

NEW MILITANT

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S. P. Congress Meets Amid French Crisis

Blum Speaks; He Hails Social Patriotism of The Stalinists

Leninists Alone Hold Aloft Banner of Revolution

By Special Correspondent

PARIS, June 15.—On the evening of June 12 the 32nd national congress of the French Socialist party finished its work. Let us review its actions and draw up a balance.

Has any new word emerged from this Congress, any word truly capable of mobilizing the masses, of pointing out to them a concrete goal, precise and clear in the present crisis of French society and of the Third Republic? One will search in vain the decisions of the Mulhouse Congress for an answer to this question. To understand this Congress we must review the days preceding the latest ministerial crisis brought on by the fall of the Flandin government.

Why Was Flandin Defeated?

Why was Flandin defeated? Following the results of the recent municipal elections which showed important gains for the so-called "peoples front" (bloc of the Communist party and Socialist party including the Radicals) there was a flight of gold from the reserves of the Bank of France. The franc was endangered by speculation. Thus the capitalist class decided to create a panic in the country which would enable it to put over a "strong government," following the classical maneuvers formerly successful, from Poincare to Doumergue. This time, however, the maneuver did not yield the results they counted on. Flandin received only a minority of votes when he demanded extraordinary powers from the Chamber of Deputies. The ex-socialist, Buisson, president of the Chamber, met with the same fate. Despite the promise the latter received from the Radicals that they would give him a vote of confidence, the ministry of National Union, formed by Buisson with the participation of renegade socialists (Frossard, Lafont), fell on the critical question of extraordinary powers, a large fraction of the Radicals (70-80) voting against.

Stalinist Parliamentarians

A new situation arose. It appeared that the Radicals, captives of the National Union since February 6, 1934, wished to retrieve their liberty. The Stalinists in "Humanite" shouted about the victory of the "Peoples Front" which had overthrown two ministries in the course of 24 hours. They even took the initiative in calling together the "left" parliamentarians in order to explore the possibility of re-establishing a "radical" government as a solution of the ministerial crisis. It would be interesting to expand on the maneuvers of the Stalinists with Frossard and the Radicals. Let it suffice for the moment to emphasize that the new element of this crisis was the conversion of the Communist Party to the policy of "parliamentary support" offered to the Radicals. From social-patriotism to parliamentary collaboration: such is the latest chapter of Stalinism in France. The Communists (Stalinists) were less "contrary" than the Socialists themselves. The Communists said they favored a government which extended as far to the right as the Neo-Socialists (expelled from the S.P. for reactionary views!) and the moderate liberal Bonnevay. How far removed from the tactic of "social-fascism!"

The Radicals Capitulate

The new Communist policy of parliamentary collaboration was very embarrassing to the Socialists, who were playing at intransigence. A "choice morsel" of this latest ministerial crisis was purveyed by Leon Blum in Le Populaire, June 11, in which he informs us of the proposals made by several Radical "friends": "Observe, Socialist delegates, how prudent and politically-minded your Communist comrades are. They limit themselves to voluntary agreements, to suggesting leaders, and enunciating general formulas. They refrain from presenting a detailed program and of elaborating any positive proposals precisely over which the voluntary

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Eight-Page New Militant First Step to Daily Paper

By A. J. MUSTE

National Secretary of the W. P.

Two kinds of complaints about the New Militant come into the national office. Some comrades write to this effect: "The New Militant does not carry enough news about strikes and organizing campaigns. There are too few articles analyzing these practical class struggle activities and illustrating effective tactics which can be used in similar situations. We also need articles in simple language presenting the Marxist point of view on the Roosevelt program and contrasting it with our revolutionary solution of the problems confronting the American workers." Such comrades go on to say that both in the new unions and in the old, young militant workers are coming to the front who will constitute an important part of the developing revolutionary movement, although they still know very little about Marxist theory. Unless the New Militant contains plenty of material directly tied in with the experiences of these workers and adapted to their stage of development, it cannot be sold and is not read.

Other comrades write: "The New Militant does not contain enough theoretical material. Many important international developments occur and there is no comment or analysis, sometimes not even a passing reference to them. There is too little news and interpretation of events in the rival parties, no criticism of the false positions they are taking."

These comrades point out that the revolutionary party cannot be built simply out of new and as yet unpolitical elements, that we have to win to the W. P. the advanced workers who are already members or under the influence of other parties and that this can be done only if we are constantly demonstrating in our organ the superiority of our party's theoretical position. They argue likewise that unless we impart a solid education to our own members and give them directives and long range perspectives in their work they cannot carry on their practical work effectively either.

Interestingly enough, similar complaints come from sympathizers of the party. Some of them are interested in the W. P. primarily because they believe that it is based upon a correct Marxist program, because they have been convinced by our analysis of developments in the Soviet Union and in the international revolutionary movement. They look to us to provide them regularly with full information on these subjects. Other sympathizers have been attracted by the practical effectiveness of the party in great struggles such as have occurred in Toledo and Minneapolis and in the development of imposing mass organizations such as the National Unemployed League. They desire to get information about these matters and feel that they can "sell" the New Militant to their friends mainly on this basis.

Unlike some complaints, these complaints all have a substantial (Continued on Page 4)

Perkins Hunts Reds in Akron

Government "Survey" Trick to Avert New Strike

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio.—New and delicate problems confront the Workers Party and all class conscious elements in the rubber industry here as the department of justice began a secret investigation of "subversive" activities under orders of Francis Perkins, secretary of labor. This announcement aided conservatives in the General Tire Co. local of 1,000 to avert strike sentiment which had led the workers to vote by a 75 percent majority to walk out if the company didn't agree to negotiate on seniority.

The prime purpose of the federal investigation is to answer the question, "Is there a radical element in control of the A. F. of L. in Akron and Ohio which is acting independently of the national officers and the executive council," Miss Perkins admitted.

This latest move completes the offensive of the rubber barons to smash all progressive elements among the workers and enforce an open shop policy through terrorization.

The Government "Survey"

The government intimidation of the workers was first revealed in veiled hints by Hugh Friel, federal conciliator, when he spoke before the General workers, and he succeeded in temporarily frightening the union leaders.

Of course, when pressed for further explanation Friel attempted to add that a government survey of profits etc. was also part of the probe but this didn't fool anyone.

The fact remains, clearly and openly, that the federal government is taking overt steps to crush the growing influence of the revolutionary elements among the increasingly class-conscious workers.

Unfortunately, many rubber workers do not yet realize the insidious attack can seriously cripple the recovery of the betrayed unions through the possible damage to the only hope of the workers, the party and the progressives.

It scarcely need be added that the A. F. of L. bureaucrats will join hands with the government in this dangerous attack.

Troops Smash Illinois Strike

Captain Honors "Forgotten" Men by Tear Gassing Them

By LEIGHTON RIGBY

DIXON, Ill., June 18.—Aided by Henry Horner, smooth-tongued governor of Illinois, officials of the Stover Manufacturing and Engine company, of Freeport, Illinois, were able last Sunday to smash the strike which had kept the plant idle since May 7. Four companies of National Guardsmen, called to the Illinois city after rioting broke out last Friday, broke camp soon after the conference.

Although the 400 members of the International Molders and International Machinists unions had demanded restoration of two 10 percent pay cuts and the right to bargain collectively, picket lines have been withdrawn and 750 employees are back to work after gaining only a 5 percent wage boost. The unions waived their demand for a closed shop. The agreement on wages will be in effect until Sept. 1. Following the conference, union officials jammed the agreement through to approval by the strikers at a meeting presided over by Chester Sample, vice-president of the International Molders Union. The workers, weary of pleading with grocers for credit during the six weeks without income, accepted the agreement half-heartedly.

Troops were dispatched to Freeport by Acting-Governor Thomas Donovan in response to a telephone call from Sheriff Aurand who stated his inability to control the situation. 200 guardsmen swooped down on the Stover plant.

Tricked Again

On at least two occasions during the strike, company officials announced their immediate intention to meet the strikers' demands. Pickets were disbanded only to find that they had been tricked into allowing scabs to ship out goods, unobserved by members of the unions.

Last Friday, Sheriff Aurand and a band of deputized strike breakers attempted to enter the plant. They were blocked by 200 strikers and sympathizers. The sheriff himself fired the first tear gas projectile, aimed directly at the head of Charles Reedy, a union worker. A (Continued on Page 4)

500 in New York Pledge Support To C.S. Victims

Bitter Attacks of I.L.D. Fail to Shake Mini

Almost 500 workers and enemies of reaction attended the Mini Appeal Dinner held in New York City Wednesday night. A message to the Sacramento appellants pledging an unending fight for reversal of their sentences was unanimously adopted. The speakers of the evening included Murray Baron of the Socialist Party; A. J. Muste, Secretary of the Workers Party; Arnold Johnson of the National Unemployed League; John Chamberlain, literary critic of the New York Times; and Carlo Tresca, editor of Il Martello. Professor Sidney Hook of New York University presided. Announcement was made by Herbert Solow of the N.P.L.D. of progress made in the formation of a united defense committee, which now includes the W. P., S. P., N.P.L.D., N.U.L. League for Industrial Democracy and several other organizations. Words of greeting from labor organizations in various cities were hailed with cheers, as was a message from Norman Mini, Prisoner 57606 of San Quentin.

Steps have been taken here and in Chicago to launch a nationwide, broad, militant defense movement which can rescue the Sacramento case from oblivion and fight the infamous anti-labor verdicts. The I. L. D., which represents Mini's seven co-defendants, has deliberately failed to answer invitations to confer with the N.P.L.D. and the National Labor Committee of the Socialist Party on these steps. This week's Socialist Call will carry an interview with Murray Baron, one of the S. P. delegation to the temporary Sacramento appeal committee, in which he says that "the provocation offered by the I.L.D. in ignoring repeated appeals for a unified defense will not be accepted; we will stay in this fight until the infamous horse-trade verdict of Sacramento has been set aside."

According to an announcement by Herbert Solow, who spent four months in Sacramento directing the N.P.L.D.'s work there, and who is acting secretary of the temporary national Sacramento appeal committee, a call for cooperation signed by the N.P.L.D., the Socialist Party (through its National Labor Committee's representative), the W. P. and the League for Industrial Democracy (which aided the N.P.L.D.'s trial fight), has been sent to the Workmen's Circle, National Unemployed League, Workers Alliance (Continued on Page 4)

Woll Opens Drive on AFL Progressives

NEW YORK (FP).—The American Federation of Labor will expel local unions that admit Communists, according to an announcement in New York City by Matthew Woll, third vice-president of the A. F. of L., speaking for President William Green.

Local unions and even international unions that admit Communists may have their charters withdrawn, Woll stated. The statement was made in connection with the situation in the fur industry, where a movement is under way for amalgamation of the International Fur Workers Union, A. F. of L., and the left-wing Independent Fur Workers Industrial Union. In this industry, the independent union, which has followed aggressive policies, controls the New York market. The A. F. of L. group was faced either with being a negligible factor in the New York market—the largest and most important in the industry—or of accepting the left-wing union's offer for a merger and controlling the industry. The recent Toronto convention of the I.F.W.U. authorized the amalgamation.

The statement's indication of similar action against all A. F. of L. affiliated bodies, however, was seen as the answer to the restlessness pervading the entire federation. The rapid growth of the A. F. of L. in the last few years has brought a new aggressiveness and a swift growth of rank and file sentiment which has expressed dissatisfaction with the leadership's policies, particularly in the steel, auto and rubber industries. It has been estimated that the coming A. F. of L. convention will have from 100 to 200 of such aggressive, left-wing delegates as compared with 15 in the last convention.

Sergei Trotsky Jailed By Stalin Bureaucrats

Students at Edinburgh Offer Trotsky Rectorship

June 7, 1935.
To the Students of Edinburgh University

Dear Sirs,
I am indebted to you for your so unexpected and flattering proposal: to put me up as a candidate for the rectorate of your university. The freedom from any nationalist considerations which you show is a great tribute to the spirit of the students of Edinburgh.

I appreciate your confidence all the more since you, as you yourselves say, are uninfluenced by the refusal of the British Government to grant me a visa. Nevertheless I do not feel that I have the right to accept your proposal. The elections to the rectorate, you write, are conducted on a NON-POLITICAL basis and your letter itself is signed by representatives of every political tendency. But I myself occupy too definite a political position; all my activity has been and remains devoted to the revolutionary liberation of the proletariat from the yoke of capital. I have no other right to responsible posts. I would therefore consider it a crime toward the working class and a disloyalty toward you to appear on no matter what public tribune under the Bolshevik banner. You will find, I have no doubt, a candidate much more in conformity with the traditions of your University.

I wish you with all my heart the greatest success in your work.

Sincerely yours,
—L. TROTSKY.

Deploy Militia in Omaha Strike

Fire at Pickets and Public but Morale Holds Strong

By PAT MURPHY

DAVENPORT, Iowa, June 21.—The militia took over Omaha Sunday, June 16. The state's entire military forces converged on the city fully equipped to intimidate the strikers of the Omaha and Council Bluffs Railway Company who walked out on April 20 when their demands for higher wages, shorter hours and full recognition of their union was refused. The troops are under the command of General Paul who is an old hand at beating down the workers. He boasts that in 1922 he helped beat down the strikers in Nebraska City, Nebraska when the packing house workers were on strike.

June 15 the police department turned their riot guns on a crowd of strikers and sympathizers at 24th and L streets. Rioters fell at each blast. One was killed and 50 wounded. Among the injured were several women. A check of the injured disclosed that 30 were suffering from buckshot wounds and the remainder hurt when clubbed by police. Later Saturday night the police opened fire on another crowd at 35th and K Streets. During the rioting six cars were burned and several overturned. Several hundred spectators, gathered at a tram company depot on the outskirts of South Omaha, were dispersed by nauseating tear gas bombs hurled by police and guardsmen.

The strikers and the company were ordered, by Governor Cochran of Nebraska, to arbitrate. The strikers are willing, and appeared at the designated hour with their arbitrators. But the company refused. In Council Bluffs no cars have left the barn since the strike was called. The strikers in Omaha and Council Bluffs have the sympathy and support of the citizens. Little patronage has fallen to street cars since the strike began.

The morale of the strikers is holding strong. They are determined to win their rights to organize.

WHY WE SKIPPED THE LAST ISSUE

The press of work and the consequent lack of forces occasioned by the recent plenary session of the National Committee of the W. P. compelled us to skip the last issue of the New Militant. The primary cause, however, was the sudden illness of the editor.

AN ACT OF VENGEANCE

Mother Asks for Investigation of Latest Series of Persecutions

By NATHALIE L. TROTSKY

Recently rumors have circulated widely among comrades to the effect that this time Stalin has chosen our youngest son Sergei as the object of his vengeance.

Friends keep asking us: is this really true? Yes, it is true: Sergei was arrested at the very beginning of this year.

If at first one could hope that the arrest was accidental, that in a day or two he would be freed, it is clear now that the jailers have far more serious designs. Since many of the comrades are deeply concerned by the new blow struck at our family it would possibly be best if I stated the entire case in a letter intended for general information.

Never in Politics

Sergei was born in 1908. At the outbreak of the October revolution he was a nine year old boy. He grew up in the Kremlin. In families whose elder members are absorbed by politics the younger ones are often repelled thereby. Such was also our case. Sergei never occupied himself with political questions; he was not even a member of the Communist Youth (Komsomol).

In his schooldays he was absorbed in sport, the circus, and he became an accomplished athlete. In the university he concentrated on mathematics and mechanics. As an engineer he received a professorship in one of the higher technical schools and in the last couple of years he carried on there an extensive pedagogical activity. With two other colleagues he published recently a special work entitled: "Light Gas Generators of Automobile-Tractor Type." The book published by the Scientific Automobile-Tractor Institute was warmly received by the most outstanding specialists in the field.

Stayed in Russia

When we were forced into exile abroad Sergei was still a student. The authorities allowed members of our family either to accompany us or to remain in the U.S.S.R. Sergei decided to remain in Moscow so as not to be torn away from that work which from then on absorbed his whole being. The material conditions of his existence were very difficult but did not differ in this respect from the living conditions of the overwhelming majority of the unprivileged Soviet youth. Of course, the shameful slanders continuously spread by the Soviet press about L. D. Trotsky and his co-thinkers could not fail to cause moral suffering to Sergei.

But of this I can only surmise. My correspondence with my son was limited exclusively to "neutral" everyday subjects, never touching on political questions and the special living conditions of our family circle (it should be added that even these letters reached him only in exceptional cases). L. D. did not correspond at all with our son in the years of exile so as not to give the authorities the slightest pretext for persecutions or simple annoyance. And, as a matter of fact, in the six years of our present emigration Sergei continued his intense scientific and pedagogical work without any interference on the part of the authorities.

Six Months in Jail

Things took a different course following the assassination of Kirov and the famous trial of Zinoviev and Kamenov. Correspondence ceased entirely. Sergei was arrested. From day to day I expected that correspondence would be resumed. But almost half a year has elapsed since Sergei has been in prison. It is precisely this that compels me to think that the jailers have some special designs in mind.

Is it possible to conceive that under the influence of events my son became involved recently in opposition activity? I would be happy for his sake if I could think so because then Sergei could bear up much easier under the blow that has been dealt him. But such a supposition must be considered absolutely out of the question. From various sources we knew that Sergei was just as much removed from politics in recent years as before. I personally had no need even of these testimonials as I know only too well his psychological make-up (Continued on Page 2)

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The strikers demand a thirty-hour week, seventy-five cents an hour and union recognition. The magnificent traditions of the lumber workers, who engaged in many stubborn labor battles in the days of the old I.W.W. point the way to the lumber workers in their struggle today.

Don't depend on troops, fight it out on the picket line.

TWO KILLED IN SOUTH CAROLINA MILL STRIKE

UNION, S. C. (FP).—Supt. T. M. McNeil of the Monarch textile mill in Union has been charged with being an accessory before the fact in the killing of two men during a strike at the plant. Witnesses disagree on who murdered the men—one a constable, the other a foreman—but a special mill police officer and the son of the slain foreman have been arrested.

The trouble occurred during the first day of strike at the mill, after members of the United Textile Workers of America had objected to the hiring of a non-union worker. Gov. Johnston of South Carolina has come to Union to attempt to work out a settlement.

ALBANY, N. Y. (FP).—Fatal industrial accidents reported to the New York state department of labor during May totaled 127. This is six more than in April and 27 than in May, 1934.

Comments

On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Death of Blue Eagle...

Besides declaring the NRA unconstitutional, the Supreme Court in the past 25 years has had to decide on the following momentous issues: the regulation of Chinese laundries, the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine, unripe lemons, kosher meat and boric acid; the size of a loaf of bread in Chicago; chain store profits, regulation of chiropractors, junk dealers, New Orleans prostitutes, Greek letter fraternities, ticket scalping in New York and oyster planting and bird-shooting by aliens. . . . "It breaks my heart to see what has been done to the NRA," sobs General Hugh Johnson. . . . Garment workers at the Hupp Brothers factory at Macon, Ga., must pay back in small installments the wage increase granted under the NRA. . . . When the NRA became operative in 1933 the following conditions prevailed on the basis of a score of 100 percent in 1926: factory production 84, employment 78, wages 59. When the NRA stopped the following conditions prevailed: factory production 84, employment 81 and wages 68. Practically all the increase was due to the spending of government relief money. . . . Delivering what he termed "the greatest speech in history" and which lasted 15 hours, Huey Long failed to prevent the passage of the new NRA bill. Among the topics discussed were: cheese dressing for head lettuce, himself, grave robbing, cheaper coffins, share-the-wealth, pot-likker, James A. Farley, mixing drinks and how to fry oysters. . . .

Advice to Graduates...

"I am one who does not believe that some soft-handed fathead down in Washington can run my husband's business," orated Mrs. George B. Simmons, wife of a Missouri farmer, at the "grass root" conference of the G.O.P. No substitute platform was adopted because all farmers present were drawing AAA benefits. . . . A recent study by the Brookings Institute states: "Neither results nor promise of the AAA program justify indefinite continuation of the experiment." The study further states that wheat prices increased because of the drought, the influence of the tariff and to some extent by dollar depreciation. . . .

Cops...

In the recent strike disorders in Omaha, General J. J. Paul substituted "sickening gas" and "knock-out gas" for tear gas which he termed "ineffective." A man was killed and several women injured when "knockout gas" was hurled into a group of bystanders. . . . Passaic, N. J. police must attend church every Sunday and take a Monday quiz on the service. . . . Twenty persons were injured by shotgun slugs, schoolchildren were gassed, as cops and company thugs charged a picket line at the Canton, Ohio, Tin Plate Co. . . . "The government attempts to meddle too much with business. I'll make a million cars next year if they just let the police run the country. And I don't mean the Federal police, I mean the local police," says Henry Ford as the 2,000,000th V8 is run off the assembly line. . . .

Agricultural Adjustment

Herbert Hoover at the Stanford commencement tells about bosses: "Both in the stages of manual labor and professional work, I missed the discovery that I was a wage slave. I at least had the feeling that it was my option that if I did not like a particular profit taker I could find another one somewhere. I found them a cheery and helpful lot of folk who took an enormous interest in helping young people get a start. And you will find that is the case today." . . . Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia explains the class struggle: "The perfectly baseless notion that society is organized into fixed, definite and mutually antagonistic classes, each of which should be intent upon putting barriers and limitations upon others is in large responsible for the prevailing immorality and unreasonableness which, unless quickly conquered and rejected, will end by destroying all incentive to human effort to reach the highest type of accomplishment and service." . . . President S. Jarrett of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, from which Granville Hicks was recently discharged because of his radical ideas, clarifies the meaning of academic freedom: "We have recently been attacked on the ground that we have stifled academic freedom and abridged free speech. You all know the charge is false. We adhere to an unwritten regulation of long standing that there shall be excluded from all classrooms all controversial discussion about politics, sociology, etc. We cannot permit the excessive academic freedom which must be stigmatized as academic license." . . .

Letters to the Editor

Furrier Hails Unity Achieved in Union; Tells of Progressive's Role

Editor, New Militant:

After many attempts and after ten years of suffering we have finally succeeded in creating one Furriers' union and in putting a stop to the seemingly interminable inner struggle which has had no equal in the history of the New York trade unions.

After many preliminary meetings the question of one union in the furriers' trade was discussed at the Cooper Union meeting of June 12. This meeting will undoubtedly remain, and will be referred to, as one of the most outstanding events in the history of inner labor troubles. Thousands of furriers, members of both unions, filled the hall to capacity. After a long discussion on the floor, in which many members as well as the leaders of the Industrial Union actively participated, the proposals for creating one strong union, made by the "Committee of Seven" which was elected at the last convention of the Furriers' International, was unanimously adopted and acclaimed with great enthusiasm.

The long inner struggle of the furriers should be of great interest to all organized labor, especially to the workers in the needle trades. Almost all the energy of the workers was exhausted in the needless struggle to fight one another. Due to the false tactics of the furriers' leaders, the bosses had a good chance to undermine conditions in the trade, bringing them down to the lowest possible level.

Conditions Degraded

It has long been clear to every class-conscious furrier that the only solution and remedy for his troubles is one strong union. During the time when the two unions existed, conditions in the trade went from bad to worse. The workers, having lost confidence in their leaders, lost one position after another. Big shops were subdivided into smaller units with the result that the workers suffered the consequences of lower wages and long hours. Contracting was at its height. As a result of the practice of giving out work to the contractors, the workers in many instances lost their jobs altogether. Over time work was established in practically all shops and all agreements as to the scale of wages were universally violated. In fact, there was no scale of wages.

At this moment, at the threshold of unity, it is worth while referring to the inhuman conditions of the past so that we may correct our wrongs and learn our lesson from past experience, and so that the miserable conditions under which we have labored may never see the light again.

There is no doubt that the reactionary leaders of the A. F. of L. were greatly responsible for the inhuman conditions that prevailed in the trade. They ruled with an

iron fist. Every leading member who was honestly and sincerely interested in helping to build one strong union for the interests of the workers, and who dared to speak his mind, and criticize the leadership with its false tactics and methods, was immediately expelled from the union, ruthlessly persecuted and deprived of all means of earning a livelihood.

The Role of the Stalinists

On the other side of the picture, the official leaders of the left wing (Stalinists) and their contradictory and inconsistent tactics brought about by their desire to create at all costs and under all circumstances "revolutionary" unions, were no less responsible for the split of the workers. Is it not a known fact that any union which was not a part of the "Red Trade Union International" was considered a fascist organization? Who cannot recall the so-called "third period" when the aim was to split the membership of the A. F. of L.? Thus the topsy-turvy politics of the Stalinists accelerated the split of organized labor and helped the reactionary leaders of the A. F. of L. to rid it of the most militant elements in their unions. Indeed, the purpose of such policies was more to serve the bureaucratic interests of the Stalin group than to serve the interests of the workers in their trades. However, the change of the C. P. line, in regard to trade unionism, to disband its red revolutionary unions and to join the A. F. of L., which became on a moment's notice, the law of the Communist Party, changed the attitude of the furriers' "left" leaders and truly revealed the character of the C. P.

It is a known fact that the "left opposition" (Trotskyists) and later the "Workers Party of U.S.," which has been advocating unity on the basis of democratic rights in the A. F. of L., long before the Stalinists changed their policy to dissolve the "T.U.U.L." was regarded as counter-revolutionist and as treacherous to the working class. Progressive elements in the furriers, took a similar position as that of the W. P. despite the torrent of abuse hurled at them by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Struggle of Progressives

Thus, the Industrial Union which came into existence because of its opposition to the bureaucratic methods of the A. F. of L. later on resorted to the same bureaucratic tactics and ruthlessly persecuted every worker whose opinion was out of line with the policies of the leadership of the Industrial Union. Fortunately, however, a group of rank and file workers of the Industrial Union, which came to life in opposition to the bureaucratic methods of their leaders who ruled in disguise under the name of Communism, pushed a fight for democratic rights in the union, and for

unity.

Now, when one union has become a reality, we must not forget that credit must be given to the progressive members of the International, especially those from the Toronto local whose honest leadership truthfully served the interests of the workers, by fighting out at their last convention in Toronto the principle which paved the way and laid the basis for unity.

It is high time now that we discard the old and familiar methods and arrive at the convention that the way for American workers to free themselves from exploitation is not to follow the past footprints of the official leadership—right and "left"—the result of which was to split the ranks of the workers, but to march forward, all united in one great union.

—J. KAMINITSKY.

Sacramento Case and Agricultural Union

The Editors have received a copy of the following letter, which The Nation has not yet seen fit to print. We give it space because of our comrade Norman Mini's inability to deal properly with such questions from inside prison walls.

April 30, 1935.

To the Editors of The Nation:

In recent issues of your magazine, Norman Mini and Caroline Decker, former active leaders of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, expressed differing views as to the responsibility for the collapse of the Union. Mini attributed the collapse to the policies of the Communist Party which led the Union; Decker, in answer to Mini's article and in defense of the Communist Party, tried to show that the workers have not suffered a defeat, and this last in the face of the fact that the Union has been wrecked, which she does not deny.

Being that Mini, as well as Decker, is now in San Quentin serving a term for "criminal syndicalism" and cannot lay his hands on a document which casts a glaring light upon Decker's defense of the Communist Party, I take it upon myself to defend him against the impeachment of some of his statements.

On December 18 Caroline Decker wrote: "I'm not prepared to say that the criminal neglect of the Union by the D. C. was 'opposition.'" She like all the other active unionists, knew that the District Committee of the Communist Party had wrecked the Union. . . . the only problem being, was it by neglect, opposition, disruption, wrong trade union policies, or whatnot.

Not long ago I published a poem in the New Masses dedicated to Caroline Decker. I am not without hope that some day the courage I praised in that poem will return to her and she will say openly what she still believes: that the policies of the Communist Party wrecked the Union we all helped to build, and that it bears no small share of the responsibility for the fact that she, Mini and six others are now in state prisons.

Sincerely,

PAUL COURTNEY.

Criticizes Article on Franco-Soviet Pact

To the Editor:

The "Open Letter To The World Proletariat," featured in the June 8 issue of the "New Militant," furnishes the reader with ample evidence that Lenin has not lived in vain. The letter carries in the opening paragraph a statement, however, that must be termed an irresponsible assertion, to say the least. The second sentence reads: "Today there is not a single worker, even the most politically backward, who is unaware that the Soviet bureaucrats have just publicly, decisively betrayed the international proletariat." This statement is so entirely out of harmony with the letter as a whole that the reader has just reason to think it originated with an ambitious but ill-advised translator.

If this statement were true, the Stalinist parties would immediately lose all of its members save possibly those put there by Stalin himself. The facts are that the spokesmen for the Soviet bureaucracy hail the Stalin-Laval pact as a great victory for the Soviet Union directly, and indirectly a victory for the international proletariat. And accepting the creed of "Stalin Infallibility" the members and sympathizers of the Stalinist parties, in true Catholic fashion, embrace as valid everything that Moscow has put its stamp of approval upon. And yet, members of the C. P., be they American or French, are not "the most politically backward," for they are at least convinced of the fact that society is divided into classes and that a struggle is raging between these classes. If these workers were not class conscious, their revolutionary illiteracy notwithstanding, they would not be members of the C. P. or any other party having for its aim the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

Now, let us proceed one step further: if hundreds of thousands of class-conscious workers fail to see in the latest Stalin maneuver a betrayal of the international proletariat, how are we to look upon this statement as applied to the non-class-conscious workers numbering millions? How many workers are there in these supposedly enlightened United States who have never as much as heard of the Stalin-Laval pact? How many more are there whose knowledge of this infamous betrayal is limited to a vague memory of having seen something about it in the headlines of an ordinary capitalist newspaper? Their numbers are great!

Our tactics in the class struggle vary to suit a given condition. A false evaluation of conditions as they really are leads to incorrect tactics. If we were to take the statement referred to above seriously, we would at the same time be compelled to take measures that in reality would outstrip the worst of the so-called "third period."

The Open Letter, as a whole, is a masterly analysis of the Stalin degeneracy, and it would be better still if the statement in question were stricken out altogether.

E. EVERETT.

The Manager's Corner

Full Steam Ahead Now in Drive for Eight-Page New Militant!

Our campaign for the eight-page weekly New Militant suffered a serious delay due to the plenary meeting of the party National Committee which was held in New York last week. This was unfortunate but it was unavoidable. More regrettable yet is the fact that because of the same reasons we were compelled to skip last week's issue. However, skipping on such occasions is the rare exception, not the rule, and insofar as the campaign is concerned we suggest that it be taken up with redoubled energy and with redoubled speed.

During this intervening fortnight we have received the following contributions toward the eight-page weekly:

L. Berg, New York City...	\$ 3.00
A. Konikow, Boston.....	25.00
S. Harrison, N. Y. C.....	5.00
H. Gund, N. Y. C.....	1.00
W. J. R., California.....	2.00
Flatbush Branch, N. Y. C.	13.00
Katherine Smith, N.Y.C.	5.00

Total.....\$54.00

This is a very small beginning but with the interference accounted for it is understandable. There was a certain delay in forwarding the material necessary to go ahead with the work. Now this is in the hands of all the party branches and similar material will be forwarded to our numerous friendly contacts. Nobody will be left out of consideration. Everybody is invited to help put the campaign for the eight-page weekly over the top before August first.

Previously we suggested the various ways in which help can be given. First of all is the matter of a cash contribution. Secondly, a new subscription to the eight-page weekly will be similarly appreciated and incidentally it will help to extend our circulation. If the method of club subscription cards at the three months reduced rate is preferred \$1.50 forwarded will secure four such cards. Thirdly, where subscriptions prove too difficult to obtain solicit greetings at 25c per name to the first eight-page issue. Fourthly, those who are ready to pledge a certain monthly contribution to maintain the security fund please forward their name and address with the monthly amount indicated.

The delay that already occurred imposes the necessity of more speed in the carrying on of the campaign. Let us have your response right away. Watch next week's issue for rules of contests and prizes in this campaign!

The club card system has been made effective use of by the New Militant builders during the last two weeks. The Minneapolis branch topped the list with 20 club subscriptions. Rose Cassano from Chicago secured 8. J. Gregory, Chicago, secured 4; Cyrus Rigby, Utica, N. Y., 4; Larry Cohen, New York, 4; Freda Charles, New York, 4; Leon Goodman, Philadelphia, 4; and Davenport Branch, 4. This makes a total of 52 club subscriptions.

Force Yipsels Resign Posts

Alex Retskin, City Organizer, and Ruth Oxman, City Secretary, of the New York Y.P.S.L. have resigned their posts under pressure for signing a Left wing statement. No sooner had the four-page mimeographed statement been distributed than the fourteen signatories, all leading Yipsels, were taken to task by Norman Thomas. In both the New Leader and the Socialist Call the young comrades were condemned as "romantic insurrectionists."

The ostensible reason for issuing the Left declaration is to present the views of revolutionary socialism to the Yipsels in preparation for their national convention to be held next month. The signers who it appears, have not worked as an organized group, either for any time before the appearance of the statement or since, call for the building of the Y.P.S.L. "into a revolutionary organization based on revolutionary principles."

The Proposed Program

They propose a program of revolutionary socialism. These principles are a statement of the general Communist position on the state, dictatorship of the proletariat, workers' councils, armed insurrection, reformism and the vanguard party. The declaration is therefore extremely abstract, leaving aside the question of an attitude toward the factions in the Socialist Party and Y.P.S.L., a position towards the International, a position on the Soviet Union, attitude towards other workers' parties, war, fascism and the immediate problems of the working class. Likewise the specific role of the Y.P.S.L. is glossed over.

These omissions can be explained on two grounds: first the desire to "begin with the fundamentals" and second, and in all likelihood the more important, there is no agreement among the signatories on these questions. Most of them are associated with the New York "Militants." Others have been members of the Revolutionary Policy Committee.

"Militants' Embarrassed

The statement has embarrassed the leaders of the "Militants." Issued without consultation with the caucus it puts clearly before the leaders the task of accepting a clear position on the problem of the road to power. Nothing is more distasteful to the "Militant" leaders than the adoption of an unambiguous position on this question since it would lead to further separation both from the left or the right.

The task of the young Socialists who accept the "principles of revolutionary socialism" is to further clarify their position regarding the concrete application of revolutionary principles in the present epoch and involve the membership in the discussion. Clarity on all the fundamental questions of the revolution is the indispensable prerequisite for revolutionary action.

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

K.C. Battery Workers Strike

KANSAS CITY, June 18.—Two weeks after union organization began in the plant of the National Battery plant here the summary firing of 11 of the most active union men forced the issue of a strike. About half the plant including the major part of the production staff walked out at the call of the A. F. of L. United Auto Workers Union. The spirit of the strikers was high and the men remaining in the plant were sympathetic.

An injunction was issued against the pickets on a trumped up "dynamiting threat" charge. Martens, President of the local, backed down, failed to support the strike, called off the pickets with a statement that he was "acting like a gentleman."

His "gentlemanly" tactics rapidly discredited Martens with the strikers, who are determined to stay out and eager to fight the issue on the picket line. A progressive group is getting under way, planning to put pressure on Martens, contact other organizations in the city, and set up a mass picket line. If the proper steps are taken the strike runs a good chance, as the busy season begins in July.

The National Battery Co. has plants all over the U. S., the largest in St. Paul, Chicago Heights, and New York. Attempts will be made to contact the workers in the other plants. A protest to the government, one of the largest customers of the company, is contemplated.

What to Attend

New York City
Friday, July 12, 8 P.M.—Mass Meeting—Jury Persecution of Bolshevik Revolutionists in Soviet Russia. Speaker: A. J. Muste. At 1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn.
Minneapolis, Minn.
Sunday, July 7—Minneapolis: Joint Picnic of Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League at Minnehaha Park, picnic grounds No. 4 (in the glen). Starts at noon. Diamond-ball, races, refreshments and prizes.

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Sergei Trotsky Imprisoned By Stalinist Bureaucrats

(Continued from Page 1) and his intellectual bent.

An Act of Vengeance

Why, then, the authorities, from Stalin down, were well aware of it: Sergei, I repeat, grew up in the Kremlin, Stalin's son was a frequent visitor in the boy's room; the G.P.U. and the university authorities kept a redoubled watch over him first as a student, secondly as a young professor. He was arrested not for any sort of opposition activity (which did not exist) but exclusively as the son of L. D. with the aim of wreaking vengeance upon the family. This is the only explanation possible.

All comrades remember the at-

tempt of the G.P.U. to link up the name of L. D. with the Kiroff assassination: the Latvian consul who gave money for the terrorist act offered at the same time to the terrorists to transmit a letter from them to Trotsky. This whole scheme, however, fell through and served only to compromise the organizers of the trial.

A New Amalgam

But precisely because of it we repeated frequently in our family circle after the trial: "They will not stop at this, they will have to prepare some new case to cover up the failure of the amalgam with the consul." The same thought was also expressed by L. D. in his articles in the Russian Bulletin.

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The only thing that we did not know was the method the G.P.U. will choose this time. But now there can not be even a shadow of a doubt. By arresting the absolutely innocent Sergei and by keeping him in jail for months Stalin clearly and indubitably pursues the aim of creating a new "amalgam."

For this purpose he must force from Sergei some sort of suitable confession, even if only a "renunciation" of his father. I will not speak of the methods by which Stalin obtains the confessions he requires. I have no information on this score. But all the circumstances speak for themselves. . . .

An International Committee

It would be very simple to verify the facts stated in this letter. It would be sufficient, for instance, to establish an international committee consisting of authoritative and sincere individuals, of course, well-established friends of the U.S.S.R. Such a committee would have to examine into all repressions in connection with the Kirov assassination, among other things it would throw the necessary light also on the case of our son Sergei.

This suggestion has nothing exceptional or unacceptable. When the Social Revolutionaries, the organizers of attempts on the lives of Lenin and Trotsky were being tried in 1922, the Central Committee under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky afforded Vandervelde, Kurt Rosenfeld and other adversaries of the Soviet government the right to participate in the trial as defenders of the accused terrorists. This was done precisely in order to dispel in the mind of the international proletariat any doubts as to the fairness of the trial.

Could not Romain Rolland, Charles Gide, Bernard Shaw and other friends of the Soviet Union assume the initiative to establish such a committee in agreement with the Soviet government? This would be the best method of checking on the accusations and the suspicions widely spread in the working masses.

The Soviet bureaucracy cannot place itself above the public opinion of the international working class. As regards the interests of the workers' state, a serious verification of its actions could only serve to its advantage. I, for one, would submit to such an authoritative committee all necessary information and documents concerning my son.

This letter of mine is therefore a direct appeal to working class organizations and friends of the U.S.S.R. abroad, not to interested attorneys of the Soviet bureaucracy, of course, but to sincere and independent friends of the October Revolution.

If after prolonged hesitation, I raise openly the question of Sergei it is not only because he happens to be my son. This reason would be more than sufficient for a mother but insufficient to arouse political initiative. But the case of Sergei represents a clear, simple and indisputable case of conscious and criminal self-will, a case which will be very easily verified: the bureaucratic upper-crust crushes and torments a highly qualified Soviet worker who is known to be loyal and absolutely innocent—only in order to satisfy the base instincts of revenge without any political justification: for is it not absolutely obvious that physical suffering inflicted on the son could have no influence whatever on the direction of the political activity of the father, an activity to which Sergei was never in any way related?

That is why I permit myself to think that the case of my son deserves public attention. At any rate, whoever wants to act must act immediately, because given silence and impunity the vengeful acts of Stalin may soon assume an irretrievable character.

France, June 1, 1935.

DENVER (FP).—Industrial unionism as a means of ending jurisdictional disputes was endorsed by the Colorado Federation of Labor convention by an 8 to 1 vote.

1,087 Vote for Bolshevik-Leninists in Paris S. P. District

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

Question: Can we not get rid of booms and depressions merely by putting all taxes on land and not on the products of the workers?

Answer: There are several fallacies in this conception, which is held chiefly by the Single Taxers. The first consists in assuming that it is, ever has been, or will be, possible to tax anything which is not the product of a worker. Land, without labor, produces practically nothing for human use and it is only when the energies of man are combined with nature that articles of use are created. When the State, be it Slave, Feudal, Capitalist, or Proletarian, applies taxes, it merely appropriates that which has been created by the work of humans whether this tax is assessed in money or in kind, on land, incomes, inheritances, or any other form of wealth. Placing taxes on land alone merely affects a change in the form of tax and therefore in the share of this burden which the different classes in society must bear. Nothing else.

The second fallacy lies in the assumption that taxation can level out the economic cycles of capitalism. Taxes are merely part of the wealth which is created, and, merely appropriating this portion in no way changes the mode by which wealth is produced. Tax as you will, under capitalism, the anarchy, competition, and economic cycles will and must continue. Otherwise capitalism cannot exist.

It may here be argued that the intention is to tax the capitalists so heavily as to practically force the system out of existence. Here we come to the chief fallacy implied in the above question. Who will do the taxing? The government? But the present government is the instrument of the capitalist class, which has no intention of using its own weapons to commit suicide nor to permit others to use it in dealing it a death blow.

It is therefore indulging in useless abstractions to attempt to figure out how to get rid of capitalism by means of a capitalist government. There is only one way: The capitalist state must be destroyed and be replaced by the workers state.

E. V. ST. PAUL—

Question: How do you account for the fact that the state of Ohio seems to be the center of strikes whereas they only seem to be flaring up spasmodically in other parts of the country?

Answer: We can only here advance a supposition since it is impossible to gauge at any particular time all the molecular processes that are generated by the class struggle. In all probability the tempo of the struggles in Ohio, relative to the rest of the country, flows from two chief factors:

1. The objective factor, i.e., the concentrated nature of Ohio industry. If we take 1929 statistics as a basis, 24.2 percent of the workers in the manufacturing industries of this country worked in establishments employing each over 1,000 people. As compared to this, 32.1 percent of the workers in the manufacturing industries in Ohio were concentrated in such large industries, and this figure is exceeded by only three states in the Union: Michigan, with 48.3 percent, Connecticut, with 34.2 percent, and Indiana with 34.1 percent.

2. The subjective factor. People with revolutionary consciousness, particularly members of the Workers Party, have taken leading positions in the struggle.

In this historical period, the entrance of Marxism into the class struggle is, of course, the decisive element.

Question: Where can I find the statement, attributed to Stalin, in which it is stated that the Social Democracy and fascism are twins?

Answer: In the pamphlet "What Is Happening in Germany?" by Fritz Heckert, published by the Workers Library Publishers in June 1933, Heckert states as follows (p. 20): "... As early as 1914 (?) Comrade Stalin gave a definition of the development of social democracy into fascism that in its exactness and its clear-sightedness is unsurpassed (!!!), a definition that was made the basis of the Comintern and the policy of the C.P.G.:

"Fascism—said Comrade Stalin—is a fighting organization of the bourgeoisie, an organization that rests on the active support of social democracy. Social democracy is objectively the moderate wing of fascism. . . . These organizations do not contradict each other but complement each other. They are not antipodes, but twins. . . ."

Further on in the pamphlet, Heckert, ranting against Trotsky, says: "The facts (??!!), then, have in a cruel fashion unmasked the counter-revolutionary meaning of the 'platform,' of the social-fascist Trotsky, who has striven to prove that social democracy and fascism are not twins, but antipodes." (p. 28)

First Battalion of Workers Militia Marches in France

On June 19, a monster demonstration took place in Paris. In commemoration of the Commune, some 250,000 workers paraded and demonstrated before the Mur de Federes, at the Pere Lachaise cemetery.

The demonstration took place, so to speak, under the sign of the Stalin-Laval Communique. As reported in L'Humanite and the Pravda practically the entire demonstration was devoted to expressions of love to Stalin. What neither the L'Humanite, nor the Pravda dared to report was that thousands upon thousands of workers, the left wing of the S.F.I.O., syndicalists, anarchists, Doriotists, and, of course, the Bolshevik Leninists expressed themselves in no unmistakable way about the "great Leader's" consummate betrayal. This time the import of the "leader of the world revolution" was all too clear. And such slogans as "Down with National Defense!" "Civil Peace is War!" "Down with the renegade Stalin!", "Stalin sac an dos!" (Kick Stalin out!) plentifully punctuated the line of march.

By no means the least, vociferous, was the detachment of the first workers' militia, 300 strong that participated in the demonstration, carrying on high its own proletarian version of the Mosaic code: "For one eye, both eyes, for one tooth, the whole jaw."

This first detachment comes as the result of the vigorous propaganda and work of the Young Leninists, who formed the initial nucleus of the present detachment.

The beginning is always the most difficult. Having achieved the first step, it will be much easier now to build and drill subsequent detachments. Other iron detachments will come on the morrow.

spoke in the name of Constructive Revolution was compelled to dissociate himself from the traitors in the P.O.B. (Belgian Labor Party).

He exposed the true depths of the reactionary nature of his tendency by condemning as wild-eyed romanticism all the formulations relating to the arming of the workers.

The Centrist Verbiage. Zyromski took the floor as the spokesman for the motion of his tendency, the Bataille Socialiste.

He began by stating that very rarely he had found himself in so complete and close agreement with a motion. There is no doubt of it. The motion of the Bataille is the best possible specimen of centrism. It faces on the one side toward reformism and on the other towards revolutionary ideas. It deals with reformism in the vaguest and most cautious manner possible, clothing itself with the vaguest formulations, and then deals a blow straight at the heart of revolutionary ideas. It is in essence a collection of phrases that binds those voting for it to nothing.

La Verite, in commenting on Zyromski's speech, observes that after listening to Zyromski speak so much about "revolutionary force" it could not but recall Pivert's criticism (which had appeared in the La Verite in a previous issue, as an answer to an open letter to him) of those who babble in general about arming, without envisaging the actual, concrete link in the

total lack of understanding of the situation in a single phrase which threw the assembly into convulsions. "Haven't we still got plenty of liberties?" asked Sevarac. Sevarac can only propose to "continue" and wait. Carry on propaganda. Undoubtedly Sevarac prefers the sanatorium to the concentration camp, but if he is permitted to "continue," it will be the concentration camp. Nevertheless, contrary to what occurred during the last Federal Congress of the Seine District, the impression was obviously conveyed that Sevarac this time did not rush to attack the vague motion of the Bataille, which smacks of the Tonlouise self-defense motion which Sevarac had himself voted for. It was against the concrete proposals and methods which find expression only in the motion of the Trotskyists that Sevarac aimed his fire. Sevarac's attitude once again testifies to the fact that two policies are confronting one another, one the policy of catastrophe and pacifism, the other, the policy of the Bolshevik Leninists, the policy of revolution. The motion of the Bataille Socialiste seeks to balance itself in the middle; it is only a screen being erected to cover up the gulf between reformism and revolution.

Pivert on the Tightrope

Pivert provided the "surprise" of the conference. He did nothing more or less than defend the Bataille motion by means of the slogans in the motion of the Trotskyists. It was with considerable astonishment, that those who applauded Pivert during his speech heard as his conclusion, that he was supporting the Bataille Socialiste motion. After everything he had said and written to the contrary; after he had written and stated that he for one wanted a concrete and actual motion, that it was necessary to tie up the seizure of power with the war (against national defense); that one must not throw phrases about arming in general, but build the real link in the chain: the workers' militia—after all this, and more, Pivert signed and proclaimed his adherence to the motion which is in flat contradiction to what he has said and written, and he refused to vote for that resolution which was fully in accord with his expressed ideas. . . .

In other words, one advocates the concrete road of revolution, but while waiting, one takes to the road that runs half-way and in between. This attitude on Pivert's part is all the more damnable because it serves to screen from the eyes of the workers the real problems facing them.

What is his motivation? He thinks by conciliating the prejudices of the province to "capture the party." The classic argumentation of Centrism—always putting organizational questions as primary to the political issues.

country," etc.)

Revolutionary Defeatism

4. Intransigent opposition to national defense under a capitalist regime. Recognition of revolutionary defeatism as the only consistent proletarian policy. Denunciation and complete break with hypocritical and false social-pacifism as well as social-patriotism. The necessity of systematically pointing out to the workers that without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international tribunal, no conference on the reduction of armaments, no "democratic" reorganization of the League of Nations, will save humanity from imperialist war.

5. Revolutionary defense against imperialism and against internal counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, which remains a proletarian state because of its social basis and the predominant form of property.

Necessity of mercilessly unmasking the false methods of the Soviet bureaucracy and especially its foreign policy. The utilization, for the defense of the U.S.S.R., of the contradictions between the various imperialist states must not in any case mean capitulation before the bourgeoisie of the proletariat of an imperialist state temporarily allied with the Soviet Union.

6. The revolutionary struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat demands secret, systematic and persevering propaganda in the army.

7. The revolutionary struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat demands secret, systematic and persevering propaganda in the army.

8. Necessity of supporting, not in words but in deeds, every movement for emancipation among colonial peoples or oppressed nationalities up to and including the right of these peoples to secede from the mother country. The right to self-determination of the peoples of Alsace-Lorraine, including the right of secession from France if they wish.

Systematic propaganda among the French workers against all nationalist and anti-foreign sentiment.

9. Persevering work in the trade unions, cooperatives, and other mass organizations to win them over to the cause of proletarian revolution. Systematic struggle against the reformist bureaucracy of the trade unions.

Struggle for the realization and then for the preservation of trade union unity on the basis of workers' democracy and the right of political groups.

Organization of a revolutionary group in the trade union movement in order to displace the class-collaborationist leadership of the C.G.T. (reformist trade union center) and in order to reorient the latter on a revolutionary line.

10. United front policy toward other working class organizations.

11. Control of the activity of the leaders, the officials and of the press by the entire party. Control of the activity of every member of the organization.

Necessity of limiting the percentage of non-proletarian elements in the leadership, and among the candidates for parliamentary election, etc.

12. Orientation of the work of the party sections toward the factories. Setting up of nuclei in the factories.

Effective support by the party of strikes and other economic struggles of the working class.

13. Condemnation of the federalist structure which is suited to a purely parliamentary activity under a bourgeois democracy. Necessity for a democratic centralist structure based upon a revolutionary policy and operating in conformity with the demands of such a policy.

14. Necessity of carrying on a struggle for the revolutionary regroupment of the proletariat on an international scale, that is to say, as a consequence of the collapse of the Second and Third Internationals, the building of a Fourth International based upon the theoretical and strategic principles laid down by Marx and Lenin.

Rotten Arguments for a Rotten Cause—the Road from Class Struggle to Civil Peace

At the present time as during the war when Lenin denounced them, swarms of theoreticians rise to the theoretical and scientific defense of the fact that the Communist International has accepted national imperialist defense.

The first ones to date are not worth much.

1. In his long speech at the general membership meeting, Thorez wrapped himself in the mantle of a "great" historical example, comrades. That is to say, the attitude of Marx and Engels who supported up to September 4, 1870 the war against the French Empire. And consequently the Communists may support the war against German fascism.

Social-Patriotic Disgraces

The trouble with this threadbare argument is that it has already been worn to shreds in the hands of Vailant, Guesde, Scheideemann and Kautsky during the war of 1914. And it is a fact that in the joint articles in "Against the Stream," Lenin and Zinoviev proved that the war of 1870 was a national war, resulting from the bourgeois national movement of the German people, which was democratic, unifying and progressive. It is the class content of the war, its significance in the history of the emancipation of classes that dictated the attitude taken by Marx and Engels toward the close of the historical period of continental national wars. But what is the class content of a war of French imperialism? If Thorez wants to use this argument in support of his position, it is only fitting that he should follow Guesde and Scheideemann. Even Cachin can explain that to him.

Moreover, in this war of the pre-imperialist epoch, Marx and Engels supported Babel and Liebknecht in their refusal to vote war credits to Bismarck, not to be compared with Laval or Wiegand.

Abusing a Good Example

2. Duclos comes next. He reminds us that when the hangman Kornilov waged his offensive, Lenin practiced the tactic towards the Kerensky government, not of supporting the latter but directing all forces against the main enemy.

We popularized this example during the Red Plebiscite and throughout the entire course of events in Germany: at that time the German Communist Party, instead of conducting against Hitler the tactic of Lenin against Kornilov, chose rather to make a united front with the German fascists against the sorry socialist government of Braun-Seydewitz in Prussia. This meant victory for Kornilov-Hitler.

But today it is Duclos who resorts to the example. It is no longer a question of the united front with the "social-fascists" of yesterday upon the common class front, but of an improbable construction in which a Hitler is always tantamount to a Kornilov, but where the Kerensky "to be supported" becomes Laval-Wiegand. That is, not the puny reformist Kerensky of the democratic revolution who was smeared by history but mighty French imperialism.

Lenin's "Conditions"

It must be added that the wretched numskull remains triumphant to the end. He continues with the quotation: "Allowing for necessary changes, Lenin wrote, we equally push to the foreground at this time the redoubting of the agitation for what may be called 'partial demands' (there you see you have the immediate demands, etc. . . .)"

But the quotation does not end there, and here are the partial demands that Lenin listed: "arrest Milukov, arm the Petrograd workers, call in the troops of Kronstadt, Vyborg and Helsingfors, dissolve the Duma, arrest Rodzianko, legalize the transfer of the landed estates to the peasants, establish workers control over food supplies and industry."

Thus it is that Lenin, who goes on to exhort the soldiers to rise against the generals and officers who had declared themselves for Kornilov, rises to fling in Duclos' face the call for a "workers' militia."

3. Thorez, Duclos and Gittion keep repeating to anyone who listens to them: "we are no deserters. As Lenin called upon us, we shall participate in every war, no matter how reactionary it may be." As a matter of fact, Lenin declared that the communists and the workers will participate in wars imperialism may unleash. Upon this point we must discuss with our comrades of the left wing of the Socialist party who declare themselves for "the launching of an insurrectionary strike in reply to the war."

General Strike Against War

If the Marxist-Leninists reject this slogan it is assuredly not on the grounds of principle. But the mechanism whereby wars are unleashed by imperialist powers and

their material and moral preparation result unfortunately in the fact that at the moment when war is declared (if there is a declaration) is the very moment when the proletariat and its organizations are least apt to bring into play the instrument of such a scope as the insurrectionary strike. Thus the slogan proves barren and consequently dangerous. The example of Jonhaux and the French anarchists reveals what befalls the slogan of the "insurrectionary strike" and its subsequent transformation.

Lenin said that the communists and the workers will participate in the imperialist war like the slaves they are. But they will participate as implacable opponents of national defensism in order to continue the class struggle and work for the transformation of the imperialist war into the civil war.

That is not at all the way in which Thorez and others give proof of not being deserters. At the general membership meeting of the C. P., Thorez made the following reply: "And now I answer a question that has been put to me. 'In case of a war launched by Hitler against the U.S.S.R. would you apply your slogan: Transformation of the imperialist war into the civil war?' Well, no! Because in such a war it is not an imperialist war that is involved, a war between two imperialist gangs, it is a war against the Soviet Union."

Revolutionary Defense

4. Thus the conclusion remains the very same: involved here for the workers is the question of "revolutionary defense." In the name of this defense they must participate in an imperialist war in the service of French imperialism.

Here we are not even discussing the dubious unstable and perfidious character of the alliance between French imperialism and the U.S.S.R. What is under discussion is not the final ends pursued by the French bourgeoisie as well as by every other bourgeoisie in Europe or elsewhere in the impending slaughter which will be unleashed by the capitalist crisis.

As it stands the leaders of the C. P. are pledging themselves to pivot the proletariat to the chains of their bourgeoisie up to and including all the slaughters of war, throughout all the crises of the war. And all this in the name of what kind of revolutionary defense? Of the French proletariat, of their revolution which is or will be accomplished? No. It is in the name of the Russian Workers' State which the French bourgeoisie means to strangle.

But will matters rest here?

The Logical Conclusion

Once on this road, it is foredoomed that the Communist leaders will proceed much further: at Prague, Sverna declared that the Communists would defend "the independence of Czechoslovakia." In Paris the expert P.V.C. writes: "the communists do not plant their banner over a drug heap. They do not condemn the army as such. They do not disown the idea of the fatherland (no, since the time of Marx, they know that the workers have no fatherland). They want to conquer for the toiling masses the right to their own banner, the right to their own army, and the right to their own fatherland."

And, WHILE WAITING, they want to safeguard all the material and cultural wealth of the country. "WHILE WAITING," that is to say while under the present domination of the imperialist bourgeoisie, of the bourgeois fatherland. Thus, revolutionary defense leaps over the chasm which divides it from social patriotism.

The policy of "revolutionary defense" pledges the proletariat to war and to counter-revolution. It is as inevitable for the French proletariat as it is for the Soviet Union. And all this in the name of a "realistic" policy.

There is nothing more "realistic" for the proletariat than Marxism. For ten years we have fought the theory and practice of "socialism in one country." Now more than ever we call upon the proletariat to join us in the struggle for the regeneration of proletarian internationalism.

DETROIT (FP).—Preparations are being made to charter an international union of automobile workers within the near future. Questionnaires will be sent to the various locals of the United Automobile Workers of America to ascertain whether these organized workers now desire an international union and feel capable of the responsibility of directing its affairs.

The response will be for the immediate establishment of an international, the Detroit office of the American Federation of Labor assumes. In anticipation of a large affirmative vote, preparations are now under way to call a convention in Detroit, starting August 28.

Platform of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group in French S.P.

1. Fierce struggle against the ideas and methods of reformism, a complete and final break with the advocates of collaboration with bourgeois parties (Neos, Gradualists, etc.) in France and throughout the world. The struggle against reformism does not exclude, but demands the struggle for reforms. The reformists who stand on bourgeois legality betray the struggle for reforms. Condemnation of the method of the German Social-Democracy, "The Lesser Evil," which led to the worst possible evil, Fascism.

2. Necessity of revolutionary struggle for power, of armed insurrection for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the only method of transforming capitalist society into socialist society.

The struggle against bourgeois democracy does not exclude but demands the struggle for the defense and extension of workers' rights in the democratic period. This struggle becomes all the more pressing as against the various forms of the dictatorship of finance capital (Fascism, Bonapartism, etc.)

Condemnation of the method of Austrian Social-Democracy in attempting to gain 51 percent of the electorate, a method of passivity and gradualism which can only lead to defeat.

Recognition of the soviet of workers, peasants, and soldiers as the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat; a form historically established by the experiences of the Russian revolution of 1905 and the revolutions at the close of the war.

3. Recognition of the international, and by the same token the permanent, character of the proletarian revolution, corresponding to the imperialist nature of the present epoch of capitalism. Condemnation of all deviations of a national character in the policy of the proletariat ("France is not Germany or Italy"—"We love our

Preliminary results of the voting in the provinces for delegates to the Congress were as follows:

MORROCCO—

Out of a total of 301 voting at the federal congress on May 30, the motion of the Bolshevik-Leninist group received 185 votes as against 117 for the motion of the Bataille Socialiste. 10 mandates from Morocco will be cast for the B.L.G. motion at Mulhouse.

MARNE—

Out of 700 votes cast at the Congress at Vertus the B.L.G. motion received 120 votes, thus giving them 5 mandates.

FINISTERE—

Thanks to the work of Comrade Behel one-fourth of the Carhaix section voted for the Bolshevik-Leninists. The work had been carried on for scarcely a month.

RIIONE—

15 percent of the votes were won by the B.L.G., thus giving them nine national mandates.

VAUCLUSE—

The Avignon section gave one national mandate to the B.L.G.

TARNE-ET-GARONNE—

The B.L.G. gained three mandates as against four for the Bataille Socialiste, and at

YONNE—

Two mandates were received by the Bolshevik-Leninists.

Just before going to press we received the information relating to the results of the second ballot taken at the Federal Congress of the Seine District. In this vote the Bolshevik-Leninists of France received 1,073 votes for their motion, over a fifth of all the votes. Three delegates, Balay, Molinier and Naville were elected to the Mulhouse Congress.

The main point on the agenda of the Federal Congress of the Seine district, on the eve of the National Conference of the S.F.I.O. (Socialist Party of France) at Mulhouse (June 9) was the "Struggle against the Crisis and the Seizure of Power."

The division of the votes on the first ballot was as follows: Bataille Socialiste resolution (the left-Centrist group, who have the majority in the Seine district—2,551 votes;

Lebas-Severac resolution—1,366 (the leadership of the party).

Resolution of the Bolshevik-Leninists—805.

Action Socialiste resolution—125.

Constructive Revolution resolution—183.

C.A.S.R. resolution (the "extreme left"—96.

Abstentions—445.

The resolution presented by the Bolshevik-Leninists has already been printed in the New Militant. And it need only be added that the speeches of the Trotskyists in defense of their positions were in sharp contrast to the vague "leftism" of the other delegates, without a shade of the false optimism which pervaded the "leadership" as a consequence of the latest municipal elections.

We reprint below a summary of a report of the Congress, from the May 25 issue of La Verite (organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist group in the S.F.I.O.):

The Bolshevik-Leninist Position

In his speech comrade Molinier stressed the only possible revolutionary concrete measures which must be undertaken by those who really want to take to the road of revolution. He aimed his attack at the motion of the Bataille Socialiste which speaks of the seizure of power without recognizing the need of the general strike or of creating the embryonic organizations of the workers' state (the Mass Committees). Also, the latter motion lists some excellent prescriptions for the struggle, such as general armament without so much as hinting at the actual and concrete link toward that end: the workers' militia.

Comrade Gerard followed by emphasizing the typical contradictions of centrism which pervaded the motions presented.

It was quite in the nature of things that the motion of the Bataille Socialiste could have as its signatories at one and the same time those who were the partisans and those who were the opponents of direct revolutionary action. This motion, said comrade Gerard, was a colored screen, on which anyone could project his own particular color.

Comrade Naville devoted himself to the exposition of the concrete implications of the seizure of power, linking it up with the actual situation (the Flandin government, the state of the party and of the working class). He pointed out that the policies of the leadership of the party were incompatible with a real struggle for power.

Speaking of parliamentary illusions, Naville took as an example, supporting it by facts, the experience in Italy. The Italian Socialist party despite its considerable electoral successes was none the less annihilated by Fascism, which was weakest in the electoral field. His speech created a profound impression.

The experience in Belgium had dealt a serious blow to the supporters of de Man. So that, itard whomany or Italy"—"We love our

Raise Banner of Bolshevism At French S. P. Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

agreement runs the risk of disruption." The Radicals, however, despite the encouragements of the Communists and the promises of "support" from L'Humanite, balked. They quit cold and capitulated to Laval who was finally able to form the new ministry, now in office, having obtained the extraordinary powers previously refused Flaudin and Buisson. What lesson must be drawn from this "choice morsel"? For us it is simple and clear. The Radicals revealed what they are and what they are capable of when they are in power on Feb. 6, 1934, during the attempt to capture the Place de la Concorde by the reactionary troops. Faced with the danger of civil war the Radicals capitulated to Doumergue, to the matronous forces, and to the reactionary coup d'etat. This attitude of the radicals flows logically from their class policy. Could they, would they, ever break with this attitude by involving themselves with the Socialists and the Communists in the struggle against the armed forces of reaction? That would be tantamount to their committing themselves to the road of civil war, which is precisely what the Radicals do not want. And that is why, after many hesitations, the Radicals who refused extraordinary powers to Flaudin and Buisson, perceiving where this road led them, turned tail once more, by granting Laval the extraordinary powers against which they had just voted twice in succession. Once more, the threat of armed gangs, of extra legal forces organized by fascism, called the cards in the parliamentary game, demonstrating the complete impotence of the parliament which has outlived itself.

The Mulhouse Congress

The Mulhouse Congress, convened on the morrow of this ministerial crisis, should have been a tribune to broadcast to the country, to clarify the country on the difficulties of the hour, to give the working masses the solution of these difficulties. On the contrary, the Mulhouse Congress took note only of the past, giving no directions for the future. The report of the parliamentary group was approved by 2584 mandates against 427, 47 abstaining. In the course of the discussion on this report Leon Blum made a speech which, as usual, was canonized as a "great" speech, but whose greatness, again as usual, consisted in its absolute emptiness, and its complete lack of directives and perspectives.

What did Leon Blum, the "leader" of the S.F.I.O. say? L'Humanite gave his speech the most prominent display, as if he were a leader of the Communist Party itself. In reality both centrism, one stemming from social democracy and the other from Stalinism, complement one another and merge in an amorphous hash, so that it becomes more and more difficult to tell them apart.

National Defense

But now we come to the question of national defense. This is the question which should have revealed a clear differentiation between communism and social democracy. But at the present time the position of Leon Blum is no different from that of Thorez, the Stalinist leader. L'Humanite rejoices in the rapprochement of the two points of view, Socialist and Communist; but it fails to perceive that by this very fact it avows the increasing alienation of the Stalinist parties from Leninism and from revolutionary Marxism. Let Blum speak for himself:

"The attitude of the party (on the question of national defense) conforms to that of the Socialist International and the trade union international. We are ready to do everything in our power to avoid war. But this preventive attitude no longer suffices when war becomes a fact."

"The parliamentary group takes its stand upon the position of the Tours congress of 1920. We declared then that we, Socialists, believed that, under given conditions the national and international duties coincide. Under what conditions does this coincidence exist? When there is a flagrant aggression and invasion of the national soil. "When this thesis was first presented, Maurice Thorez (Secretary of the Communist Party) rose to the tribune and declared his opposition to it. But since then things have changed. . . ."

Stalin Changes Thorez's Mind

We know what this change is. Following the Stalin-Laval communique the Communists also supported the idea that "National Defense" coincides with international obligations. But let us allow Leon Blum to continue:

"Shortly after my speech there appeared a series of articles in L'Humanite which designated Hitler as the hereditary enemy. From this time on the theory of revolutionary defeatism was no longer

strictly maintained. . . . I said that in case of aggression by Hitlerite Germany the whole proletariat would rise, together with the rest of the country. Now I say that on the day of Hitlerite aggression, Russia would be threatened and therefore the proletariat of the world will rise. My statement was nothing but sort of a prophecy and events have vindicated it."

What events? The declarations of Stalin, naturally!

"Have you noticed," Blum kept shouting at the Congress, "the direction of the Communist formulations? Isn't it obvious today that Vaillant-Couturier employs almost the identical formulas which I used at Tours in 1920?"

And L'Humanite, its heart leaping with joy, applauds Blum for having "said what we say!" . . .

"I believe," Blum went on to say, "that we should welcome the explanations given by the Communists as a result of our united action and as something which will facilitate organic unity. Common formulations are possible."

Thus, on one of the most important problems which have divided the revolutionists from the opportunists and centrists of all shades, the problem of national defense, the "rapprochement" between the Stalinists and social democrats becomes not only possible but has in fact taken place. And not as Blum pretends "as a result of our united action" because the contrary is true, but rather because the sham "unity of action" is only a consequence of the latest evolution of Stalinism on to the positions of social-patriotism.

But on another question of the same gender a similar rapprochement between the "Socialist" and

"Communist" point of view is to be observed: the question of "parliamentary collaboration." What did Leon Blum have to say on this subject? "The Communists were much more interested than we in getting the Lefts together. Nobody as much as they pushed for the constitution of a 'Left Government' in which the Radicals would take the leading role. When Maurice Thorez said to the Radicals: 'Go there,' the Radicals asked: 'Will the Socialists come with us?' In a word: the Communists pressed for a situation which would require our participation."

(Whence the great embarrassment of the Socialists.) "What would we have done if the Radicals had not evaded our proposals? I have lived," Blum continued, "through some very difficult days. Naturally, for fear of his being called to assume direct responsibility. But the Radicals, by cutting the matter short, freed Blum and his Communist colleagues from the fears of revolutionary hazards, from the fears of taking power."

What did the Mulhouse Congress say and what did it do in the face of this problem which is the central problem posed by the situation in France? It is already more than a year since the question of power has been posed in the sharpest manner following the coup of "February 6th." On February 12, 1934 the toiling masses at the call of their organizations replied by a general strike all over France. But the Socialists and Communists, instead of making a bid for power, quit cold, capitulating before Doumergue who was placed in power by the forces of the reactionary coup d'etat. Doumergue, finally had to make room for Flaudin and once again the Socialists and Communists sighed, relieved of the fear of being the successors, and they con-

Eight-Page New Militant Is First Step Toward Daily Paper

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basis. A propaganda group might conceivably go along with a four page paper, reaching its readers once a week and confining itself to some particular phase of revolutionary theory or activity. A party, which in the nature of the case assumes responsibility for theoretical education of the advanced workers and also for leadership in the daily struggles of the working class, simply cannot begin to meet its obligations with a four-page paper reaching its readers only once a week.

As a matter of fact, we should aim at a daily paper at the earliest possible moment. That in a country as large as the United States and in such a period as this there should be only one general working class daily, and that a Stalinist one, is nothing short of tragic. A daily paper issued by the Workers Party of the U. S., raising aloft the banner of the Fourth International, and presenting a truthful report of national and international events and an analysis of them based upon an uncompromising revolutionary internationalism, would have a national, and in fact, international significance.

The first step toward the achievement of this goal is to carry out the proposal of the Political Committee to increase the weekly New Militant from four to eight pages by Anti-War Day, August 1. All the various types of readers of the New Militant will thus receive more of the material for which they have been asking. New readers can be enrolled by the hundreds, possibly even thousands. An immense stimulus can be given to all the organizational activities of the party itself and of the mass organizations in which it exerts influence.

Funds for the small amount of additional machinery needed in the print shop and to guarantee the steady issuance of the enlarged weekly for a period must be in hand before the change is inaugurated. To proceed in any other way would be to act irresponsibly. Hence the financial campaign for the eight-page New Militant which has been inaugurated in recent issues and about which the branches of the party have been informed. Unquestionably the members and friends of the party, the workers who have seen the party in operation in many a struggle, can by united efforts make the realization of this new forward step possible. We call upon the party members and branches to carry out swiftly and enthusiastically the directions which have been sent them. We call upon all our sympathizers and friends to send in their contributions, large or small, without a moment's delay.

No more appropriate day could be found to carry the banner of revolutionary internationalism a long step forward than Anti-War Day, August 1.

Troops Smash Illinois Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

sharp battle ensued in which several workers were hurt after overturning two trucks bearing deputized "company guards." Reedy's injuries are grave.

The first to leave the county courthouse, where the Governor's conference was held, was Sample, who told the workers to gather at Labor hall for a meeting within an hour. Several hundred strikers had waited four hours in the rain outside the courthouse for news of the meeting.

Next came the Governor, flanked by national guard officers, including Captain Sherwood Dixon, Democratic Central committeeman, of Dixon. Captain Dixon had the loudest voice in Lee county during the campaign of 1932, shouting promises of a new deal for "the forgotten man."

Horne, after posing for two pictures, was whisked away in his waiting automobile, accompanied by Roy Bennethum, president of the

Stover organization. The Governor said before leaving that he was going to place a wreath on the grave of Jane Addams. Bennethum didn't announce his destination, but as the car sped away some of the workers said they hoped he would go to hell.

NEW MILITANT

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NEW YORK (FP).—The United Textile Workers of America executive board has proposed legislation patterned after the Guffey coal bill, setting up a national board of control for the cotton textile industry.

fined themselves to demanding from Flaudin the dissolution of the fascist bands and the guaranteeing of "democratic" rights. Flaudin, in turn, fell. But despite the electoral victories of the "Peoples Front" in the municipal elections in May and June, the Socialists and the Communists agreed to do nothing, pushing the Radicals to take power, who in their turn quit cold. In the meantime the fascist bands did not cease from equipping themselves, from taking to the road of civil war.

The Bolshevik Leninists

But, the Mulhouse Congress not only had nothing concrete to say on these questions but it revealed the desire to hear nothing about them, when a single voice and a single force took the floor to remind it of its duty: the voice and the force of the Bolshevik-Leninists.

Nothing reveals better the character of the Mulhouse Congress than the reaction of the parliamentary high priests to the speeches of the delegates representing the Bolshevik-Leninist tendency, the so-called Trotskyists. For the first time, since the split in Tours in 1920, this tendency appeared on the tribune of a Socialist congress. It was represented by over a hundred mandates. But its real force rested in the ideas defended by it. The Stalinist degeneration, is proved, among other things, by this mutual approbation, by this feeling of mutual and compatible understanding which implies the reciprocal pardon for past errors between the Socialist and Stalinist leaders. At the present time they rest on the same centrist positions. On the other hand it is the Bolshevik-Leninists on whom falls the honor of raising the banner of proletarian internationalism, the banner of communism, the banner of those principles on which the Third International of Lenin was founded. When Paul Faure appealed to the congress for unanimity, he exhorted all the delegates, save the Bolshevik-Leninists "who remain true to the 21 points of Moscow," that is to say, true to the principles which gave birth to the Third International. And when the "Trotskyist" delegates heckled Blum's speech, calling the Stalin-Laval communique a betrayal, Blum in a fit of anger replied: "Should unity have to leave your small group outside the reunified party, I will take my party into it." Naturally, and we are also ready. Blum warns us that the vaunted organic unity is the unity of the two bureaucratic currents against the revolutionary current. But the "small group" which Blum would like to leave outside the unified party, has already won an important place for The Mulhouse Congress is proof of itself in the French labor movement.

The only clear and definite slogans; the only true and possible solutions for the working class were presented by the delegates of the Bolshevik-Leninist tendency. National defense? No national defense as long as the bourgeoisie is in power. Revolutionary defeatism is the only working class policy against imperialist war. The defense of the U.S.S.R. is the problem of the socialist revolution; is the question of the struggle for power. And for the conquest of power: mobilize the masses for revolutionary action (against all collaboration with the class enemy). The struggle for power is the immediate problem and not merely an object for discussion at a congress. Workers government (Socialist-Communist government), that is the slogan of the hour. Ballots and parliamentary action will not bar the road to fascism and lead the masses to power. Weapon against weapon: workers' militia. That is the task which falls on the working class parties at the present moment.

These slogans, broadcast from the Mulhouse tribune, distorted by the corrupt Social Democratic and Stalinist bureaucrats, will make their way into the hearts of the workers, will create new and grandiose opportunities; the only opportunities for salvation. Numerical weakness is a good argument only for Blum; but the "small group" in the turbulent conditions of today can become the nucleus around which all the revolutionary forces will be regrouped. The progress achieved by the Bolshevik-Leninist tendency in the course of seven months inside the S.F.I.O. proves how great are the possibilities of development for a genuine revolutionary current in the impending great working class struggles and the civil war. Days of stress are inexorably approaching for France as well. And the struggle for power remains the only way out for the working class. Which however it will not be able to find without a party genuinely poised for this revolutionary struggle. That party will be created in the very fire of the struggle. It cannot raise any other banner than that of the Fourth International. Without that, the merger of the reformism of Blum with the bureaucratic centrism of Thorez will lead the working class only to new defeats. It is the grave task of the Bolshevik-Leninists to avoid this catastrophe.

Report Activities of Boston W.P. Br.

Two well-attended classes were held during the winter season which were fruitful in organizing a Spartacus group and gaining new members and sympathizers for the branch. The class on the History of the American Labor Movement with comrade Konikow as instructor will continue as previously on Wednesdays at our headquarters. On Saturdays, our active members study and practice public speaking for service in the labor movement.

Two W. P. members spoke at a meeting of ERA workers on May 24 held in Lynn, Mass. They described the general conditions facing the unemployed and urged organization into an unemployed league. About 40 attended.

Following up this step in Lynn is the meeting of ERA workers organized in Boston on June 21 at 8:15 P.M. at 995 Washington St. under the auspices of the National Unemployed Committee League. Four of our comrades will speak at this meeting.

The headquarters of the W. P. branch and the S.Y.L. is 12 Hayward place. Branch educational meetings to which sympathizers and friends are invited are held every Thursday at 9:30 P.M. Spartacus meets on Tuesdays. Literature, New Militant and the New International can be purchased at the headquarters.

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

Mexican Labor Movement Unites Against Reaction

MEXICO CITY (FP).—Sudden threats of a violent capitalist offensive have quickly jerked labor in Mexico into unified action, producing almost overnight the formation of a permanent united front group known as the National Proletarian Defense Committee.

The recent sharp menace to organized labor came in the wake of a heavy strike movement since the first of the year. During this time, 1,200 strikes have been called throughout the country, including sympathetic strikes.

Because many of these have been directed against foreign capitalists who control Mexican industry and commerce, insistent pressure has been brought on all governmental departments by employers' organizations which have been trying to inject a "red scare" into the situation. They have been aided by sympathizers of the clergy opposed to the government's church policy.

Growing dissension within the ranks of the official government National Revolutionary Party recently came to a head in a political crisis which produced resignation of the Cardenas cabinet and incorporation into it of elements regarded as favorable to certain conservative groups.

The crisis, which on the surface was a split between followers of Pres. Cardenas and Political Dictator Plutarco Elias Calles, former president and "strong man" of Mexico, developed around the capital-labor issue. To the uninformed observer it appeared that Calles was attacking labor and that Cardenas was defending labor.

Mexico's "New Deal"

Labor spokesmen, however, pointed out that the situation was in reality one which might be compared with an open declaration of hostility between progressive Republicans in the U. S. and New Dealers. The issue, labor leaders said, was whether labor should be treated openly as a factor which opposed capitalist encroachments or whether it should be "given greater doses of demagoguery in order to make it appear that the government is really a labor government."

The situation showed plainly that labor will not retreat, and that it does recognize a common class movement requiring unified action. Calles assailed the recent strike wave, citing by name strikes which he considered unjust, such as those against the telephone company (U. S. capital) and the Hunsteca Petroleum Co. (U. S. capital), and added that labor should show itself more grateful for the concessions gained in the past and should not "seek to embarrass the government which is working in their interests."

Organized labor was not particularly interested in the fights among the politicians, but it certainly talked in plain language about those aspects of the fight which might affect workers. The united front immediately issued the following statement after Calles' declarations had been made public:

"The organized labor and peasant movement of Mexico energetically protests the declarations of Gen. Calles, and declares that it will defend the rights of the working class, such as strikes without restrictions, association in unions, and others; and will not cease fighting for the economic and social betterment of wage earners. Strike movements, assailed as due to collective unreason."

The I.L.D., which, during the trial, slandered the youthful Mini as a "stool-pigeon," was compelled to back down at the time of his conviction. It then characterized him as "an honest misled class prisoner."

I.L.D. attorney Leo Gallagher proposed a joint defense. The C. P. set on foot a rumor that Mini had "repented" of his political "errors," and that he was "no worse than Jack Warnick," the solitary C. P. Sacramento defendant who had the moral courage to defend Mini against the malicious onslaughts of the Darcy-controlled Stalinist machine.

Now the C. P. has expelled Warnick because he refused to back down on his support of Mini, and, discovering that Mini is no less intransigent, the C.P. has also turned on him again.

The Western Worker, which for a few weeks urged readers to send comradely letters to Mini, has turned its back on him. Endeavoring to escape in advance the blame due it for dividing the appeal movement, the C. P. now "charges" that Mini has "decided to go it alone" on the appeal.

ness and to a state of social injustice, are phenomena slurred over only by those who represent capitalist interests.

"Strikes will end when there is achieved a transformation of the bourgeois system in which we live."

"The organized labor and peasant movement of Mexico, aware of the historical moment in which it lives, declares that it will oppose all transgression of its rights, utilizing, at the proper time, the general nationwide strike as the only means of defense against the possible implantation of a Fascist regime in Mexico. And facing the threat of seeing its interests jeopardized, declares its firm intention of maintaining class unity."

The united front which signed this statement represented the majority of organized labor, ranging from the radical Unitary Confederation of Mexico to the more powerful but less radical General Workers and Peasants Confederation (headed by Lombardo Toledano and generally characterized as syndicalist-reformist). This was the first time that this important confederation joined the united front movement in Mexico.

Among the points in the pact of solidarity signed by the National

Proletarian Defense Committee are: 1. One representative from each organization forms the committee. 2. The member groups will mutually respect their integrity and abstain from attacking one another. 3. Difficulties between labor organizations will be referred to the committee in an effort to settle them without attacking each other and thus hurting the workers' movement. 4. No interference in autonomy of member groups. 5. Ample basis for solidarity action. 6. Agreement that upon appearance of any fascist or similar organizations threatening workers or peasants or their fundamental right to strike, liberty of association, liberty of expression, right to public demonstration, or "if the state tolerates or foments organizations whose aims or tendencies are openly against such rights, the member organizations of the committee will declare a general strike in opposition to a tyranny of this nature." 7. Convocation of a National Workers and Peasants Congress. 8. The signatory groups declare that "they are opposed to collaboration with the capitalist class and will adjust their acts to revolutionary tactic and under the principle of the class struggle."

Pledge Support to C. S. Victims

(Continued from Page 1)

of America, Spartacus Youth League, Young Peoples Socialist League and Communist Party Opposition (Lovestonites). The American Civil Liberties Union and the General Defense Committee (I.W.W.) have already appointed observers.

A meeting will be held shortly in this city to add these organizations to the temporary committee. Steps will be taken immediately thereafter to add trade union delegations, and there will follow the work of providing Mini with appeal counsel and launching a militant protest campaign against the eight convictions and the criminal syndicalism law. The appeal argument will be very substantial due to errors made by the trial judge and also due to the affidavit obtained from a juror by the N.P.L.D., which impeaches the entire verdict as an illegal horse-trade. With active popular backing, the defense will have a fighting chance.

More I.L.D. Sabotage

According to an announcement by the N.P.L.D., Mini, "placing political integrity above legal expediency," to use his own words, has flatly rejected attempts of the International Labor Defense and the Communist Party to bribe and threaten him into becoming a silent partner in their efforts to make of the Sacramento criminal syndicalism appeal fight a political football.

The I.L.D., the Western Worker (mouthpiece of the C.P.), and other Stalinist institutions have made a united front in playing down the Sacramento appeal fight. Ignoring William Randolph Hearst's challenge that the Sacramento convictions constitute a national test case, the C. P. is playing up, not the Sacramento case, but the Gallup affair, in order to publicize Bob Minor, one of its leading bureaucrats.

"This was a mistake, of course. How could anyone be so naive as to believe that I would entrust my entire defense to the I.L.D.? Especially after the four months display of the honesty and political ability I had just seen in Sacramento?"

"You can see that with me it is a question of placing political integrity above legal expediency. If the I.L.D. refuses to acknowledge that an organization that I belong to exists, then it seems logical that they should ignore my existence also since I believe in the principles and policies of the organization. Under those circumstances, any gesture by the I.L.D. to let me in, while leaving my political beliefs out, must be classed as hypocritical opportunism. And I can not be part of it."

"From now on, then, to avoid any misunderstanding, any legal actions on my behalf must have the approval of the N.P.L.D."

For a while after its flattery failed to win Mini over, the C. P. endeavored to silence him by terrorization. The organization which withheld bail from its jailed members in Sacramento because some of them had dared challenge the bureaucratic regime of the C.P., did not hesitate to try to terrorize Mini into a fear that if he did not knuckle under to them, he would have no defense at all. The I.L.D. sent to San Quentin Leo Gallagher, its trial attorney whose courtroom tactics were such a miserable combination of opportunistic backsliding and provocative nonsense, to state that Mini could ride along on the I.L.D.'s appeal for his seven co-defendants, only on condition that the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, which handled Mini's trial defense and in a score of ways aided the whole defense movement, have no part in the case.

Mini Stands Firm

Mini was informed that the alternative would be renewed ostracism by the I.L.D., and his abandonment to the "shady characters" of the N.P.L.D. who are "impotent, counter-revolutionary" etc. A rumor was set on foot and peddled to Mini through his fellow prisoners and otherwise, that the N.P.L.D. was "abandoning" him. When Mini proved as impervious to this panic-agitation as he had to flattery, the unprincipled C.P.-I.L.D. bureaucrats turned on him venomously once again.

In a letter to Leo Gallagher, Mini has stated his position in unmistakable language as follows:

"... At the time when the question of joint appeal first came up, I took it for granted that an agreement for close collaboration between the I.L.D. and the N.P.L.D. could easily be worked out. But apparently this part of the question was never considered by members of the I.L.D. ruling group; and the idea became general that the N.P.L.D. had 'abandoned' the case, and that I had turned over my defense to the I. L.D."

"This was a mistake, of course. How could anyone be so naive as to believe that I would entrust my entire defense to the I.L.D.? Especially after the four months display of the honesty and political ability I had just seen in Sacramento?"

"You can see that with me it is a question of placing political integrity above legal expediency. If the I.L.D. refuses to acknowledge that an organization that I belong to exists, then it seems logical that they should ignore my existence also since I believe in the principles and policies of the organization. Under those circumstances, any gesture by the I.L.D. to let me in, while leaving my political beliefs out, must be classed as hypocritical opportunism. And I can not be part of it."

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I.S.U. STRIKES CITIES SERVICE BOSTON (FP).—With 10 Cities Service oil tankers already idle in five ports from Boston to Port Arthur, the International Seamen's Union looks forward to a complete tieup of the company's 14 ships.

The strike was ordered to force the company—the only oil company of importance still unsigned—to accept a union contract. Wages on its ships are some \$15 a month lower than on other tankers, union officials state.

Cities Service ships are tied up in Boston, Providence, New York, Philadelphia and Port Arthur, Tex.

A. J. Muste
Max Shachtman

Protest Persecution of Bolshevik
Revolutionists in Soviet Russia

Irving Plaza Hall
15th St & Irving Pl.
Sunday, June 30th at 8 P.M.