the convention was Arnold Johnson, secretary of the N.U.L. In his address he pointed out that the workers must cease relying on Greek gifts such as they had been presented by Hoover and Roosevelt, and begin applying their own power as the only effective means to rescue them from the slave conditions imposed by capitalism. Such a struggle alone, he declared, could bring freedom and victory.

"War Only for Freedom"

The high point of his address dealt with the approaching war in which, "workers in one country are called on to kill their fellow workers, of another capitalist country only for the profit of the bankers and profiteers. Now is the time to take a firm stand against imperialist war and to use the weapons of war only for the freedom of workers."

Then followed the regular business of the convention, with President Biddle the leading reporter. Reviewing the progress of the Leagues during his short tenure of office, he reported that nine old branches had been revived and 11 new ones organized. In one case he had trekked twenty-six miles through snow and mud to get to a League meeting.

Brant Scott, chairman of the Executive Board, followed with a brief history of the West Virginia Unemployed League since its foundation on May 7, 1933. He took the Leagues through the various presidents who have come and gone "But the League is still on the march," he declared. "It has gone through many tough disappointments, but nobody can sell out the League. The W. Va. U.L. will keep going when all other organizations fold up. And the thing that will keep us going is the militant action of the rank and file."

Other officers supplemented his report with graphic descriptions of the actions of the Leagues in strikes, demonstrations and action at relief offices.

Resolutions Adopted

Resolutions were passed calling for a regular rank and file conference every three months, demonstrations against the Roosevelt relief scale, against Fascism, against imperialist war, for the Workers

Security Bill proposed by the N.U.L., for the freedom of class war prisoners, Tom Mooney, the Harlan miners, the Scottsboro boys, etc. A resolution of greeting to the Pennsylvania Unemployed League, in session simultaneously, was also passed.

The convention adjourned with the election of officers and an executive board. Brant Scott, militant, veteran miner was elected president. L. C. Dean, another ex-miner and staunch fellow-worker of Mother Jones, was elected first vice president. George Harris, Negro militant, was voted in as second vice-president. Joe Blankenship was re-elected secretary-treasurer. A new executive board of 15 tested militants was voted in.

News Men's Guild To Join A.F. of L.

By JACK WILSON

CLEVELAND, Ohio, June 10.—After a bitter five day fight, progressives in the American Newspaper Guild, having 7,000 members, swung the Guild in action as another progressive force in the American labor movement during the second annual convention held here.

The 120 delegates fought for hours over the question of A. F. of L. affiliation. Three definite forces presented points of view for adoption.

A "right wing" clique fought against affiliation because it would make reporters trade unionists. Another group insisted that affiliation to the A. F. of L. would mean approval to the reactionary betrayal of Green, Lewis, Dubinsky and other labor misleaders.

Affiliate Industrially
The correct position of affiliating as an industrial international but disassociating themselves from the bureaucrats was advanced by the New York delegation and certain middle-western groups aided by a few scattered guilds.

The third group gained a 72 to 57 majority to have a resolution with its policy succeed in passing as a recommendation to the general membership for a referendum vote on the question.

A "for A. F. of L. affiliation" slate of candidates was elected as progressives took command of the convention. Heywood Brown was re-elected president; Jonathan Eddy, national secretary and Carland Ashcraft, treasurer.

On the question of labor legislation, the convention voted by 80 to 40 to support the Wagner Labor Bill, despite sharp attack of it and the advocacy of a class struggle policy by militants.

An attack of the now extinct New Deal and of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats were other high points of the convention which saw the complete submergence of "professionalism" at the attitude of trade unionism.

A favorable referendum by the membership on the affiliation question seems assured as previous surveys indicated a preponderant majority for it.

Whether the A. F. of L. will give an international charter to the guild is another question, on which opinion is divided.

P.U.L. MEETS

Militant Stand Is Adopted on Burning Issues

Labor Party Rejected; Favor Revolutionary Action

ALLENTOWN, Pa., June 10.—Three hundred and fifty delegates, representing more than 25,000 organized unemployed, met here Saturday and Sunday, June 7 and 8, at the convention of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League.

The delegates, representatives of unemployed organizations in more than a dozen counties of the state, heard reports of increased activities and continual growth in the course of the last year. Their unmistakable seriousness and their business-like procedure gave evidence to the fact that the majority of them were seasoned labor spokesmen, trained organization men with wide trade union experience.

Plan Against Relief Rates

After the opening address by President Larry Heimbach and the report of Secretary Lester Heckman, the convention settled down to the task of laying plans for organized action against the scandalous \$10-\$94-a-month work relief program of the Roosevelt government; for prevailing wage rates on relief jobs; for an increase of 50 per cent in present direct relief allowances; for the representation of the unemployed on project complaint boards as well as other urgent needs of the jobless.

Organizationally, the convention marked progress in deciding on the establishment of district offices in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, to extend the scope of the P.U.L. and in setting up an Organizational Department, whose task it will be to penetrate into every corner of the state with regular organizers working according to a systematic plan, under centralized direction. The convention also set up an Educational Department, instructing it to form a series of circuit schools by means of which to train active league workers for the maximum effective action in the struggle of the unemployed.

Reports from the county organizations indicated a steady growth in membership since the last convention as well as tremendous opportunities for advancement in new fields. A large sum was pledged by the delegates present, to carry on organizational work.

Reject Phony Unity

The convention went on record in favor of the Workers Security Bill introduced in Congress by the National Unemployed League calling for a 30-hour \$30 week on relief work; for cooperation with the trades unions on the work relief projects; for the active support of Mass Action, the official organ of the National Unemployed League.

A resolution presented by Communist Party delegates for "united front action" with the sectarian Unemployed Councils was emphatically rejected by an overwhelming majority. Speaker after speaker pointed to the sad experiences made by the Leagues with the Unemployed Councils in the past. They recalled that the C. P. controlled Unemployed Councils had time and again broken faith in the course of united front action, that they had continually striven to disrupt the Unemployed Leagues, that they had thereby proven themselves unworthy of confidence. It was further pointed out that the Councils had dwindled down to an insignificant number while the Pennsylvania Unemployed League had established itself as the bona fide organization of the unemployed in the state, in spite of their disruptive tactics.

The convention, while voting down the fake unity proposal of the Stalinists, went on record endorsing the unity negotiations of the National Committee of the N.U.L. carried on with bona-fide unemployed organizations on a national scale, calling for a rank and file merger convention based on a militant, class struggle program.

Labor Party Resolution

Another resolution introduced by the C. P., which had managed to

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Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

The World Do Move...

A convention of the unemployed, numerous mass meetings (one, of women organizing to stop the rapid rise in the cost of living), and a picket line for the cause of academic freedom—these are some of the events that have prevented me this week from collecting the usual items from Oshkosh, Timbuctoo and Talahassee. Instead of recounting the inane drive of captains of industry, bank presidents and ward heelers risen to high position, the entire column this week is devoted to episodes from lives of workers.

Two years ago at the convention of the National Unemployed League a riot almost ensued when the organization's loyalty to the American flag was brought into question. Last week at the Pennsylvania U. L. convention the audience cheered such statements: "The National Unemployed League stands for the complete destruction of capitalism and we know this can't be done except by revolutionary action of the workers under the inspiration and leadership of a revolutionary political party!"

The cops ordered 70 year old Mother Kimmel to stop distributing leaflets announcing a workers' meeting. "I've picketed the White House in Washington. Hundreds of police tried to stop me. Why should I be afraid of you?" she remarked as she continued to pass out the bills. She was not arrested. What a movement we would have if the young folks were as active as Mother Kimmel! She never misses a picketline, eviction, demonstration or committee meeting. At the P.U.L. convention an intense quiet fell over the hall as she told in simple but dignified language of her faith in the power of the workers.

Who Respects the Flag?

PREACHER PICKETS — PROFESSOR HEADS PICKET LINE — COPS DESTROY AMERICAN FLAG — WORKERS UNITE FOR ACADEMIC FREEDOM. I'm referring to events in the case of Dr. Winslow Hallett, recently dismissed from his position at Cedar Crest College because of his activities in behalf of labor.

Labor unions, professional men and the organized unemployed united on the picket line in his defense. Headed by the Stars and Stripes, the flag of the Christian Church, various union insignia and the rat-skin flag of colonial days (now the banner of the Unemployed League) the picketline began to wend its way in protest to the dictatorial control of education by bank presidents and businessmen.

State troopers, county sheriffs and deputies, and city police were present to defend the status quo. They attempted to stop the procession. "Why can't we walk peacefully on a public highway?" asked the crowd. Angered that their authority should be questioned, the cops charged the line, seized the American flag and tore it partially from its pole. An angry roar arose from the enraged pickets and a general melee resulted for several seconds. "You tell us to respect the flag but you tear it up and toss it aside," cried the workers to the cops.

The flag of the Christian Church is white with a red cross set in a blue field in the upper right hand corner. It was carried by Rev. Paul Cotton, recently ousted from his church because he cast his lot with the working class rather than with the barons of Bethlehem Steel. Rev. Cotton received a new insight into the meaning of academic dignity when he presented a petition for Dr. Hallett's reinstatement to Dr. Wm. F. Curtis, President of the school. Dr. Curtis, thinking Dr. Cotton a commencement guest, greeted him cordially. When he recognized the contents of the petition, however, he raged like a madman, ordered Dr. Cotton from the building and pushed him out when he did not move fast enough.

"Don't Worry Your Little Heads"

A cheer arose as Dr. Hallett came from the commencement exercises and joined the pickets. He carried a large placard: **TEACH THE TRUTH TO AMERICAN YOUTH.** Workers rallied around him. Earlier in the morning one of his faculty colleagues refused to walk in the commencement procession with him.

Charm School: "You poor little kittens, worrying about problems that bigger minds than yours cannot solve!" remarked Miss Esther Engle, teacher at the college, to girls sympathetic to Dr. Hallett.

At a student meeting called to counteract a petition being circulated among the students for the reinstatement of Dr. Hallett, one of the teachers said: "During the eight years I've been at Cedar Crest, ten teachers have come and gone. All have done so with dignity. Had Dr. Hallett done likewise, new and beautiful pastures would have opened before him."

P. U. L. Convention Marks Great Stride Forward

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get representation from one or two leagues, called for the creation of an "Anti-Capitalist Labor Party." Conferences to establish such a labor party on a state scale were to be held within a month!

Delegate Slinger, 8th Ward, Allentown, speaking for this resolution, stated in effect: "I am a Communist. I am for a Labor Party because such a party will vote workers into office (!). Against the parties of the bosses the workers need a party of their own, a Labor Party."

Delegate Ed. Moser, speaking against the resolution, said: "I am a member of the Workers Party. My experiences in the Unemployed Leagues have convinced me that against the bosses and their parties the workers can be effective only by revolutionary mass action, not by the false hope of voting capitalism out. I do not at this time call upon the P.U.L. to join with the Workers Party but I wish to take this opportunity to express my views just as members of other political parties have the right to express theirs. The previous speaker is a member of another party which claims to speak for the working class. Now, he proposes that we should form a new party, aside from his own—a labor party. That party is supposed to be for the rest of us, a party for second class citizens, so to speak. What sort of sense does that make? We have seen Labor Parties in action before. In Minneapolis last year, during the truck drivers' strike, the Labor Party governor sent out the troops to shoot down the strikers. That sort of party the workers have no use for. We need a party that will not act as a strike-breaker, a party that will act to overthrow capitalism."

For Revolutionary Action

Delegate Spencer, of Easton, also took up the cudgels for the Labor Party. In his opinion, a Labor

Party was needed to "abolish the miseries of capitalism." Ernest R. McKinney, vice-president of the N.U.L., replying to this speaker, pointed out in the course of a brief but pungent address, that the N.U.L. itself, in its constitution rejected the idea of abolishing the "miseries of capitalism."

"The constitution of the National Unemployed League," McKinney stressed, "stands for the complete destruction of capitalism. We know this can't be done except by revolutionary action of the workers under the inspiration and leadership of a revolutionary political party."

He urged that the reformist Labor Party resolution of the C. P. be voted down. It was. Instead, the convention went on record reaffirming the stand of the P.U.L. for independent political working class action, based on the experiences of the workers in the course of their struggles.

This bid for support of their reformist venture netted the Stalinists a lesson in revolutionary conduct. The Unemployed Leagues proved themselves too well tempered in the class struggle to fall for the bogus Labor Party campaign of the bankrupt C. P.

New Officers Elected

The convention concluded its sessions with the election of officers and of a state committee. Those elected for the coming year are: Walter Weldon, President; Andrew Budhas, First Vice-President and Organizational Director; Mike Demchak, Second Vice-President; Louis Breier, Third Vice-President; Edwin Zeiser, Fourth Vice-President; Lester Heckman, Secretary; Ralph Weaver, Treasurer; Bill Reich, Educational Director.

A stirring speech of excellent revolutionary and educational value, made by the National President of the Unemployed Leagues, Anthony Ramuglia, brought the program to a close.

united front in defense of class war prisoners!

According to Herbert Solow, who has corresponded with Mini on the matter, the I.L.D.'s refusal to consider the possibility of joint action even to the extent of having a single, joint legal staff, would compel the N.P.L.D. to undertake an entirely separate appeal for Mini. The N.P.L.D. opposes leaving the entire matter in the I.L.D.'s hands, a suggestion made to Mini by Leo Gallagher, I.L.D. lawyer.

Mini Rejects I.L.D.

"Our opinion is that an appeal subject to the sole control of the I.L.D. might very well turn out to be worthless. The manner in which the I.L.D. conducted its trial fight, the often disastrous tactics of Leo Gallagher, the I.L.D.'s isolation from the organized labor movement, give no grounds for hope for such an appeal."

"In the interests of all the defendants, we must fight to force the I.L.D. into a joint appeal if that is possible. If not, we must go on independently. This is not simply our view. Norman Mini writes us as follows:

"After my experiences with I. L.D. 'honor' and with their legal and political abilities, I'd have imagined that no one would think me naive enough to turn my fate over to the I.L.D. unconditional."

"In view of the situation, we call on all friends of the labor movement to support the Mini Appeal Dinner and our future activities."

Mini's requests to the N.P.L.D. for literature have been filled in part. He is now receiving the New York Times every day, and The Nation every week. He has been sent "Manhattan Transfer" by John Dos Passos. His request for the New International was filled also, but the prison authorities confiscated the theoretical organ of Mini's party. A protest against this action is being organized by the N.P.L.D.

Fur Workers Unite In One Organization

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clear. Those already in the International and the Unity Group must merge their forces and carry on the fight to make the Union a democratic, militant one, and to banish from its ranks any recourse to the "splitting squads" and other questionable methods of the Gold leadership as well as the autocratic and class-collaboration policies of the reactionaries.

With the unification of the fur workers, a campaign of organization in preparation for a struggle to bring union conditions into the fur industry of New York is on the order of the day.

COPPER MINERS STRIKE AT PHELPS-DODGE

LOWELL, Ariz. (FP).—Firing of eight copper miners for union activity by the notoriously anti-labor Phelps-Dodge Corp. has led to a strike of the Bisbee Miners Union. The strike was about 75 percent effective at the start.

Dunne Blasts C.P. in Debate

After Complete Rout Stalinists Apologize For Disruption

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—Representatives from the C. P. and the Workers Party met on the platform of the Labor Lyceum on May 29 and debated the municipal election policy of the two parties. V. R. Dunne of the Workers Party upheld the position of the W.P. and Harry Mayville spoke for the C.P. The debate was sponsored by the District Executive Committee of the Workmen's Circle, with Ruben Latz of that group acting as chairman.

Tiala Ducks Out

Alfred Tiala, district organizer for the C.P., was scheduled to speak for the negative, but failed to appear. As a matter of fact the Stalinists arrived in a body, with a noisy clique all organized, and obviously had no intention of going through with the debate, though it had been widely advertised on the North Side for some days in advance. Their plans called for branding the whole affair a fake and then taking over the meeting and disbanding it. But Harry Mayville, a leading Stalinist here, insisted on going through with the debate as scheduled and agreed to speak for the C.P.'s position on the municipal elections.

V. R. Dunne led off by posing the tasks of the revolutionary party, giving the history of the Workers Party of the United States, and then proceeded to evaluate the relative importance of the municipal election. He was careful to point out that the Farmer-Laborites in office are not to be trusted; that such a reformist party could never make any lasting gains for the workers. He showed that by supporting the Farmer-Labor ticket in the coming election, the W. P. was simply showing its readiness to go with the workers who want to deal a blow to the bloody Citizens Alliance regime which had ordered the shooting of workers in the Truck Drivers Strike last year. With the issue so clearly drawn it would be a mistake for the revolutionary party to risk the defection of enough votes to permit the Citizens Alliance candidates to win.

Mayville then took the floor and expounded the Stalinist position, exhibiting all the weaknesses and flaws in their distorted "theory." He urged the workers not to support the Farmer-Laborites as they had voted machine guns, pay for the deputies, etc., in the city council. Yet in the next breath he would insist that "the Farmer-Labor Party can be transformed into a class struggle party." Instead of one Olson, the Stalinists would give us a thousand.

Dunne on Stalinism

In his second speech, V. R. Dunne went into the disasters of Stalinism on an international scale—the British General Strike, and the infamous bloc with Purcell and Hicks; the complete subordination of the Chinese C. P. to the petty bourgeois Kou Min Tang, with the subsequent blood-letting of the revolution; the C. P.'s tragic behavior in Germany; its non-appearance in Austria and Spain; its milk and water position in France. "The Communist Party today is no more the party of Lenin than is the Republican Party the party of Lincoln," stated Dunne.

Mayville's tongue was covered with hair when it came to answering our charges. Social fascism, the united front from below, the C. P.'s recent stand against a labor party, the participation of Russia in the League of Nations—not a word about this monstrous bouquet from Mayville. "You still read about the bandit armies in China," he said. "I guess that looks like the Chinese revolution is sunk, eh?"

It should be stressed that Mayville's pitiful theoretical armor is certainly no exception among the Stalinists—rather is he better prepared than his other comrades. Yet he either does not know the facts of international politics or he does not know Lenin. For him, for instance, the Chinese revolution can come about without the leadership of the city workers. For him the Chinese revolution can come about even though the revolutionary parties lie crushed and bleeding from a thousand wounds, or as yet weak and impotent. And so on, down through the list.

Old Slanders Answered

All the old charges were brought up against us during the question period. We "Trotskyites" had urged the truck strikers to beat up the Stalinists; we had not gone on the picket lines; six years ago V. R. Dunne had hit this Stalinist and sent him to the hospital; had broken that man's jaw on Bridge Square; Grant Dunne had voted in the Central Labor Union to offer Governor Olson a vote of thanks for his use of the militia in the truck strike; we had called Mayville and the rest of the Stalinist "United Front" candidates "tools of the Citizens Alliance"; we had not exposed Olson in the Organizer, the daily strike bulletin; Trotsky was kicked out of the Soviet Union because he called for production of consumers goods

Letters to the Editor

From Comrade To "Disrupter", C.P. Style

WACO, Texas.—How the Communist Party "protects" class-war prisoners is shown by its final betrayal of Dr. John Greenberg. Dr. Greenberg, who is being deported to Roumania for activities in behalf of the Communist Party, has been denied a visa to the Soviet Union—upon recommendation of the Communist Party.

Three years ago, Greenberg, a local dentist, began to organize the workers and farmers in this vicinity. Although many lynchings have occurred in this plantation area, Greenberg preached inter-racial equality and unity from the public square. To the Communist Party at that time, the Jewish dentist was "Comrade Greenberg." But when he was seized by the Immigration Department, he immediately became a "disrupter."

This was a most convenient method to free the organization from its elementary obligation of defending a man who had risked his life for its principles. Greenberg was arrested three years ago. The International Labor Defense has never issued a mass appeal for a struggle in his behalf. The Daily Worker has barely mentioned the incident. Instead of arousing sup-

port for a man whose theoretical knowledge is very valuable, the members of the Communist Party in this state engaged in a whispering campaign.

While the charges were still pending against Greenberg, the International Labor Defense and Communist Party withdrew entirely from the case. The district organization of the C.P. served notice that Greenberg was no longer to be recognized as a comrade. The dentist had offended the Party by criticizing the inadequacy of his defense. Greenberg was in no danger, anyhow, so the district organization said.

Suddenly and without warning, the Department of Labor issued a warrant of deportation for the dentist. In desperation, Greenberg applied for a passport to the Soviet Union. The district organizer of the Communist Party came here several weeks ago, made inquiries, looked wise, and said nothing. That his report upon the matter was unfavorable is obvious. John Greenberg goes to Roumania and the gallows. The fascist government of King Carol may congratulate itself upon possessing such sincere and uncompromising revolutionary allies.

—Worker Correspondent.

The Manager's Corner

The campaign for the eight-page New Militant is on. August first is the time for its appearance.

All preparations are now on the rush order list. In the office steps are being taken to build up a staff of capable writers and to work out the general character and the type of contents for the enlarged issues. Our readers may rest assured that there will be a good many new and valuable features added. Detailed announcements of this phase of our efforts will be made as we go along with the campaign.

The next step we now leave up to the New Militant supporters. That should be expressed concretely. In last week's issue various ways of realizing the funds necessary were proposed. At this time suffice it to emphasize only the fact that the first response should be a direct cash contribution. Such matters as obtaining pledges for the security fund, soliciting advance subscriptions and sending in greetings to the first eight-page issue should follow next. But as a whole the various means proposed can be made use of.

We shall forward the necessary material to follow up in the campaign to all Workers Party branches and to all supporters of our press. Meanwhile there should be no delay in taking the first step and forwarding the cash contributions.

Let it be clearly understood that we have essentially one subject in view by the proposed enlargement of the New Militant: namely to build up a much more effective party spokesman, educator and organizer; to afford a much more effective champion of the cause of the working class now faced with momentous struggles. This is the objective. This is how we propose to face the working class problems of the future. It is for this

rather than capital goods; etc., etc.

These, I'es and slanders were each one, branded for what they were by our representative. We have answered them a hundred times before, yet they will undoubtedly be hurled at us a hundred times in the future. It is only in this way that Stalin and his bureaucrats can retain their "monolith."

Complete Rout of C. P.

Unquestionably, many of their representatives were astonished to hear from a Workers Party spokesman what the Workers Party really stands for, what our stand is towards the Soviet Union, etc. When the debate was clearly turning into a complete rout for them, the C. P. leaders and their sympathizers resorted to disruptive tactics. They took the floor for speeches instead of questions, they refused to sit down. They refused to permit our questioners to get at Mayville. Several times the meeting threatened to end up in a free-for-all. At the hint of violence the more timid Farmer-Laborites quickly left the hall. The chairman finally established order and the meeting came to a close.

It is interesting to note that a couple of days later, a committee from the Stalinists called on Latz, the chairman, and apologized for their behavior during the debate. "But after all, how did you expect us to sit there and hear our Party criticized so?" A Baptist deacon hearing a few facts about God feels much the same way.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
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5 Washington Square North
1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays
and Holidays.

Rubber Barons Begin Offensive

New Line Is Pretext for Firing Active Progressives

By GEORGE PAPCUN

AKRON, Ohio.—The NRA castigation by the United States Supreme Court had its immediate repercussions in Akron rubber plants. The rubber barons wasted but little time in calling the meeting of the board of directors of the rubber manufacturers association, which started its meeting in New York City on June 4.

The unions in their weakened position have not been combated openly by the rubber manufacturers, but rather through soft-soaping which disarmed them in the matter of grievances since their betrayal in April. And there is no doubt in any of the rubber workers' minds today in Akron that under the pretense of seasonal lay-offs in the rubber industry that the manufacturers, especially in tire, are taking steps to rid the plants of the militant trade union members within.

Second Offensive

This will be the second offensive of the rubber barons against the rubber workers since the betrayal. The first was when the India Rubber Co. was forced to lock out its workers until they agreed to an open shop in the only closed shop tire plant in the entire country. This is no secret, as everyone in and around Akron was well aware of it. And after being out several weeks, picketing the plant 24 hours of the day, the open shop was put over with the help of Colman C. Claherty who shadow-boxed against the India Rubber Co. but took no measures to put up a real stand against the drive of the rubber manufacturers.

The dirtiest part of the whole fake fight of Claherty was that he refused to declare a strike, and got the workers to believing that they merely should try to show the public that it was the India Rubber Co.'s fault, without any real fighting measures to combat the company. This company, which is a small tire building concern, could have been combated even through the weak sabotage methods of asking the members of unions not to buy union made tires. In the main this is the way that the company's trade has been built up throughout the entire country. And once a bankrupt concern, it was able to build a big business and begin to show a profit on the basis of its trade among union members and the strength of its union label.

Lay-Off Begins

The same thing is happening in this present attack on the rubber workers, which the officers of the rubber manufacturers call a seasonal lay-off. It will be merely a means to get rid of the fighting trade union members, to starve them into submission, or to completely eliminate them. In this of course, the rubber barons are helped by the fact that they have huge stocks on hand remaining from the preparation for the strike last April. The leadership of the unions in public statements are refusing to attach any significance to the meeting in N. Y. where all of the leading officials of the Big Four Tire Companies will be present. This despite the fact that the Supreme Court decision on the NRA is expected to be discussed, and the semi-secrecy in which the meeting was called. It was only accidentally that it leaked out in the local press. In spite of the denials of the rubber company it is agreed by most people that the meeting will take up the question of hours and wages. This is especially important because even in view of the price war that has broken out among the tire companies.

Progressives Active

The NRA was used to prevent strikes in the rubber industry during the last 18 months when rubber workers could have gained something through a struggle which was prevented by the cooperation of the officials of the rubber workers' union and the government. And now the weakened condition of the unions no doubt encourages the rubber barons to get rid of the last vestige of unionism in the rubber plants.

The rubber barons, however, are not taking into account the reaction of the workers, who have had a lot of experience, and this may be the beginning of another attempt on the part of the workers to establish a real union in Akron. Workers are already talking about an International. Attempts are being made to mobilize a progressive group to combat Coleman C. Claherty and other enemies inside the organization. This is a slow and tedious process.

MINNEAPOLIS (FP).—Tom Latimer, lawyer long identified with Farmer-Labor and radical movements in Minnesota, was elected mayor of Minneapolis June 10. He was endorsed by the Farmer-Labor organization. The reactionary Mayor Bainbridge, who conducted a bloody attack on the teamster strikers last summer, was snowed under in the primaries.

What to Attend

CHICAGO PICNIC SUNDAY, JUNE 23 at Forest Glen (Forest Preserves)

Directions: Elston Car to end of line—transfer to bus and get off at Forest Glen Avenue.

Sunday, June 16—Hike to Hunters Island. Starting 10:30 A.M. Take Lexington Ave. Subway to Pelham Park and hike the rest of way. Auspices: Spartacus Youth League.

Sunday, June 16.—Harlem Branch hike-picnic to Palisades, across Dyckman's St. ferry. Meet at 29 West 120th St. no later than 9:30 sharp. Drawing of 3-prize raffle, games, eats.

Saturday, June 22, 8:30 p.m.—Dance & entertainment given by Branch 1 at branch headquarters, 420 E. 19th St.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

Imperialist Objectives...

The Hearst yellow press expresses most openly and brazenly the aims and objectives of American imperialism. Ever since Roosevelt's recognition of Soviet Russia, dictated by the Japanese seizure of larger and larger slices of China and the futile attempt of American capitalism to call a halt to this process of political pressure, Hearst has been engaged in a vicious counter-propaganda to bring about the breaking off of this recognition. The recent decision of the boss class to push Japan into a war of intervention against the Soviet Union, as manifested by the withdrawal of consuls and military aides from Russia and the serving of notice for all the imperialist world that America did not contemplate a military alliance with Russia against Japan, was hailed by the yellow press as a first step in the right direction. Such articles as those of Representative Tinkham of Massachusetts attempting to prove the "repeated breaking" of the Litvinov pledge not to aid or foster any organization having as its aim the overthrow of American capitalism or the American government, were designed to press for still further reactionary steps against the Soviets. And now to climax the black wave of chauvinism set in motion by the imperialists, there appears the article by the American Imperialist Admiral, formerly commander of the Hawaii Naval Base, Yates Sterling. Every worker should read carefully this epitome of the major objectives of the American capitalist class in the coming war.

The Call for War...

In essence Sterling issues a call to arms to capitalism against the menace of Bolshevism and proletarian revolution. This is the fundamental conflict of our epoch, the international outcome of the class struggle—the victory either of communism or of capitalism. In terms of this basic issue Sterling appeals to the nations of Europe—that is to the capitalist ruling class—to close the ranks, to present one united front against the Soviet Union. It would be a terrible blunder, he feels, for the capitalist nations to permit themselves to be divided into two camps by their relatively minor clashes of interests. "Soviet Russia remains an important, if not the most vital factor in any plan for the stabilization of Europe, yet the doctrines of Bolshevism ever remain a menace to all capitalist nations. Will the rest of Europe divide against itself and give Russian propaganda an opportunity to drive a Red wedge between the divisions?" The American admiral then indicates how capitalism may revive its waning strength at the

expense of Russia and China. Germany must convince the rest of Europe, in particular France, that her arming is solely for use against the Soviets.

"If Germany can make Europe believe that her rearming is against Russia, and that Russia is a great danger, might not the Little Entente fly asunder and realign itself with Germany against a common enemy—Communism? Where then will be the Franco-Russian pact? Where indeed! Sterling hopes fervently for the appearance of a leader (Hitler) with the driving power to unite capitalism under a single banner. "In the guise of such a great crusade, maybe yet inarticulate in men's thoughts, cannot one see the outlines of a daring plan, not only forever (forever, Admiral!) laying the ghost of Bolshevism but for opening up the fertile lands of Russia to a crowded and industrially hungry Europe?" The Marxist could set forth no more clearly the way in which capitalism hopes to issue from its general world crisis—by the method of war and plunder, the subjugation of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Asia. This is the only method known to imperialism in its desire to maintain the system of exploitation. The imperialists look with greedy eyes on the one-sixth of the globe under the banner of the Soviets, thereby cut off from capitalist exploitation and the making of profits. Sterling shows how the war will start the wheels of industry going—for the purposes of human and material destruction. The tens of millions of lives that will be sacrificed in this "crusade" will be counted well spent by the imperialists if they are shed for the preservation of a system rapidly decaying towards barbarism.

American Preparation

The United States is preparing just as feverishly as the other capitalist nations for the next world war. These preparations are not merely of a military technical nature. Sterling shows clearly the preliminary arrangements of political objectives in the coming catastrophe. It is no accident that Sterling writes in this fashion at this time. The American ruling class is preparing internally also for the conflict that will determine its future in Asia, its life or death. The scrapping of all pretences that the government seeks the "betterment" of the masses, the casting aside of the shams of the NRA, the open and more and more brutal attack on the working class in this country, are all preparations also for the next war. The ruling class shows its mailed fist internally and externally to its greatest enemy, the world proletariat. And first and foremost to the American working class.

How the Stalinists Ruin The Morale of the Red Army

By ALPHA

In recent months, the Kremlin has set about—with enviable zeal!—to revise the history of the Red Army. The aim of this revision is to demonstrate, if not in form then in content, that Trotsky fought in the camp of the White Guards against the Soviets. We are not exaggerating. Trotsky, they aver, introduced "nests of white guards" into the Red Army at the Eastern Front, who would unfailingly have ruined the cause of the revolution if Stalin had not intervened in the nick of time and cleansed the army of Trotsky's agents. At the same time Trotsky shot communists, who fought courageously in the ranks of the Red Army, and the affair would inevitably have ended in catastrophe if once again it had not been for the salutary intervention of Stalin, who personally prefers to shoot Communists in peace time.

These exceedingly interesting and in a manner of speaking, "sensational" revelations raise several questions.

Pertinent Questions

First: Why are these revelations so belated? Is it because the young soviet savants have dug up a number of unexpected discoveries from the archives or because a new generation has grown up which knows nothing of the past?

Secondly: What relation have these recent revelations with previous ones? At the close of 1923 they accused Trotsky of underestimating the peasantry and of favoring the "permanent revolution." Now, they declare that since 1917 Trotsky was in reality an agent of the Whites in the Red Army, which was created by Stalin. Then why have they dined into the ears of all humanity over a period of years about "under-estimation of the peasantry" and other trash of the same gender, if it concerned not a revolutionist but a counter-revolutionist?

Thirdly: Why did the Bolshevik Party for seven years (1918-1925) keep at the head of the Red Army a man who might have destroyed it and not nominate Stalin who created it? It is impossible to explain

that only by the well-known modes of Stalin, for what was involved here was the life and death of the revolution. It is also impossible to speak of the sparsity of information in the party: Stalin knew what he was doing when he cleansed the Red Army of the counter-revolutionary nests introduced in it by Trotsky and when he stopped the execution of communists, which right he reserves exclusively for himself. And since Stalin could not have acted without the authority of the Political Bureau, this also means that the Political Bureau was informed of the affair.

What About Lenin?

Certainly the Political Bureau of that time was composed in its majority of counter-revolutionists or of candidates for the counter-revolution (Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev). But Lenin? Let us grant that he was a bad judge of things and people (his "testament" allows us to come to such a conclusion). But Stalin himself? Why did he not pose before the Central Committee and before the Party the question of the insidious work of Trotsky in the Red Army at the time of civil war?

The Red Soldier who knows how to read and to reflect, in remarking the old pamphlets or magazines, must say to himself:

"For seven years Trotsky was at the head of the Red Army and the Red Fleet. They named him the leader of the armed forces of the Soviet Republic. Trotsky received the oath of the Red Soldiers. He has shown himself to be a traitor. His criminal acts caused hundreds of thousands of superfluous victims. Who has deceived us? The Political Bureau with Lenin at its head. That is to say, there sat in the Political Bureau traitors and men who shielded traitors. But perhaps they will deceive me again? They speak to me of the treachery of Trotsky only ten years after his retirement. And when will they speak to me of the treachery of Stalin and Voroshilov? Who can one believe?" That is what the young reflective Red Soldier would say. The old

(By ICL Press Service)

The re-establishment of compulsory military service in Germany, on March 16, 1935, marks an important stage on the road to the second imperialist world war. But of still greater importance is the fact that the other European and international powers have accepted this fact, almost without any resistance whatsoever on their part. This reaction characterizes perfectly the contradictions of imperialism: the contradictions of imperialism have already attained to so great a tension that every imperialist action can lead only to the outburst of a new war. War, however, bears with it dangers to the bourgeoisie itself: the German bourgeoisie, wracked by the fever of colossal crises, and with its imperialist wings considerably clipped by the defeat in the Great War, suffered particularly under the blows of the world economic crisis.

The internal tension in Germany continued to become aggravated up to the breaking point, and it posed the alternative: either the abolition of the capitalist system, or the installation of the Fascist dictatorship. And the latter implied that the German imperialism would actively resume the struggle for its "place in the sun," that is to say, the tenacious political and military preparation for war.

"Drang Nach Osten"

This preparation had to occur in stages, of which the initial and most important stage is the destruction of the working class movement, and the enslavement of the entire German proletariat. A disarmed proletariat is not only the necessary pre-requisite for intense exploitation, but it is also, at the same time, the necessary guarantee for the possibility of preparing war without being fettered internally, so that the outbreak of the war does not meet with any organized resistance on the part of the proletarian masses. After having hurdled this first stage, with more than adequate success, Fascism is actually proceeding to concentrate its attention upon the military and ideological preparation for war. Compulsory military service is the symbol of it.

Let us briefly review once again the European and international scene. We have already sketched in the background the instability and the force of the imperialist contradictions which do not allow any check to be exercised upon the aggressiveness of German imperialism. While the Fascist dictatorship in no way hides its "Drang Nach Osten" (the Drive Eastward), while it flaunts the obstacles on this road, such as the "Eastern Pact"—so many times discussed and so frequently modified—and while it openly refuses to conclude a "non-aggression pact" with Lithuania, the avenue for the invasion of the U.S.S.R., but poses instead as the "bulwark against the world danger of Bolshevism"—all the efforts of other imperialist powers (with the exception of Japan and Poland, the allies of Germany) are aimed towards maintaining the international and European status quo. This is not a solution, but merely the protraction of the solution. The only solution possible for the materialist contradiction is, as always, war.

No Solution at All

All the efforts to maintain the European status quo, and all the results achieved on this path are only of a provisional and temporary character. The only solution possible for the materialist contradiction is, as always, war.

When they accused Trotsky of 'under-estimating the peasantry' I thought it might probably be true: the question was complex and difficult to figure out. But when they tell me that Trotsky introduced nests of white guards in the Red Army then I say squarely: the present leaders are lying! And if they lie so impudently on the civil war, then truly they also lie on the matter of the 'under-estimation' of the peasantry."

The result of the new campaign of sensational revelations can only be the following: ruining confidence in the leadership, in the old and the new, in all leadership.

"Killed" Again

One has then to ask oneself: why then does the Stalinist clique find it necessary at the present time—1935—to embark on such double-edged revelations, which at least, are 50 percent self-revelations? Trotskyism was killed in 1925, then killed again in 1927, irrevocably killed in 1928 (deportation of Trotsky to Alma Ata) the "last remains" of the "miserable debris" were once again exterminated after Trotsky's expulsion from the country where he was conclusively "unmasked" as an agent of imperialism. It seems that it would be time to pass to the order of the day. But no, messieurs, the leaders cannot remain at peace; they find it necessary to wrack their brains: would it be possible to invent something else, stronger, more powerful and truly kill this Trotskyism that has already been killed at least seven times.

Consequences of Hitler's Program for The International Working Class

ary nature; they are based solely upon an agreement to do nothing except maintain the condition of stability. This situation received its classic illustration, just recently, at the Stresa Conference.

What is the important aspect in this situation as regards Fascist Germany? From the diplomatic standpoint, the leading role claimed by Germany in its campaign against the U.S.S.R. is not yet an accomplished fact;—but with regard to political power, Germany is able to gain the time, the occasion and the possibility to deploy and strengthen its position, and to prepare carefully for its invasion of the East, and at the same time to increase its importance as a leading or an allied factor.

Such is the situation as it actually shapes itself on the political horizon. The question of war is posed, and it stands; the question of "when, how and where?" does not bear a decisive importance. It may well be that the Archduke who will this time go travelling to Sarajevo has not packed his trunk yet.

But there is indeed another, and a very burning question: it is the necessity for preparing the international working class for the coming military conflicts, and for forging all its forces into a solid front of international resistance against a new world slaughter.

In Germany Proper

But how does this question pose itself in Germany, the pivot point of the drive towards the imperialist war?

The German working class still finds itself in an atomized and disoriented condition. The Fascist dictatorship has accomplished in thoroughgoing manner the job of destroying the workingclass organizations, and even bourgeois and reactionary organizations which could become the centers of opposition. Only recently the "German Labor Front," a concoction of the debris of reformist trade unions, underwent another transmutation, being "incorporated" with the capitalist exploiters and white-collar slaves. There is not a vestige left of a purely working class organization.

The militarization of daily life has proceeded still further, of recent days. The life of the entire population has been clamped within the military framework. The forms may differ, but the essence remains the same. Already the school children are compelled to receive military training, and in the train there follow military exercises, compulsory labor, extra-curricular mili-

tary sports, rounded out by forced labor for the unemployed. Work in the industrial enterprises has assumed more and more open military forms, particularly since the establishment of the so-called "Law of Labor," in accordance with which the boss is entitled "the chief" of the enterprise, and the workers the "followers." All these varieties of military forms are now crowned with compulsory military service.

Labor Passive

This militarization of all the phases of national life cannot pass without consequences. The masses of the population are under the permanent press of Fascism. The absence of any serious possibilities for resistance must act to extend the feeling of submission to the Fascist hangmen, superimposed upon the realization of the grave defeat suffered in 1933. At present the outstanding characteristic of the masses of the population is passivity, and the widest strata are already plunged into complete apathy. To this must be added the fact that the youth, who are the prime material for militarization, lack political experience, and their manifestations of discontent are for the most part merely lost in the void. The revolutionary proletarian cadres are still too weak and few in Germany, and they are in no condition to intervene everywhere they should. Disintegrated in the past by the reformist and Stalinist schools they still lack today the possibility of finding a correct political orientation, and by this very fact, likewise the possibility of applying the necessary and corresponding tactics.

According to reports coming from Germany, there prevails among the widest strata a spirit of fatalism as regards the war danger. The outbreak of the war, its inevitability, appear to them to be a certainty. This reveals not an enthusiasm for war, but rather fatalism and apathy. The compulsory military service implies the further strengthening of the Fascist dictatorship; it assuredly meets with the approbation of wide strata of the population, particularly among the petty-bourgeoisie who aspire to new posts, and who hope for a boom in their affairs, and it acts to strengthen the feeling of impotence among the rest: "Hitler can do whatever he pleases."

The Double-Edged Sword

Conscription has bound the German proletariat more firmly in its chains, and it poses new and colossal tasks before the revolutionary elements. Anti-militaristic work has

become the principal task ahead. Compulsory service opens up new anti-fascist and revolutionary possibilities but it also presents new and onerous duties. The fate of the impending Fascist war against the U.S.S.R. depends above all on the success of the anti-militarist work in Germany. Universal military service is a double-edged sword for the Fascist dictatorship, as well. Our task must consist in seeing to it that the weapons which are now in the hands of the German proletariat be turned in the last analysis against the Fascists themselves. This requires tenacious and systematic work.

It is impossible to conceive of genuine success in revolutionary and anti-militarist work in Germany except from the standpoint of the formation of a new communist party. But the starting point for the latter is not as yet very favorable. It is true that here and there revolutionary cadres obtain new possibilities to carry on work and at times even the opportunity to assume the leadership of isolated actions, above all in the enterprises, and in the forced labor camps; but these successes are very small indeed. They do not at all imply the transition of the working class to the offensive. The Stalinists continue to pursue their old methods of action at any price, without taking stock of the possible consequences. Up to now, this method, as has been amply demonstrated, does more harm than good. And it is precisely the work under new conditions that demands a complete break with these old methods. With the war drawing closer, the question of the new communist party assumes an ever increasing sharpness.

International Support Vital

But the question of raising the class conscious power of the German proletariat is, primarily, an international question. In Germany the best forces await the assistance of the international working class. An active struggle against the war danger in other countries would have a revivifying repercussion upon the German proletariat. On the other hand, the policy of "national unity" in countries outside of Germany could not fail to augment the disorganization and the disorientation of the German working class. Just as the question of the new communist party poses itself in Germany in all its sharpness, so the question of the Fourth International is posed before the international proletariat. A serious step forward taken in this direction would have important repercussions in Germany. Today, more than ever the German proletariat depends upon international solidarity and the international class struggle.

British I. L. P. Marks Time Report of Conference Shows

We reprint the following account and analysis of the conference of the British Independent Labor Party from the Vanguard, bi-weekly organ of the Workers Party of Canada.—Ed.

The 43rd Annual Conference of the British I.L.P. held at Derby during Easter week-end was looked forward to with keen interest by all sections of the revolutionary working class movement. The party's participation in the conferences of the independent revolutionary socialist parties, its united front activities with the C.P.G.B., its estimation of the international situation were expected to provide lively and interesting debate.

No decision however of a definite character regarding future policy was made, unless we are to consider an endorsement of the policy of the present leadership as such. But this was more an endorsement of a lack of policy than otherwise.

Compared with past conferences the debate brought out the fundamental tendencies reflected in the international movement more sharply and clearly than ever before, and indicated that despite the expressed desire of the National Committee, "to preserve an even keel among all the stormy currents" (Maxton) the I.L.P. membership is being forced by the pressure of international events to make up its mind in which direction it must travel.

Stalinists Balked

One thing stands out from the proceedings—that the hope of the Stalinists to "capture" the I.L.P. or win it for affiliation to the Comintern is now a dead issue. This was clearly evidenced in the debates and in the waning support given to the spokesmen of this tendency. The decision on the Guild of Youth (I.L.P.) means the affiliation of the Guild to the Young Communist International is now definitely broken and although a small minority of the youth will probably go home to Stalinism, the main body are earnestly seeking a revolutionary orientation particularly internationally, which will lead them away from Stalinism onto the path of a New Youth International. In this respect they can render a great service to the I.L.P. in exposing and undermining the centrist role and influence of the N.A.C.

While the United front with the C. P. remains on the books there was much denunciation of the "uselessness" of these activities. McGovern referred to the C. I. as a "bogus international," and when Stephen said in effect that there must be something far wrong with the C. I. when it continues to characterize one of the world's foremost revolutionists and thinkers, L. D. Trotsky, as a "counter-revolutionist," there took place one of the most demonstrative ovations of the whole conference.

Three Main Lines

Fenner Brockway writes in the New Leader, that three main lines of thought or policy manifested themselves at the conference. To quote from his article:

"They may be described broadly as the 'Communist' line, the 'Trotsky' line, and the 'Revolutionary Socialist' line. The I.L.P. Conference proved that the vast majority of the I.L.P. accept the 'Revolutionary Socialist' line, and only fractions the 'Communist' and 'Trotsky' line."

He describes these "lines" as follows:

"The 'Communist' line would join the I.L.P. and the Communist Party together in a United Communist Party affiliated to the Communist International. The 'Trotsky' line would form a New International. The 'Revolutionary Socialist' line sees that the future revolutionary movement, both in this country and internationally must be something much bigger than a union of forces between the I.L.P. and the Communist Party or the Revolutionary Parties and the Communist International."

"It (the R. S. line) recognizes that revolutionary Socialist thought and spirit is growing in all sections of the working class. It is inevitable that under the present conditions in the world it should grow everywhere."

"The time must come when this common thought and spirit will leap over all organizational barriers and create the united revolutionary movement which alone will be equal to the task of winning workers' power and establishing socialism."

"To join the Communist International or to form a Fourth International under these circumstances is

to postpone the coming of revolutionary unity."

Brockway then offers his criticism which has no principled political or theoretical basis.

The Third International is "top heavy." It embraces millions of Russian workers and only thousands in other countries.

"This unbalanced condition of the Communist International," he writes, "has resulted in mistake after mistake—dual unionism, the theory of social fascism, the Communist-Nazi alliance on the German referendum, the over-riding of majorities in Communist Parties and the imposition from above of new leaderships. These mistakes have had such a disastrous effect upon other sections of the working class that there is no hope of the growing revolutionary movement outside the Communist International going into it to redress the balance."

"The United Revolutionary International of the future," he continues, "will not grow out of the present Communist International, will be a coming together of all the revolutionary forces within the present Internationals and outside them. This is the Revolutionary Socialist line."

So there is the "line" which Brockway is pleased to term the Revolutionary Socialist line. A typical centrist opportunist line; a line which declares that the Second International "can be of no effective service to the working class"; a line which rejects affiliation to the Third International; a line which records the growing revolutionary thought and spirit outside the Internationals, but which refuses openly to proclaim the need for a New International, but endeavors to steer an even keel in the stormy international waters.

As the I.L.P. leadership with Ramsay MacDonald at the helm, in the days when true revolutionary parties had to decide their attitude towards the New (third) International after the ignominious collapse of the Second steered and maneuvered for some ha.bor in between—for a two-and-a-half International, so the present leadership is looking for some three-and-a-half International. It vaguely talks about eventual unity of all revolutionary forces.

The Present Need

But the working class makes its own history. Furthermore the question here is not of merely forming, in some narrow mechanical manner, a New Fourth International, but (Continued on Page 4)

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

Question: Would it be best in the U.S.A. if production were so carried on that only "simple reproduction" took place?

Answer: Under capitalism "simple reproduction" could take place only if the capitalists personally consumed all the surplus value which they extract from the workers, so that no accumulation takes place. In general this is an impossibility under capitalism, and while space does not permit us here to go into a detailed analysis demonstrating this, suffice it to point to the fact that "simple reproduction" would require today the scrapping of most of heavy industry, since it is the latter which produces the means of production by which the greatest portion of capitalist accumulation takes place.

The question of reverting to "simple reproduction" is of course only a pure abstraction. Who is there to accomplish this? The capitalists? It is precisely they, whether they like it or not, who are forced by the laws of motion of capitalist society to accumulate. The government? Whose government? Under capitalism the state is controlled by the capitalists and will protect the interests of the latter, who require that accumulation continues.

If the government is that of the workers, i.e., if the proletariat seizes the power, expropriates the capitalists and organizes production along socialist lines, there is no need of curbing accumulation. To do so would be reactionary, since the problems of humanity can be solved only by expanding its MATERIAL means even higher than was accomplished under capitalism. Under capitalism the misery of the masses grows with the increase in wealth of the ruling class, whereas, under the rule of the workers, and further, under socialism, the greater the increase of the social wealth, the more will society, as a whole, benefit.

H. B. NEW YORK

Question: Does not the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union constitute a ruling class?

Answer: "... The CLASS has an exceptionally important and more-over a scientifically restricted meaning to a Marxist. A class is defined not by its participation in the distribution of the national income alone, but by its independent role in the general structure of economy and by its independent roots in the economic foundation of society. Each class (the feudal nobility, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, the capitalist bourgeoisie, and the proletariat) works out its own special forms of property. The bureaucracy lacks all these social traits. It has no independent position in the process of production and distribution. It has no independent property roots. Its functions relate basically to the political TECHNIQUE of class rule. The existence of a bureaucracy, in all its variety of forms and differences in specific weight, characterizes EVERY class regime. Its power is of a reflected character. The bureaucracy is indissolubly bound up with the ruling economic class, feeding itself upon the social roots of the latter, maintaining itself and falling together with it. . . .

"Always and in every regime, the bureaucracy devours no small portion of surplus value. It might not be uninteresting, for example, to compute what portion of the national income is devoured by the Fascist locusts in Italy or Germany! But this fact, of no small importance by itself, is entirely insufficient to transform the Fascist bureaucracy into an INDEPENDENT ruling class. It is the hiring of the bourgeoisie. . . .

"MUTATIS MUTANDIS" (changing what should be changed), what has been said above can be applied to the Stalinist bureaucracy as well. It devours, wastes, and embezzles a considerable portion of the national income. Its management costs the proletariat very dearly. In the Soviet society, it occupies an extremely privileged position not only in the sense of having political and administrative prerogatives but also in the sense of possessing enormous material advantages. Still, the biggest apartments, the juiciest steaks, and even Rolls Royces are not enough to transform the bureaucracy into an independent ruling class. . . .

"... the privileges of the bureaucracy by themselves do not change the bases of the Soviet society, because the bureaucracy derives its privileges not from any special property relations, peculiar to it as a 'class,' but from those property relations which have been created by the October Revolution, and which are fundamentally adequate for the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"To put it plainly, insofar as the bureaucracy robs the people (and this is done in various ways by every bureaucracy), we have to deal not with CLASS EXPLOITATION, in the scientific sense of the word, but with SOCIAL PARASITISM, although on a very large scale. . . .

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Corroboration Of Betrayal

"In the event that the Czechoslovakian army will fight consistently against German imperialism, the Czechoslovakian Communists will support this struggle and come out in favor of the army. We are for preserving the independence of the Czechoslovak nation which can be guaranteed by means of a strong army cleansed of Fascist elements and in which the workers enjoy all political liberties. We demand that the members of the army be granted the right of suffrage again... We will support the Socialist parties in the government in all the measures which are designed to combat fascism and to produce concrete benefits to the workers. In foreign policy we will advocate everything that is designed to support the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union and to beat back the war plans of Hitler Germany."

—From a speech by the C. P. deputy in the Czech parliament delivered at a mass meeting of the C. P. in Prague and reported in the "Prager Tagblatt". (Neue Front, May 24, 1935.)

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The Socialist Call and Social Patriotism

The Stalin-Laval Communique is arousing the widest interest among the politically organized workers and, following the attacks of the revolutionary Marxists on this shameful announcement of the social-patriotic betrayal of the Stalinists, has now brought important repercussions in the socialist ranks. The *Socialist Call*, organ of the S. P. "militants," devotes an article in the June 8 issue to this question and minces no words in its denunciation of Stalin and his French lackeys who are transformed into lackeys of the French imperialist bourgeoisie.

The *Socialist Call* quotes the notorious statement: "In this respect Stalin fully understands and approves the policy of national defense undertaken by France of maintaining her armed forces at the level required for security," and the prompt response of *L'Humanite* to the effect that "We are resolved in case of war to carry out our obligation of revolutionary defense even if it coincides with so-called national defense. . . . Revolutionary defeatism demands that we should struggle for the defeat of the Hitlerian counter-revolution."

To this the *Call* quite properly replies: "So 'revolutionary defense' is to be put at the service of French imperialism! And 'revolutionary defeatism' which always meant the defeat of your government is perverted to mean the defeat of the enemy of your government!"

"This is the most vulgar national chauvinism, no matter in what fine sounding terms it is clad."

So far so good. The expression of the *Socialist Call* is an indication that the Socialist "militants" are overcoming the false and dangerous illusion that Stalinism is something "left" and "revolutionary." It shows that the Socialists are already to a certain extent "vaccinated" against this disease. That is a prerequisite for their further development on the road of revolutionary Marxism, and is a sign that events have served to confirm the educa-

tional campaign which we have conducted for a long time now on this question. All the more significant is it that this enlightenment occurs on the question which determined the regroupment of the revolutionary forces once before and which will do so again—the question of war.

But something more fundamental is involved here. The question under consideration is *social-patriotism*, and the Stalinists, unfortunately, are not the sole exponents and practitioners of this treachery to the working class. The original, and present, carriers of the poison of social-patriotism in the labor movement are the *Social Democratic reformists*. We condemn the Stalinists, not because they have introduced something new but because they have sunk down to the old platform of Social Democracy! It is not enough for a *socialist paper* to confine its denunciation to the Stalinists. Such a limitation does not clarify but confuses the issue for the socialist workers. It is one-sided, and therefore false and deceptive. All the more so since the Social Democratic leaders stand today where they stood in 1914.

Leon Blum, the leader of the French Socialist Party, in a speech in the French Chamber of Deputies on March 15, announced:

"I am convinced, gentlemen, and I say it weighing my words, that in replying to aggression by Hitlerite Germany, all the workers of this country will rise to a man together with all other Frenchmen."

Why doesn't the *Socialist Call* speak about this when it deals with French affairs? Surely the speech of Blum is known to the editors. It was called to their attention in the May 11 issue of the *New Militant*.

Or, to come closer home, the *New Leader* often praises the policy of the right wing socialists in the bourgeois government of Europe, who stand frankly on a program of civil peace and national defense. This paper, in its issue of May 18, endorses the Franco-Soviet pact and espouses the "international fight on Hitlerism" in company with the bourgeois governments in the "democratic" countries.

Why doesn't the *Socialist Call* answer and denounce these expressions when it deals with the subject of social patriotism? To fail to do so is to fail to arm the socialist workers against social-patriotic betrayal in their own party and international. More correctly, it is to *disarm* them.

We advise the *Socialist Call* to continue its campaign against the "vulgar national chauvinism" of the Stalinists. And the next time they write the editors should remember the excellent watchword of Karl Liebknecht: "The main enemy is in our own country!" The socialist "militants" will never approach the great German revolutionist until they translate his words to read: The enemy is in our own party!

Question Box

(Continued from Page 3)

"Finally, we may add for the sake of complete clarity: if in the U.S.S.R., today, the Marxist party were in power, it would renovate the entire political regime; it would shuffle and cleanse the bureaucracy, and place it under the control of the masses; it would transform all of the administrative practices, and inaugurate a series of capital reforms in the management of economy; but in no case would it have to undertake an OVERTURN IN THE PROPERTY RELATIONS, i.e., A NEW SOCIAL REVOLUTION." (L. Trotsky, "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International," all emphasis in original.)

BREMERTON, Wash. (FP). —The Roosevelt administration's feverish naval preparations against Japan are giving Bremerton, seat of the Puget Sound U. S. navy yard, boom time prosperity. A \$4,500,000 naval drydock is already voted by congress, warships are being re-conditioned and new building is expected.

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One Flight Up

Industrial Unionism and the A. F. of L.

By KARL LORE

Rumors of serious division in the leading circles of the American Federation of Labor run thick on the labor movement grapevine. Louis Stark, the cautious and well-informed labor correspondent of the New York Times has even written of the possibility that the United Mine Workers, the Metal Miners, clothing, brewery, and printing tradesmen might take the initiative in setting up another federation. Unlike as it is that the near future will see any such development, there is no doubt that real differences exist and that they center around the historic and basic issue of industrial unionism.

The Federation executive is reaping the harvest for its unwillingness to take a stand on the issue. It has been straddling the fence ever since the organizing drive began in the basic industries. No policy had been worked out to meet the situation which arose when the workers in their thousands, flocked into the ranks. But these men and women newly organized into the Federal Labor Unions wanted to know. Would they be allowed to retain an industrial structure or would a later division into crafts be forced upon them? The organizers had no answer. The A. F. of L. was handling dynamite and no one knew it better than the labor moguls of its executive council. An outright declaration against industrial unionism meant the loss of thousands of the new recruits. To grant such a structure on the other hand, meant to sweep the ground out from under the feet of some of the most powerful national quits in the Federation.

In *The Old Unions* Nor was the issue confined to the new unions. The Brewery Workers Union which had come back with a bang after prohibition repeal, was fighting the teamsters and engineers organizations who claimed jurisdiction over these labor categories in breweries. The Machinists Union and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers were quarreling about machinists who worked in steel mills. The issue was there, it was inescapable and growing worse constantly. At the 1934 convention held in San Francisco, the Executive Council brought in the recommendation that "to meet this new situation the Executive Council is directed to issue charters for National or International unions in the automotive, cement, aluminum and such other mass production and miscellaneous industries as in the judgment of the Executive Council may be necessary to meet the situation." This resolution, unanimously adopted, was almost universally regarded as an industrial union move. It was interpreted as the decisive straw which pointed the path of an industrial organization goal.

What has happened since the delegates went home? Have industrial unions been set up? Has the trend in the Federation been in that direction? Unfortunately, it has not. In fact, the trend has been all the other way. There is a very real danger that the present path of the A. F. of L. may wipe out all the organizational gains that the past few years have made. Let us look at the facts.

Warfare Against Brewery Union
A fierce fight is on against the Brewery Workers. Two successive conventions of the A. F. of L. ordered them to give up crafts claimed by other internationals. The brewers rejected the decision by a referendum vote of 24,161 to 170. The craft unions have begun a war to the death. In a number of cities they made deals with the

brewery bosses to split the workers' ranks, in others they ousted the Brewery Workers from Central Labor Unions. A dispatch from Spokane, Washington (where union brewers are on strike or are locked out as a result of this fight) quotes Harry Dahl, district representative of the Teamsters, as saying: "We are organizing a new affiliated union called the Brewery Inside Workers to which all employees inside the local breweries must belong."

Truly an unprecedented situation! Dual unionism has always been considered a cardinal crime by Federation officials. Yet here, in its efforts to smash an industrially constructed Federation affiliate, another A. F. of L. organization goes to the length of organizing a dual union. No word of protest has come from Federation headquarters although these tactics are being used in a national fight to dismember one of its oldest bodies.

The "Campaign" in Steel
The last convention of the A. F. of L. voted with great enthusiasm for a widespread organization campaign in the steel industry. Plans were drawn up and presented to the Executive Council at its last session. But the drive never got under way. What happened is fairly well known. The old guard killed the campaign by insisting that it be conducted on a craft basis and that Wharton of the Machinists head the organizing committee. The whole idea was shelved. The industrial unionists on the Council knew that it would be a grizzly farce to approach the men of the mills on that basis.

At the same session the International Union of Mill, Mine and Smelter Workers appealed against the action of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. and its president, the astute John P. Frey, in dividing the workers in the Butte, Montana copper mines among a number of craft unions. Only the semi-skilled and unskilled had been left in the miners' organization. The appeal was rejected and the position of the Metal Trades Department—composed entirely of craft organizations—was approved.

The Oil Contract
The Metal Trades Department has just signed a joint agreement for twelve of its affiliated crafts with the Sinclair Oil Company, an agreement which runs out in March 1936. Last June a contract was signed by the Sinclair Company with the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers which expires in June 1935. The boiler-makers have still another agreement. Certainly by now the unions should have learned the necessity of writing contracts expiring simultaneously for all divisions of the industry. The present situation in oil means that power to act, instead of being concentrated in one strong union, is divided in three directions. Contractual relations with the employer are not coordinated. Unified strike action will be very difficult if not impossible of achievement.

The Federation's real problem, however, lay in the newly organized industries. The Federal locals had been largely the work of rank and file elements and Federation organizers had little influence in them. The unions thus set up were completely industrial in structure and suggestions that crafts be split off met with stiff resistance. It

Basic Issue Stirs Conflict Between Bureaucrats and Ranks

took all the skill of the practiced trade union politicians of the A. F. of L. to turn the trick but in one place after another the pressure has been too great and the splitting off process began.

Splitting the Federal Locals
Today every possible craft worker is being squeezed out of the Federal locals. In the rubber industry, for example, the locals are composed almost entirely of the production men. All others are in the craft locals and under the discipline of the craft internationals. The International Association of Machinists has recently taken the machinists and tool and die makers out of the mass unions of the Remington Rand Company. The A. F. of L. regards the crux of the problem of organizing the great electrical and radio equipment factories to be "the application of a general policy which would result in the organization of the many skilled mechanics in their respective craft organizations and a coordination of these organizations by plants. . . ."

At its convention held some months ago in Buffalo the Radio and Allied Trades National Council which had been organized on an industrial basis voted to "reorganize upon a foundation to meet the requirements which will allow it to be chartered under the American Federation of Labor as an International Union. The aluminum workers have been obliged to give up craft workers. In automobiles and many others, a similar process is underway. When the Independent Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of Camden, N. J. applied for affiliation, it was denied a charter because of its refusal to sacrifice a unified structure.

No Change Envisaged
The picture that emerges is a far from happy one. The high hopes for real industrial unionism at the present time, have gone glimmering. Large slices have been cut out of the Federal locals. Instead of the united front against the bosses, labor must rely on forms of cooperation which all too often fail to work. In the great Toledo auto strike of 1934, for example, the machinists, organized in a separate local, failed to come out and lend their support in the fight.

The Federation can conceive of no change in its basic craft structure and orientation. It regards craft unionism based on the skilled worker as the backbone of its strength in the future as in the past. It realizes that such narrow lines are impossible for the semi-skilled and unskilled production workers in the basic industries. These elements according to this scheme of things, would be lumped together into national unions for their industries. A report on the "Field for Unionization" made to a conference of presidents of International unions early in 1934 shows quite clearly the A. F. of L. conception of the role that the new unions were to play. It estimated that of 30,000,000 organizable workers in the United States, over 17,000,000 or about 58 percent were eligible to membership in the existing internationals. Three chief categories make up the remainder as follows: "the clerks and kindred workers where there are nearly 5,000,000 organizable but not eligible to existing internationals; the semi-skilled workers with a corresponding figure of over 3,000,000; and the unskilled workers with

nearly 4,000,000—a grand total of more than 12,000,000 organizable but with no place in the existing international union structure."

Separating Unskilled Dorkers

It is a great advance of course, that the less skilled elements have been organized in greater numbers than ever before. There can be no doubt that their presence within the organized labor movement will make a profound impression. But to separate them organizationally from the vitally important skilled workers who are so often the key to victorious strike movements is extremely dangerous. The joint councils which are being set up in most industries to provide for some measure of united action are at best a shoddy substitute for a genuine industrial structure. Only the future can tell whether such makeshift construction will withstand the attack of industry.

The Leaders of the Great Craft Unions

The leaders of the great craft unions have been traditionally scornful of the mass of the unskilled. This attitude cropped out at the 1934 convention when Dan Tobin of the Teamsters referred to the "rubbish" that had recently come into the trade union movement. His remark was notable for its frankness but it only expressed what too many other labor chiefs, who see in the avalanche of new members a force which may eventually sweep them from their high places, are thinking. Constant and unpredictable strike waves are not to their liking. They fear the new and aggressive elements who, rising from the mills and factories of America, are challenging their policies, their lack of militancy and their right to leadership.

Issue For Progressives

This raises a serious question in regard to the new mass unions of semi and unskilled workers. They are not yet firmly established. The membership and leadership is, by and large, untrained. They have no adequate treasuries to sustain them in their fight. For some time to come they will require a good deal of help from the Federation and from its affiliated organizations. Will they get it? It is tragically significant that in the great textile strike, the most widespread labor battle in the history of America, not one red cent was donated by the craft union cohorts. It is entirely possible that these die-hards, once they have blasted loose and absorbed the craft workers from the Federal Unions, will lose interest in the problems of the masses in the basic industries. The craft moguls are fighting for their lives. They know that the trend of the times is against them and that the ground they stand on is shifting under their feet. But they control the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and, in the cause of self-preservation, they seem prepared to leave the less skilled masses whom they despise and fear, holding the bag.

It is unfortunate that there has been as yet, no consolidation of the progressives in the trade union movement to take the initiative against these tendencies. Certainly without such a crystallization no effective opposition may be expected. The fight for genuine industrial unionism has just begun and is by no means a hopeless one. The rank and file has come through the fire and the blaze of the industrial conflict hardened and more sure of itself, its desire for labor organization which can face up to the job heightened manifold. A united progressive movement can carry forward the banner of organization on the great industrial battlefield of America.

Left Groups Meet in N.Y.

(Continued from Page 1)
of local 22, noting that no clause on race discrimination was included in the program, corrected the oversight.

Shelve Industrial Unionism
On the question of industrial unionism and amalgamation, delegate Shift, moved that a committee be authorized to draw up a resolution covering the steps to be taken in reaching our objective of one industrial union of all needle workers. This proposal was ruled out as "impractical" on the grounds that the committee could not report back to the conference. Zimmerman spoke to this effect. An addition proposed by the Levy (manager of local 1) group opposed "mechanical party control of unions." Zimmerman moved to refer this clause to the incoming executive committee.

Two points in the program were subject to debate: the labor party and dual unionism.

Bill Green's Position
The clause on dual unionism reads in part: "For any union to stand outside the A. F. of L. means to stand outside the labor movement. . . . In the interests of unity we firmly oppose dual unionism of all brands and varieties. Dual unionism destroys solidarity and breeds demoralization and conflicts among the workers, leading to strikebreaking and scabbery, to paralysis and disintegration. . . ."

As no reference was made in this clause to the progressive attitude

in cases where unions were expelled on account of militant leadership or where workers were compelled to organize outside the A. F. of L. due to the refusal of officials to allow strikes, etc., some delegates thought an addition on this was in place. The chairman ruled this amendment out and a barrage of attack was launched against its sponsors as "dual unionists."

Slight-of-Hand
Charles Zimmerman endeavored to tack the label "dual unionist" upon the Workers Party by reading a leaflet which advertised a meeting of the W. P. on the question: "Is an Independent Federation of Labor on the Order of the Day?" That the answer given to this question by the W. P. is a decisive "No" was well known to Zimmerman. But that made no difference. The energy which was not displayed by an attack on Dubinsky and Co. was utilized for a typical Lovestonite slur on the Workers Party. In this he was seconded by other well known Lovestonites who were present in abundance.

While some delegates from Progressive groups were seated only as fraternal delegates and had their amendments ruled out of order, Will Herberg of the Lovestone group who was neither delegate nor needle trades worker, wrote out an addition to the program, handed it up to the reporter Murray Gross, and had it accepted by the latter with the readiness of one long used to accepting suggestions.

The constitution provides for an executive committee of 15, three from local 1, four from local 22, and three from knit goods local—all of these being locals where the progressives are the administration.

I.L.P. Confab Marks Time

(Continued from Page 3)
proclaiming before all the imperative necessity for such working towards and for its consummation.

At the Paris Conference of Independent Socialist Parties held in February of this year, which is briefly reported elsewhere in this paper, the British I.L.P. played a leading and important role. This influence has undoubtedly been exerted to prevent a clear declaration for a New International. Delegate C. A. Smith, a prominent worker and writer in the I.L.P., drew attention at the Derby conference to the fact that, within the Left Parties group, the I.L.P. has been responsible for the prevention of steps towards the formation of a Fourth International.

The perspective of a New International in the dim and distant future must be energetically rejected. Such an attitude in this deep crisis of capitalism, with rapidly approaching war, with the alarming growth of fascism and fascist tendencies.

The "poor relations"—progressive groups in opposition in the balance of the I.L.G.W., the military workers and the A.C.A.—are to divide four delegates between them. There will be one representative from the Furriers union.

A delegate who pointed out the discrepancy of representation between administration groups and groups in opposition, was pounced on by Zimmerman, Gross and others.

encies in all countries, with the open rejection of all vestiges of revolutionary working class internationalism by the C. I. is little short of a betrayal of basic interests of the international working class.

The British I.L.P. has within its ranks some of the best elements of the British working class. Compared with it the C.P.G.B. is a moribund and decrepit outfit. The I.L.P. is called upon to give a fearless, honest, open revolutionary lead to the British workers. On its decision depends whether as an organization it will flourish and grow in revolutionary strength and activity or miserably disintegrate in the centrist morass of indecision and vacillation. The conference for the first time posed the question openly before the organization and the British workers. Let us hope that the lead given by certain delegates and the obvious desire of many others to meet the problem openly and honestly will spell a speedy end to the past policy of tacking and veering in the stormy currents and that a course will be set for a Fourth International capable of leading the international working class to victory and to Socialism.

MEXICAN RAILWAY, MINE WORKERS FORMING PACT

MEXICO CITY (FP).—A pact of solidarity is being discussed between two of the strongest and largest unions in Mexico—the Railway Workers Union and the Mining and Metallurgical Workers Union. The pact involves close to 100,000 men and will probably be signed before July 1.

The action is of marked importance since it is the first case of such united action by industrial unions in Mexico.