

# NEW MILITANT

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## Britain Joins Hitler Against Soviet Union

### Smashes Versailles Pact by Treaty with Germany

Great Britain's open support of German rearmament, as marked by the recent Anglo-German naval agreement, has strengthened the hand of reaction in Europe. New realignments of imperialist powers in preparation for an impending war is taking place. Peace in Europe has been maintained in the last few years due to Hitler's failure to obtain a strong ally on the continent and the collaboration of England and France. Both conditions now appear to be destroyed.

England's new policy, a culmination of years of hardly-concealed material support to Hitler's rearmament, has a two-fold purpose: first, to disrupt the Franco-Soviet pact, if possible to win France to an open anti-Soviet policy and second, to collaborate with Hitler so as to insure itself against possible Nazi military adventures at England's expense, for example in Austria.

England has held the balance of power in Europe for the last few years. Now it has openly thrown itself to the side of Germany in Europe. Its agreement with Germany sanctions an increase in the latter's navy to 35 percent of Britain's or a "maximum" of 429,000 tons as compared to France's 650,000 tons. In addition an air agreement between the two countries is now contemplated.

#### Blow at France

France is bitter over the agreement. Not only does it strengthen Germany, but the fact that it was arrived at without the sanction of the French government makes the French imperialists uneasy. The British, at first, refused to divulge Hitler's naval program to Paris. A few days ago, however, Hitler, under advice of London, informed the French government that his naval program for the next eighteen months calls for the construction of new ships totalling 107,000 tons, inclusive of two battleships of 25,000 tons each.

The first breach in Anglo-French collaboration over the Italian-Ethiopian dispute, immediately followed the signing of the Anglo-German naval agreement. Until then, despite the friendly relations established between France and Italy last January, Paris and London acted concertedly in relation to Italy.

Mussolini now has a free hand in Abyssinia. He has rejected the offer of Anthony Eden, British Minister for League of Nations Affairs to settle the Italo-Ethiopian dispute by giving Ethiopia a strip of British Somaliland to compensate the Africans for concessions to Italy. All correspondents agree that Italy will go to war with Ethiopia in October.

#### Fear for Colonies

The reaction of the French government to the offer of Eden is not provoked solely by its bitterness over the Anglo-German agreement. France has its own imperialist interests in Africa.

As a Paris dispatch to the New York Times of July 2 states:

"Loyal as France may be to the principles and text of the League of Nations covenant, the leaders and citizens are far from approving the British suggestion to placate Italy and Ethiopia by handing over to the latter the port of Zella, which might become a direct rival of the French port of Djibouti. If Mr. Mussolini had accepted the suggestion, says the Temps, it would have been to the detriment of France and an open violation of Article IX of the treaty of 1906 by which Britain and Italy undertook to refrain from competing with Djibouti."

However, the realignment of the imperialist powers is far from fixed. Diplomats are making hurried trips from one leading capital of Europe to another. There are rumors of tentative Franco-German parleys which if confirmed may mean a disruption of Franco-Soviet relations.

Workers' Russia cannot be defended by imperialist France. Peace cannot be maintained by the "thieves kitchen," the League of Nations. The defense of the Soviet Union depends upon its Red Army, the Soviet workers and peasants, and above all on the international working class.

### Protest Stalin Jailings in N.Y.

NEW YORK, June 30.—Over 300 workers attended the Irving Plaza Hall to protest the recent persecutions in the Soviet Union, the latest evidence of which was the imprisonment of Sergei Trotsky and others. Max Shachtman, editor of the New Internationalist, and A. J. Muste, National Secretary of the W. P. were the speakers.

The cases in history of persecutions by the Stalinist bureaucracy were ably presented by comrade Shachtman. Comrade Muste concluded the meeting by stating the position of the Party on events in the Soviet Union and their relation to the movement in this country.

By a unanimous vote the following resolution was adopted by the workers present:

We, the workers assembled at a meeting in Irving Plaza Hall, Sunday, June 30, on the call of the Workers Party, protest most vigorously the new wave of persecution against Bolshevik-Leninists and worker revolutionists in the Soviet Union.

We consider the arrest and imprisonment of Sergei Trotsky, who it is known has not participated in any political activity, as an act of brutal vengeance on the part of Stalin against Leon Trotsky. We endorse the call of Nathalia I. Trotsky for a commission of Andre Gide, Roland and G. B. Shaw to investigate the matter. We are particularly alarmed by this new wave of terror against revolutionists since it can only weaken the revolutionary forces inside the Soviet Union and undermine the prestige of the S. U. in the eyes of the advanced workers in the capitalist countries. These persecutions are particularly criminal in view of the acute danger of war against the Soviet Union.

We delegate the comrades A. J. Muste and Max Shachtman to bring our protest to the attention of the Soviet embassy in this country.

TOLEDO, Ohio (FP).—Averting a strike of the Mechanics Educational Society of America, the Rathbun-Jones Engineering Co. of Toledo has granted a new agreement providing pay boosts from 3 to 5 cents an hour and maintenance of the 40-hour week.

NEW YORK (FP).—Tom Mooney has won what may well be the battle that is the turning point in his long fight for freedom. The California supreme court has reversed his 18-year-old attitude and has granted Mooney's lawyers a writ of habeas corpus, which means that the state must answer the great volume of evidence of perjury committed during Mooney's trial or release the famous labor prisoner.

## New York Pledges \$1000 in Drive for 8-Page New Militant

One of the first responses to our campaign for the eight-page weekly came from S. Harrison, New York City (\$5.00 contribution listed in last issue) and carried this message: "Read about the eight-page New Militant while in Philadelphia last week. It truly gladdened my heart to hear the good news. There are great perspectives ahead of us—the enlarged issue may and will contribute a whole lot in the case. . . . Wishing you once more all the success required for such an undertaking."

This is encouraging, and we agree, there are great perspectives ahead of us. We have undertaken a big job as behooves a revolutionary movement, but we set out with the conviction that we can carry it through.

It has never been easy to produce the New Militant week by week. Funds have never yet been plentiful. As a matter of fact we have managed on a shoestring basis. To produce the New Militant today requires an outlay of \$162.00 per issue, all expenses included. At least that is the amount we should have. The truth is that we did not get it and we were compelled to make up in some other way, most often by reducing the economic rations for all the comrades who carried the burden of the active work.

## The New 'Magna Charta' for Labor

As soon as Senator Wagner can get to Washington to participate personally in the ballyhoo connected with the attachment of Roosevelt's signature, the much touted Wagner Labor Disputes Bill will have become law. Thus, according to Green, Hillman and the other A.F. of L. bureaucrats who "look to the President" to save labor, another Magna Charta, Charter of liberties, for labor will have been established. What will happen then?

The steel barons and other employers who do regard this bill, which (on paper) "outlaws" company unions and directs employers to bargain collectively with a union which gets the vote of a majority of their employees, as an outrageous concession to labor, have given notice that they will carry the issue of its constitutionality to the Supreme Court. The workers have had bitter experience with such delays over section 7a of NRA which was also a Magna Charta of labor according to Green et al.

Under this bill a National Labor Relations Board is to be set up to "enforce" collective bargaining, etc. Thus the way is paved for eventual greater control of government over the unions. Apart from that, bitter experience has taught the workers how slowly the machinery of these Boards operates even when "friends of unionism" sit on them, and that the employers have numerous devices for evading their decisions or crippling their operations. Besides, under a capitalist government, which necessarily is concerned about keeping the wheels of industry (i.e. capitalist industry) running smoothly, the basic concern of these government agencies is never that of enforcing the rights of the workers, but that of maintaining "industrial peace," in other words, preventing strikes or if they break out somehow, "settling" them, getting the workers back to work as quickly as possible.

Thus these government boards become in

effect strike-breaking agencies even under the best conditions.

The workers will not get salvation from the Wagner bill. They must now as ever fight the entire system for which it stands. They will get nothing except that which they can take by their organized strength and militancy. They must prepare more rigorously and thoroughly than ever, not for an easy way to improved conditions via labor boards, etc. but for a battle to the death against the employer drive against unionism, against the rising cost of living and the accompanying lowering of the standards of living.

It is possible that the initial psychological effect of the passage of the Wagner bill on some sections of the workers will be similar to that which occurred when the NRA was first proclaimed—to create the impression, namely, that unionization will get government support and so to stimulate organizing campaigns and strikes. It is a fact that capitalism in the U. S. does not yet have to resort to the most extreme repression. A "liberal" administration can seek to allay labor unrest and to buy off trade union leaders by concessions, by preventing the most reactionary employers from carrying out immediately their most extreme plans. Militants will take advantage of the situation, and especially of any organization sentiment which may develop among the workers, not in order to strengthen the mistaken impression they may have of friendly government support, but precisely in order that in the struggle to get what the government purports to give them, they may learn the true nature and function of all capitalist governments. Police, militia, soldiers, with clubs, tear gas and guns, will meet the workers who strike for the rights "granted" under the Wagner bill, as they met workers who struck for similar rights under the now defunct NRA. And the lesson will sink in deeper and deeper.

### Akron C.L.U. Head Backs Green Red Drive in the Unions

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio, July 1.—Joining hands with William Green and other A. F. of L. bureaucrats in their latest "anti-red" drive, Frank Patino, president of the Central Labor Union here declared he not only supported Green's move to split labor through mass expulsions but also began a campaign to oust local militants.

Patino, backed by the Summit County Labor News, announced his policy the day after the monthly meeting of the C.L.U. thus preventing an immediate reply by militants to his disruptive tactics.

It was the first open admission of Patino that he is with the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, although his previous actions in strikes had branded him as a hopeless, petty bureaucrat. His statement, widely featured in the labor paper, came three weeks after Coleman C. Claherty, rubber organizer, dragged the red herring across rubber workers' union meetings in an attempt to scare progressives.

### Italy Prepares Ethiopia Rape, Mussolini Says

Dynamite in Situation May Explode in New World War

By MARTIN A. GLEE

From official sources, writes the London correspondent of the New York Times, it has been learned that Mussolini has told the British envoy, Sir Anthony Eden, that "nothing could prevent Italy from going to war with Ethiopia in October." Arnaldo Cortesi, writing from Rome, says: "If there was any doubt that hostilities (against Ethiopia) would begin in a couple of months there is none now."

The war against Ethiopia may well turn out to be the precursor of the next world massacre. Let us recall once again that it was the Italo-Turkish war of 1911 which was the precursor signal of the last world war. Italy's designs on Ethiopia are pregnant with dire consequences for the world working class. For it is they who will be called upon to suffer a thousand tortures in a thousand different sections of the globe—when the next world war starts.

To understand more clearly the designs of western imperialism on this primitive kingdom in Africa, it is necessary to go back a bit; to establish the position of Ethiopia on the dark continent and to focus attention on the imperialist powers having a "direct interest" in the matter by virtue of boundaries—Italy, France and England.

In eastern Africa lies the kingdom of Ethiopia, popularly but erroneously referred to as Abyssinia. (Of the many tribes that go to make up the empire of Haile Selassie I, the Abyssinians are the most culturally compact, unified and politically and socially advanced. Hence the usual reference to Abyssinia when one is in reality speaking of all of Ethiopia). It has a population of about 11,000,000 in an area approximating 350,000 square miles. The chief industry is agriculture with breeding taking second place. The exports, the chief articles of which are wax, ivory and animal skins, do not amount to very much. Imports which amount to about 10,000,000 dollars yearly are

### Fords Pay Boosts Really Wage Slash Plant Survey Shows

DETROIT (FP).—Ford's widely-heralded wage increase to \$6 a day has netted Ford thousands of columns of free advertising and boosted his profits, Ford workers say.

On May 21, Ford announced that he was stepping up the minimum wage of his 128,000 employees to \$6 a day, adding \$2,000,000 a month to the payroll. He did not reveal that the raise would cost the company nothing, but on the contrary would actually increase profits. Ford workers reveal how the scheme works.

"In foundry coreroom, Dept. 1, 56 men turned out 4,800 cores in eight hours and three shifts were employed before the increase. After the increase, they were speeded up to 5,400 cores in eight hours, and the midnight shift was laid off," a Ford River Rouge plant worker said.

The same thing occurred in other departments. "In the foundry intake coreroom, Dept. 1, before the increase to \$6, 15 men turned out 1,000 cores an hour; after getting the \$6 they were speeded up to 1,600 cores an hour, the midnight shift being laid off," a coremaker reported.

#### Lay-off, Speed-up

A vivid description of what happened following Ford's announcement of the wage increase is given by another worker, who said: "In foundry coreroom 540, crank shaft cores, men on each table before the increase turned out 17 cores a minute, three shifts working. With workers getting \$6, men on each table have to turn out 20 a minute, an increase of 180 an hour, or 1,440 in eight hours. The midnight shift has been laid off, and two shifts are now turning out almost as much as the three shifts did before. The Ford Motor Co. has more than made up for any increase in wages by reducing its total payroll. This is the usual occurrence whenever there is a general wage increase. It is a definite sign of a wholesale layoff."

The situation at the Ford plant is tersely summed up by another worker: "With three shifts going and production at its peak of 6,500 cars a day, with a payroll of 60,000 workers, the speedup was bad enough; yet at the present time with the midnight shift almost eliminated and many workers laid off on the other two shifts, the production of Ford cars is around 5,600 cars a day."

## 100 Companies Grab 1/4 of Nation's Wealth

### Invent Electric Jolt for Strikes

NEW YORK (FP).—Police can follow orders now and handle strikers with gloves—"electric gloves." Construction Supt. Cirilo H. Diaz of Frederick Shure Co., Havana, Cuba, has invented an electric glove which, he guarantees, will paralyze strike pickets temporarily.

In his office in the heart of the Wall Street district, the ingenious Diaz demonstrated his invention to a Federated Press reporter.

Diaz explained that the battery supplying power to the glove is hung on the policeman's belt. An electric cord, cleverly hidden inside the coat sleeve, runs from the battery to the glove, from which electricity is sent through the striker's body by means of four contact points.

The patent, as issued by the U. S. Patent Office, claims the glove is intended for use by police against drunken and insane people, often hard to handle peacefully.

Diaz himself exploded this idea when he told this reporter: "Police can use my glove against radicals and strikers."

Diaz claims the glove can't kill anyone, although the current can be stepped up to 5,000 volts, enough to shock or paralyze any person, and to cause the more jumpy to lose consciousness.

A complete outfit sells for \$10 and New York police officials have already praised the weapons and asked for reduced prices on quantity orders. Police in other cities and states, as well as companies which hire their own private guards to break strikes and stop unionization, are expected to buy huge quantities of these electric gloves. They will supplement clubs, guns, horses, tear gas and vomit gas in dispersing strikers.

This invention may bring fame and fortune to Diaz; it means only a new kind of hell to American workers. But it may galvanize the American workers into abrupt action unforeseen by the inventor, or police and thug users of the gloves.

#### BEEF WORKERS ORGANIZE

FINDLAY, Ohio (FP).—Sugar beet field workers in the Findlay area have organized a local of the Agricultural Workers Union.

The newly-elected officers have been instructed to confer with growers for a wage agreement.

Beet workers are offered a contract giving them \$10 an acre for blocking, thinning and hoeing beets, and \$8c a ton for harvesting. They demand \$19 an acre flat guarantee—the rate given in the Blissfield, Mich., area. Both areas are controlled by the Great Lakes Sugar Co.

WASHINGTON (FP).—A New York banker, Vice-Pres. J. L. O'Neill of the Guaranty Trust Co., has been given charge of the skeleton NRA, now little more than a research agency. O'Neill was formerly associated for 22 years with Carnegie Steel.

## Roosevelt Throws Youth a Bone But Slams Labor at Same Time

Roosevelt has dished out a new sop (slop), this time to the youth of the United States. "I have determined," said the President, "that we shall do something for the nation's unemployed youth because we can ill afford to lose the skill and energy of these young men and women. . . . The yield on this investment should be high." The new project proposes, in one of its four points, to provide jobs for about 150,000 youths at \$15 a month, "limited to unemployed youths in families that are certified for relief."

A second, and perhaps more obnoxious feature of the project, proposes to "find employment in private industry for employed youth." Employers will be urged to accept youths as apprentices during which a "minimum allowance should be given." In other words, employers, who will probably require little urging, are offered labor at cheaper than full-scale adult wages. Thus, the first proposal establishes a miserable standard for youth la-

### Plutocrats Squeeze Out Small Business

WASHINGTON (FP).—Fewer and fewer people are coming to control more and more of American industry. This tendency has been going on for some time, of course, but the latest figures are now presented in a report on the "Concentration of Corporate Control in American Industry," prepared by the old Research and Planning Division of NRA.

It shows that 100 large corporations control well over a quarter of the general industrial wealth of the country; that the big corporations are coming through the crisis years with their relative position strengthened; and that there is every reason to believe the concentration of corporate control is continuing.

The report quotes A. A. Berle and Gardiner Means, authors of "The Modern Corporation and Private Property," to the effect that the 200 largest non-banking corporations on Jan. 1, 1930, controlled 49.2 percent of all corporate wealth in the United States. In 1931 the percentage of non-financial corporate wealth controlled by the 200 largest corporations had increased to 55 percent.

"A study of income tax data for 1931 and 1932 shows that the tendency toward concentration continued," the NRA report states. It assembles figures showing that 16.55 percent of the corporations controlled 52.2 percent of the corporate wealth in 1931, and 15.75 percent of the corporations controlled 53.3 percent in 1932.

#### Fewer and Fewer Hands

Taking statistics on 100 large industrial corporations, the study shows that the percentage of the industrial wealth of the country controlled by them rose from 23.5 percent in 1929 to 26.0 percent in 1932. "There is every reason for believing that 1933 figures, when available, will show a continuation of this tendency," the report states.

In regard to the record-breaking number of business failures in 1931 and 1932, the report points out that these were mostly small firms. "How many others were forced to the wall, no one knows," it declares. "The passing of small businessmen did not ripple the pages of the financial press, and went unrecorded."

But while small and medium-sized corporations perished by the thousands, the leading corporations as a group came through virtually unharmed. With some exceptions the relative position of the large corporations was "strengthened because of the holocaust of lesser competitors during 1931-32. Four hundred and eighteen industrial corporations tabulated by Standard Statistics had more cash and United States government securities at the bottom of the depression than they had in 1927."

Those 418 corporations controlled 36.5 percent of the cash and equivalent held by 300,000 general industrial corporations in 1927. In 1929 this percentage had increased to 43.7 percent.

## Roosevelt Throws Youth a Bone But Slams Labor at Same Time

Other proposals include job-training, and assistance for high-school students whose families are eligible for relief at "\$6 per month average," and for college students up to 12 percent of the college enrollment, by providing jobs at \$15 a month. The latter proposal is a continuation of the FERA system which has now operated for a year, transferring supervision from college hands to government authority.

#### Only One-Sixth 'Benefits'

All told, the project is estimated to cost about \$50,000,000. This sum is to be administered by the National Youth Administration, over which will preside Josephine Roche, Colorado mine owner and Asst. Secretary of the Treasury. In addition the president is to appoint a National Advisory Committee, "to consist of representatives of labor, business, agriculture and youth." Some 500,000 youth are expected

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# RALLY SUPPORT FOR EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT!



## Comments

### On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

#### Great Minds...

"If there were no aliens in this country there would be no unemployment problem," asserts Representative Dies who is forming an organization to be called "The Americans" for the purpose of carrying on a national campaign to deport 6,000,000 aliens. . . . "Russia has, to all intents and purposes, withdrawn a fertile and populous land of over eight million square miles in extent, with a population of 165,000,000 from the usual economic intercourse with the world. This has upset the delicate economic balance of Europe," proclaims Rear Admiral Yates Stirling, Jr., commandant of the Brooklyn Navy Yard, in the Hearst press. He advocates aligning ourselves with Nazi Germany "not only for laying forever the ghost of Bolshevism but for opening up the fertile lands of Russia to a crowded and industrially hungry Europe."

#### Safety...

\$150,000 was appropriated for machine guns, floodlights, electrical devices and tear gas for the defense of United States Mints. "Evidently you're looking for an attack by the regular army," remarked Chairman Buchanan of the Appropriations Committee. "You can't tell what sort of an attack will be made," replied W. C. Cram, technical advisor of the Treasury. "We might be attacked by a mob." . . . The New York City Police Dept. requested quotations on a new "electrical glove" to be worn in subduing strikers. The apparatus consists of a battery and induction coil carried on the hip with wires running to the glove. Voltages up to 5,000 can be obtained. . . . Twenty-five 12-year old New York boys were arrested, jailed, shown the electric chair and fingerprinted as part of their instruction in the suppression of crime. After finishing the course they were presented with badges bearing the slogan "Crime Can't Win!"

#### Blue Eagle...

The National Association of Cotton Manufacturers reports that mills continue to operate in compliance with NRA codes and that its policing unit has had practically nothing to do. One mill was reported to have increased hourly rates. . . . Textile mills in Macon, Ga., have gone back to the 50 hour week with no increase in pay (one back increases granted under the mill requiring employees to pay NRA); millinery manufacturers in Buffalo, N. Y., announce an increase in weekly hours from 35 to 40; workers of the Menzies Shoe Co. in Tennessee are on strike against increasing the shift from 8 to 10 hours; employees of the Ideal Hosiery Co. are striking against a 10 percent wage reduction; two men were killed by deputies in a dispute over wage cutting at the Monarch Textile Mill, Union, S. C. . . . Investigators for the Labor Department found "home work" rampant. Visiting 179 listed employees of the Rhode Island lace industry they found 270 other persons working on the same production, more than a sixth being children. In 75 percent of the cases weekly earnings were less than \$10. . . . Anna Schlorer Smith, Philadelphia mayonnaise manufacturer and owner of Blue Eagle No. 13, slashed her throat when her employees struck in protest to an increase in hours to 50 and a cut in wages from \$13 to \$10 per week. . . .

#### Housing...

About one third of America's dwellings "are of a character to injure the health, endanger the safety and morals and interfere with the normal life of their inhabitants," reports Edith Wood of the PWA Housing Division after an extensive survey of homes in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. . . . "Housing, public works and other projects on which material costs are relatively high will have to take a secondary place," states the Advisory Committee on Allotments President Roosevelt's four billion dollar relief fund. . . .

#### Unemployment...

Two thousand hunger marchers from the Canadian west coast are corralled in a concentration camp at Regina, Saskatchewan, to prevent them from marching on Ottawa. Prime Minister Bennett stated to members of the group that there would be no recognition of "Soviet agitators and Soviet committees." "You don't want work," he continued. "You want adventure and hope this organization you are building may overawe the government and break down law and order." . . . FERA colonists at Manataska, Alaska, complain that they have no houses to live in, food is exorbitantly expensive, schools are not ready, and mosquitoes are unbearable. . . . President Roosevelt announces: "Harry Hopkins and I are considering offering a medal to the State Administrator who causes us the fewest headaches."

# A Survey of the Automobile Industry

## Detroit and Toledo-Striking Contrast In Organization Methods

All is again quiet on the automobile front.

A few stray shots are still being fired on the field of battle, but barring the possibility of the tool and dye makers repeating their spectacular strike struggles of two years ago, the real battle will not begin again until the fall. Factory schedules are sharply tapering off and the mass lay-offs have started the great exodus out of Detroit and the other automobile centers. Obviously this is the time for the trade union militants to consolidate their position, to entrench themselves more firmly inside the existing unions and to prepare for the inevitable struggles of the near future.

To do this effectively, the militants must have a clear perspective. The Toledo strike demonstrated again the surprising vitality of the auto worker; his devotion and class solidarity when he engages in battle. The strike also revealed the present weakness of the federal unions: the fact that even in so progressive a local as 18384 of Toledo, the machine of the unscrupulous bureaucracy was powerful enough to push through the agreement that ended the strike. The machine succeeded in isolating the strike and prevented the Buick workers at Flint from joining Toledo in solidarity.

#### Detroit Doesn't Budge

The bureaucracy succeeded in keeping the Flint Buick workers at work throughout the Toledo strike, but only after a hard and bitter battle. The bureaucrats had to threaten and plead and cajole the men into submission. In Detroit, however, the Dillon office faced no problem at all. None of the federal locals there insisted on striking in solidarity with their Toledo brothers. The flying squadron sent up from Toledo to picket the Chevrolet Gear and Axle plant at Detroit did not even produce a ripple. The pickets were arrested by the efficient Hamtramck police, and the plant continued work as usual.

Observers all ask the question: How is it that this strike in Toledo, which has aroused auto-workers in almost every automobile city in the country, produced no effect at all in Detroit? Doesn't that prove that it will be many long years before the auto workers actually begin to move?

What actually happened in Detroit a city which seethed with revolt only a year ago, where 100,000 men were ready to man the picket lines at a moment's notice, and to-day not even a corporals' guard could be found to strike in sympathy with Toledo?

The truth of the matter is that Detroit has to this day not recovered from the shock of March 25, 1934. The shameful sell-out, signed by the A. F. of L. leadership, legalizing the company union and creating the Automobile Labor Board, broke the back of the nascent trade union movement in the automobile industry. In the Toledo Chevrolet strike, the shameful, traitorous role of Dillon but spurred the workers forward to greater efforts and more thorough unionization of the plants. It deepened their understanding of the difficulties of the tasks ahead of them and the necessity, in order to ensure victory to prepare to carry the battle forward on three different fronts: against the government mediators, the bosses and the bureaucrats of the American Federation of Labor.

In Detroit, however, the shameful role of Collins produced a directly opposite result: huge bon-fires were built with the union membership cards. They left the federal unions in disgust, by the hundreds and by the thousands, vowing never to return again.

#### Toledo and Detroit—a Contrast

Why is it that in one case the traitorous role of the A. F. of L. leadership was but a signal for more thorough preparation and heightened enthusiasm and in the other it produced complete demoralization and pulverized the whole movement? Are the Toledo workers, by any chance, more intelligent than the workers of Detroit?

No! As a matter of fact, they are much the same type, with more or less similar habits and background. The difference is to be explained and can only be explained on the basis of the presence in Toledo of a revolutionary group who understood the game of Dillon and the government mediators, who knew the moves of the chessboard ahead of time, and prepared and armed the men against Dillon and his agents, as far as possible in the short period of time at their command.

After the shameful speech of Dillon on the fateful Monday night which settled the strike, this group convinced the union militants that it was their job to go back into the union, build it up more strongly, expand their progressive group and drive out of the union all the henchmen of Dillon and what they stand for, that only thus could they build a genuine democratic union to protect their interests, etc.

#### Role of the C. P.

In Detroit, on the contrary, the suicidal policy of the Communist Party and their ill-fated Auto Workers Union, left the green, untrained auto workers at the mercy of the "labor lieutenants," completely disarmed. At the crucial

moment the "left wing" was nowhere to be found. When the blow came, the men were simply bewildered and stunned. Nobody was on the spot to give them the necessary advice and point the road. The auto-workers protested in the only way they knew how—with their feet.

After that betrayal, the A. F. of L. bureaucrats left the auto workers to the tender mercies of the Automobile Labor Board. When after some nine months meditation, Dr. Wolman at last got around to holding "elections" in the automobile plants and the results showed some 4 percent for the A. F. of L., Green and Dillon got terribly indignant. They threatened retribution. Fearing that the ground was just slipping underneath their feet they promised to start a giant organization drive to organize the whole automobile industry.

#### Dillon Blocks the Road

The organization drive, if it can be honored with that name, just evaporated into thin air. Because the auto workers wouldn't respond? The direct opposite is true. Every "spontaneous" outburst of the auto workers at Murray Body, at Hupp, Kelsey Wheel, the wet sanders in Lansing, was sidetracked by Dillon and referred to some governmental agency. Everyone in Detroit acquainted with the situation knew that the Dillon office feared to organize the men and was deliberately sabotaging all attempts.

The influx of thousands of new young workers of the basic industries in the A. F. of L. and the growth of mighty organizations in the nerve centers of American industry did not signify the corresponding growth and importance of the present leadership, but, on the

contrary, heralded their downfall and disappearance from the trade union scene. Apparently the bureaucrats know this very well, and that is why they so assiduously and carefully sabotage every step of the locals themselves.

#### Good Opportunities Missed

After a year and a half of such experience, the period of easy unionization is definitely ended. Now, something more than small initiation fees and dues are necessary to attract the automobile worker. Still 1935 was an excellent year to start a serious organization drive. For one, 1935 was a "boom" year. More men employed in the industry than at any time since 1929. Undoubtedly the A. F. of L. would have regained major positions in the industry, had it seriously proceeded with its promised campaign.

A triple alliance would have been formed of auto, rubber and steel. The confidence, such a move would have inspired, would have been immense. The men would have returned to the firing line, and a serious offensive could have been launched against the company unions.

These are all the things that might have been done, were the present A. F. of L. leadership seriously concerned about organizing the automobile workers. Instead it did nothing—and when the workers here and there timidly attempted to start organization on their own account, they were ruthlessly and brutally squelched.

That is why trade unionism is at low ebb in Detroit today. These are the "objective conditions" which made it so difficult to stir up the Detroit Chevrolet workers and interest them in the strike in Toledo. After a year of such sterling labor

"activity," the A. F. of L. federal locals might have lost all standing in the industry, had another center of attraction existed. At first that seemed to be the direction.

#### M.E.S.A. Stagnates

The Mechanics Educational Society, which organized the key men of the industry, the tool and dye makers, led brilliant, spectacular battles in almost every plant in Detroit and apparently were destined to sweep the whole field. But after the sell-out of March 25, 1934, instead of pushing on and taking over the leadership in a great organization campaign, it began stagnating. No serious attempts were made to get in production men, its membership slumped and the union was torn by an internal cancer of factional struggle between the various cliques, which paralyzed its activity and rendered it helpless. Unless the M.E.S.A. can cleanse itself—and that in short order, and begin an earnest drive for the production men—it will cease to be an important factor in the industry. All indications point at the present time to the fact that for the immediate future, the A. F. of L. federal unions are destined to be the shell within which the auto workers will organize.

We have spoken previously and we are ready to repeat again the story of the peridy of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. We can even add: Dillon and Green are deliberately delaying the formation of an International in the automobile industry, for fear that they cannot yet control it; they intend moreover to exclude from such an International the tool and dye makers, the maintenance men and other workers claimed by the various International unions. All this is true, but axiomatic to a revolutionist engaged in trade union work. If we wish, however, to do more than just "expose" the bureaucracy, if we would actually do battle with it and destroy

# Tobin's Union-Busting Drive Against 574—and their Reply

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The Central Labor Union committee has returned from Indianapolis bearing a set of written demands from D. J. Tobin which outline the basis on which General Drivers Local 574 can be reinstated in the Drivers International. These demands bear witness to the ruthless tactics to which Tobin will stoop in his burning desire to get revenge for an imaginary grievance. Here are his demands:

1. That all inside workers be denied membership in the union.
2. That no worker who does not devote at least 51 percent of his time to driving or other actual work on a truck be permitted to be a member.
3. That the ice drivers be in a separate union. That the coal drivers be in a separate union.
4. That the taxi drivers be in a separate union.
5. That all independent truck owners be denied membership in any union.
6. That a new charter be issued on the following basis:
  - a. All present officers and active members in Local 574 be denied membership under the new charter.
  - b. All applications for membership be subject to the approval of Tobin. (This would mean that any worker who is even suspected of having taken an active part in the union would be unable to remain a member.)
  - c. That the Teamsters Joint Council reorganize the local under the direct supervision of a special representative of Tobin.
  - d. That all actions of the union be subject to the approval of Tobin.
7. That Tobin receive the delinquent per capita tax of Local 574, the amount to be determined by the General Executive Board and to be not less than 50 percent of what Tobin estimates the local owes. (Tobin's estimate, by the way, is almost double the actual amount involved.)

**Tobin Program Worse than Bosses**

This program was planned deliberately to cut the union up into small helpless units and to strip it of its fighting ability. Tobin does not want a union in his International which has the power of 574. A few unions like 574 and it would be impossible for him to maintain his bureaucratic control which constantly strangles unionization of the truck drivers of the nation.

In this desperate attempt to protect his pie-cake, Tobin is putting forward the same program which the Citizens Alliance put forward last summer. Once again he plays into the hands of the employers as he did through his editorial writing during the 1934 strikes. In fact he attempts to go even further than the bosses did. Not only does he deny that the inside workers have a right to belong to the union, but he attempts to confine the mem-

bership of the General Drivers to workers who spend at least 51 percent of their time on trucks, and then they can be members only if the truck is used to haul certain Tobin-approved commodities.

After reading the Tobin manifesto to the assembly, Jean Spellman, spokesman for the C.I.U. committee, moved that the report be referred to the Teamsters Joint Council for action.

#### Slander Used in Election Campaign

At this point several delegates took the floor demanding to know why and how intimate details regarding the Local 574 charter fight had come into the hands of the candidate opposing William S. Brown in the aldermanic race in the third ward. Brown, the president of 574, played a militant role in the 1934 strikes and, in keeping with his fighting ability and instincts, waged a splendid and clean fight in the election campaign. But despite this fine record he was not invited to speak to the assembly on this issue which is of such vital importance to his union.

Joe Hork, a member of the 574 executive board, was denied the floor when he attempted to speak on the tactics employed against Brown in the campaign.

Many delegates took the floor to speak of the great gains which the General Drivers have brought to the entire labor movement. Specific instances were cited, such as the New England construction job where the truck drivers threw their strength into a fight which had begun to appear quite hopeless to the building trades unions.

#### Travesty on Union Democracy

At this point in the debate, which had by now become very heated, a substitute motion was made to throw the Tobin demands in the waste basket. This motion was later ruled out of order on the grounds that it was a negative motion and could not be voted on.

Delegate Wachter pointed out clearly and completely what a travesty of trade union democracy Tobin's policies represent. He pictured how the overwhelming majority of the delegates were in complete sympathy with Local 574 and showed that the differences of opinion in the matter lay principally in the relative courage of the delegates in determining a course of action. Questioning sharply Tobin's right to the dictatorial powers which he assumes, Wachter proposed that the Central Labor Union appeal Tobin's decision to the convention of the Drivers International and that in the meantime the whole matter be left pending with complete recognition of 574. Wachter was unable to obtain a vote on his proposal.

#### Threaten Charter Revocations

Speaking for his motion to refer Tobin's demands to the Teamsters Joint Council for action, Spellman told the assembly that, while he was in Tobin's office, Tobin had held a telephone conversation with Green in Washington and that Green had promised full co-opera-

tion to Tobin. Spellman then carefully explained that this would mean that if the C.I.U. or any union attempted to defend 574 that their charter would be immediately revoked. He then predicted that if his motion was not passed the C.I.U. charter would be revoked at once. He stated further that the present officers of Local 574 should be willing to step aside as Tobin demands.

Attempting to get the floor to answer Spellman's statements, Farrell Dobbs, secretary-treasurer of Local 574, was denied that privilege, and the Spellman motion was railroaded through.

An analysis of Tobin's demands shows that the voluntary withdrawal of the present leaders of 574 will not satisfy the lust of D. J. Tobin. He clearly states that he will be satisfied with nothing short of the complete disorganization of the local, the sacrifice of all the gains for which Henry Ness and Jack Belor died, and the expulsion of scores of militant members from the union. Tobin demands more than the heads of the leaders—he demands the complete strangulation of the union.

#### Reactionaries Meet Defeat

With the matter now in their hands, the Teamsters Joint Council will attempt to carry out the Tobin program. But despite the action railroaded through the assembly, the reactionary bureaucracy was badly defeated.

The issues in the fight are clearly defined, and the progressive thinking delegates are well informed as to the real meaning of this program to the movement. Their sympathies are completely with 574, and they will carry their opinions back to their unions with a recommendation that they continue to support the drivers. The standing of Local 574 will continue to be very high among union men.

Delegate Crowl, business agent of the iron workers, told the assembly that on the army job, and every other union construction job where the ironworkers are employed, if any union refuses to demand that 574 men deliver their materials, the ironworkers will tie up the job.

Local 574 will not give up the gains it has made through the bitter struggles of 1934. The sacrifices made were too great to permit Tobin to so lightly cast aside everything that Local 574 stands for. The membership of the General Drivers is up in arms over this outrage. They recognize the Tobin demands as a twin sister to the vicious propaganda of the bosses.

Local 574 will fight Tobin on every front and defeat his Citizens Alliance program. Every union, every liberal and radical organization must take a clear cut position in this fight. The workers of Minneapolis must respond in the same splendid manner that they did last summer in the struggle with the Citizens Alliance. Smash all union-smashers! Make Minneapolis a union town!

it, we must do more than propagandize; we must extend our organizational base in the auto industry because events have proved, we in the W. P. are the only ones who can do the job. We must fuse our ideas with the workers inside the federal unions, to help them "arm" themselves against their enemies and to organize "pressure" for the calling of a democratically controlled convention to establish an International union and to begin an organization drive by September in preparation for a general strike.

#### Workers Must Prepare to Strike

All the elemental forces of the industry are again turned loose full force, and are inexorably driving the men onward towards the path of unionism. Bitterness and resentment are accumulating so rapidly, that when the explosion occurs, the Toledo strike will look like a tea-party in comparison.

The workers have had a year's experience with the Auto Labor Board. Some 200,000 of them participated in the A. L. B.'s "elections" and while it was a bitter pill that Green and Collins forced them to swallow we say with confidence: it was not in vain! They have learned more in these last few months of "collective bargaining" than the previous five years put together. In plant after plant, members of the bargaining agencies have clashed with the management and have found that beyond getting a light bulb replaced or a water bubbler repaired—their power did not extend. If their demands were not acceded to, they of course had the opportunity of appealing to Dr. Wolman! Now, their only recourse is . . . strike, and for that they must have an organization.

So, having passed through the glorious run around of Roosevelt, Wolman, Green, Collins and Dillon, they are back at the starting point, more experienced, more steered and better prepared for the battle.

It is now the duty of the conscious revolutionists not to lag behind, but to be prepared to guide the workers and help them in their coming struggle. This task of organizing this key industry, the "nerve center" of American economy is the most important and significant one since post-war days, galvanizing the key industries, the opening up a completely new phase in American unionism and the labor movement of this country. If we succeed, our position in the American labor movement is secure and we shall be prepared to lead the workers forward to victory.

## A Letter the Daily Worker Dared Not Print

To the Editor of Daily Worker,  
50 East 13th Street,  
New York City  
Gentlemen:

In a Daily Worker editorial of June 17, 1935, we read:

"Joseph Zack and Jack Taylor, the two choice morsels which the Trotskyites fished out of the garbage discarded by the C. P., have been expelled and are now publishing a paper of their own. . . . Any honest worker may be forgiven if he holds his nose."

This section of the above dated Daily Worker editorial runs true to Stalinist form and method of "discarding garbage" in the form of Daily Worker editorials for the consumption of "honest workers" who "hold their nose."

You hold it is the policy of the Daily Worker to give the "honest workers" the truth and nothing but the truth—yet you deliberately print a trumped up account of my "expulsion" from the Workers Party of the U. S.

The New York Times gives "all the news that's fit to print" providing they do their own "fitting"; the Daily Worker prints a "fitting" account of Jack Taylor's "expulsion" . . .

Need I say that this "expulsion" is the brain child of the Daily Worker editor? . . . Need it be said that Stalinist brain fever (perhaps clairvoyance with Stalinism as the medium) has produced a picture of Jack Taylor "expelled" from the Workers' Party of the U.S.A. and publishing his own paper? . . .

For the "honest workers" who "hold their nose" against the Stalinist stench known as Daily Worker editorials, let me say the following:

Jack Taylor has not been expelled from the Workers Party of the U. S. and he is not publishing or helping to publish an independent paper.

Finally let me remind you—although you cannot have forgotten this fact—my resignation from the Communist Party was published in the Militant two months prior to my being "discarded" by the C. P. bureaucrats.

Stalinism has now been "discarding" what you call "garbage" for years. Thousands of "discarded" revolutionaries are exiled to Siberia and others held in Stalin's jails. This "garbage" is composed of those Marxists who can see the difference between the Menshevism of Stalin and the Bolshevism of Lenin and Trotsky.

This, gentlemen, is the truth—but to get the truth it is necessary to discard the Daily Worker and to read the New Militant, organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

—JACK TAYLOR

# Plenum of N.C. of W. P. Spikes False Rumors

The June Plenum of the National Committee of the W. P. took note of rumors to the effect that there are leaders and members of the W. P. who advocate that the W. P. should join or merge with the Socialist Party. Occasionally it is necessary to take account of rumor and gossip, no matter how absurd and irresponsible it may be, simply because it is so persistent. Solely on this ground, the Plenum hereby states that all such reports are absolutely without foundation, that no leaders or members of the W. P. advocate or have advocated any such program.

The position of the W. P. on the Socialist Party and the Second International has been clearly and explicitly set forth in the Declaration of Principles adopted at the merger convention last December of the former Communist League of America and the American Workers Party. We repeat it here both because of the intrinsic soundness of the analysis there set forth and because it is the best and simplest way to indicate how incompatible with the basic Declaration of the W. P. is advocacy of a proposal that it should join or merge with a party of reformism and pacifism:

"The Socialist Party is not a party of revolution but of reform and pacifism. The fundamental error of all wings of the party is their false conception of the nature of the state and of the colonial question. From this flow its parliamentary illusions, its notion that the workers can achieve power within the framework of existing state forms, its fetishism of capitalist democracy, its policies of class collaboration, and betrayal of colonial revolts and revolutions. It is affiliated and gives allegiance to the bankrupt Second International, which bears the responsibility for supporting the last imperialist war, and whose leading section, the German Social-Democracy, openly aided the capitalists to suppress revolutionary uprisings of the workers and made possible the triumph of Fascism in Germany. The Socialist Party conducts no struggle against the reactionaries in the trade union movement and important sections of the Party are directly associated with these elements. Though now, as at other periods in its history, the Party contains many militant and leftward moving workers, the powerful right wing elements in the Party openly spurn and combat all revolutionary tendencies. The radical phrases of the centrist wing represented by the 'Militant' leaders serve as a cover for an essentially reformist attitude and a policy of capitulation to the right wing. The Party and the Second International with which it is affiliated therefore serve the purpose of hindering the consistent development of the workers to a revolutionary position. The genuinely revolutionary workers in the Socialist Party can carry out the implications of their position only when they break with the reformists and social patriots and unite with the Workers Party and the New International."

The merger of the former A.W.P. and C.I.A., after more than a decade of splits and disintegration in the revolutionary movement, was in our opinion an historic turning point. The founding of the new party on the basis of the Declaration of Principles was the one possible step toward revolutionary unity. We believe that in ever increasing numbers the vanguard workers who are today in other parties and groups or have no political allegiance will realize with us the crucial importance of breaking with reformism and centrism and unifying the revolutionary forces on the basis of revolutionary internationalism and under the banner of the Fourth International.

## What to Attend

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Eating Contest  
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## MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

### England Ends Versailles Treaty

Hardly one week after the Tories took over the British government the new foreign minister, Hoare, resorted to direct action to resolve the contradiction between the reality of German rearmament and the fiction of the maintenance of the Versailles Treaty. The tripling of the German navy is "legalized" by the Anglo-German agreement. In this fashion British imperialism tries to solve a number of its problems, external and internal. Faced with the possible danger of a new naval race in the North Sea with a resurgent German militarism, British capitalism preferred to make concessions relatively harmless to herself, even if a menace to her former allies. England thus takes one step further in encouraging Germany to seek the salvation of its capitalism by expansion to the East, at the expense of the U.S.S.R. A German navy of the size permitted means the control of the Baltic Seas, hence the possibility of attacking Leningrad safely.

At the same time the English ruling class serves notice to France that the latter had better come to terms also with Hitler and abandon the Soviet Union to its fate. This act makes of the Franco-Soviet pact virtually a scrap of paper, for in that pact France can "legally" be released from its operation in case England and Italy refuse to define the aggressor in the coming war. England is doing everything possible to force France to repudiate the military alliance with Stalin. Internally the British Tories are preparing for the coming general elections. They can point to the naval agreement as being one step in the direction of limitation of armaments, which adds nothing to the British naval budget at the moment. If the Tories are successful in the elections there will be an entirely different aspect of things after the elections. The naval race will then be resumed full speed ahead.

### Stalinism Grovels Before Imperialism

The nearer the war of intervention, the more desperately the Stalinists grovel before world imperialism to prove that the Soviets are not really a menace to the bourgeois ruling class. Ambassador Troyanovsky, former Menshevik and fit representative of the corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy, assures America that the Soviet Union under Stalin is merely the continuator of the policies of the Krensky Provisional Government. And in this he tells the truth. The Stalinists are

engaged in erasing every trace of the October Revolution in order to prove their worthiness to exist side by side with reactionary world imperialism. As the preliminary to further concessions to reaction, the Stalinists are proceeding to annihilate physically all Bolshevik oppositionists, past or present. This can only mean a further attack on the working class in the Soviet Union, an added preparation for the betrayal of this working class as well as the world proletariat to bourgeois reaction, solely for the purpose of maintaining in power the reactionary Stalinist bureaucrats.

Only one force stands in the way of Stalin and endangers his "success" in blocking the road to power of the proletariat of Western Europe. That force, still small but growing in influence through the power of its correct Marxist approach to the revolutionary tasks of the working class, is the nucleus of the Fourth International, the inheritors of the militant traditions of the Second and the Third Internationals. To the Stalinists the Fourth International is a greater menace than capitalist imperialism. The next wave of revolution, organized under the banner of the new international, will sweep out of power and into utter oblivion the corrupt bureaucracy that exists only so long as the workers suffer defeats. The venomous hatred manifested by Stalin for the "Trotskyists," the attempt to confuse the workers by slanders and by lumping together the counter-revolutionary imperialist robbers and the Bolshevik-Leninist vanguard—the two extremes of the class struggle—are themselves the recognition that the Stalinists will have to pay for their crimes the moment the workers become aware of them.

The Fourth International alone can accomplish this necessary task of ridding the working class of the poison and treachery of Stalinism. It is the builders of the Fourth International who alone can forewarn the advanced workers against the betrayers who are already sowing the seeds of social patriotism in preparation for the next war. The justifiers of the Franco-Soviet Pact, the lackeys of Soviet diplomacy, are working, in the interests of a privileged clique, to fasten more firmly on the necks of the workers the yoke of capitalism. The Stalinist Defenders of the Soviet Union are ready to become also the Defenders of the Allies of the Soviet Union, the upholders of French militarism. With England already openly tossing aside the Versailles Treaty, the Stalinists are becoming the champions of this treaty insofar as it aids Stalin in his reactionary alliances with capitalist imperialism.

## The Manager's Corner

(Continued from Page 1)

far from this goal. But here comes some good news. The New York party district has pledged itself to raise not less than half of the amount stipulated. And, while these comrades were a bit slow in getting started, they are leaving no pebbles unturned now. Very extensive preparations have been made to make good on the pledge. We shall render regular accounts so that every reader may watch how well this district puts its words into action.

The Boston branch made a preliminary pledge of \$53.50 and in accord with the habit it has already established it proceeded to make good right away. Last week we reported \$25.00 from Konikow. There was a slight error. It should have been listed to the credit of the Boston branch. In this issue we can report an additional sum of \$14.00 for this branch. In other words \$39.00 on its account made good already. Of course, the pledge was only a preliminary one.

### Contributions To Date

We have organized this campaign

in such a way that the increase of circulation, getting new subscribers and more extensive bundle sales becomes an important feature. All funds received for new subscribers at the new rate, whether they be regular subscribers, or whether these are obtained by the club plan system, together with amounts for greetings obtained are recorded as part of the campaign. On this basis we have received during the last week the following amounts:

Contributions:  
Boston Branch .....\$14.00  
Brownsville Br., New York.. 2.50  
J. Rorty, Conn. .... 1.00  
Back Seat Driver, N. Y. C. .... 1.00  
Hildegard Smith, Kansas..... 1.00  
Groite, Branch 3, N.Y.C..... 10.00  
Astoria Branch, N.Y.C. .... 1.00  
Bronx Branch, N. Y. C. .... 3.00  
Flatbush Branch, N. Y. C. .... 1.00  
Center Branch, N. Y. C. .... 8.00  
Harlem Branch, N. Y. C. .... 11.25

Total .....\$53.75  
Total reported last week. \$54.00  
Subscriptions (Club Plans):  
Center Br., N.Y.C. (8 subs)... 3.00  
Minneapolis Branch (8 subs) 3.00

Total .....\$ 6.00  
Grand Total .....\$113.75

### Special Subscription Contest

For the best subscription getters, during the period from July 1 to September 1, the following prizes will be awarded:

Any comrade sending in 10 new yearly subscriptions (\$2.00 each), or 20 new subscriptions (\$1.00 each) will receive a complete set of Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution" in three bound volumes. Any comrade sending in five new yearly subscriptions or 10 six month subscriptions will receive a bound copy of "The Correspondence of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels."

Of course, these are subscriptions for the eight-page issue only. We shall keep an exact account of all subs received and make sure that the prizes are awarded properly and only to those who reach the goal set during the period stipulated.

In each case we will also change the prizes for an equivalent of any set of books from the Pioneer Book Shop if so desired.

# From The Very Beginning

By AL DASCH

The week of July 4th is a fitting one to review some of the revolutionary traditions of the American working class. Class struggles in America did not begin with July 4, 1776. Nor did the first American Revolution solve the contradictions in American society.

The history of this country is replete with class conflicts. From the time of the first indentured and chattel slave down to the modern wage earner an unceasing struggle has taken place between the contending classes. Nor is this strange. For America, almost from the day the colonies were founded, has been subject to the laws of the class struggle. Those who are ignorant of the past, or who deliberately seek to hide and distort its revolutionary traditions may deny this; but the past itself is the greatest living proof of the class battles in American society.

A Legacy of Force  
The past has bequeathed the proletariat of today a rich legacy. Revolutionary actions of previous generations hammer home the necessity of revolutionary methods today in order to abolish the ills and ailments of present day society. The lesson they teach is that America was born and matured in violence—that those who struck out for their rights relied not upon "Eternal Truths" but upon the more substantial method of force. It was in this way that the progressive factors in American society were permitted to expand and the basis laid for a social change.

A century before the armed conflict between the colonies and the mother country, England, two of the largest colonies, Virginia and New York, were plunged into the throes of a civil war. These were the Bacon and Leisler uprisings, taking their names from the leaders of the oppressed who headed these revolts. Both met with temporary successes but were later suppressed with the utmost cruelty. The reasons for the rebellions and the severity with which they were put down is given by a member of the then existing Virginia Council. While his description refers specifically to Bacon it fits perfectly the rebels in New York.

The Rebels of Yesterday  
"Bacon gathers about him a rabble of the basest sort of peo-

## Heritage of Class Struggle in U.S. History

ple, whose conditions are such as by a change could not admit of worse, with these began to stand in defiance against the government. . . . These are the men that are set up for the good of ye Country; who for ye ease of the Poore will have no taxes paid . . . Would have all magistrats and government taken away & set up one themselves & to make their good intentions more manifest stick not to talk openly of shareing men's estates among themselves."

How familiar is this cry from the lips of a colonial master, to us today?

The American Revolution of 1776 was the class struggle breaking out into the open and taking place by armed means. Underneath the surface of the civil war was, of course, a clash of economic interests. England by a series of decrees was hampering the development of the colonies. The mercantilists (who were the ruling class in England) prevented the establishment of American industries so that their own factories would have a market. They succeeded in passing laws forbidding the colonists to expand westward. They prevented the shipping of American raw materials to other nations and imposed restrictions upon the colonists purchasing goods from other countries. In short the domination of England was becoming a fetter on the growth of the colonies. The interests clashed—civil war was the result.

### Suppressing the Poor

For us the heritage of 1776 lies not in the eloquent phrases of the Declaration of Independence or the revolutionary fathers. The Declaration of Independence is violated by the capitalist class whenever their interests clash with those of the working class. As for the leaders of the revolution, they were almost entirely motivated by personal interests and not idealistic conceptions. The revolution did not live up to its fine promises once it succeeded. Witness for instance, the revolt of Daniel Shay, an army colonel, and those he led in an at-

tempt to garner for the workers and poor farmers the promises made to them. Shay and those with him were defeated by an army, especially raised for that purpose. But that action destroyed the myth that the revolution was fought for the inalienable rights of man. Wherein then are the revolutionary traditions?

The revolution broke the domination of the mother country and liberated the colonies. It opened the west for expansion and made possible the unleashing of the productive forces in American society. Besides it set up a republican form of government and gave an impulsion to the progress of revolution in Europe. As such, it was progressive and we salute it. The heritage of the inalienable rights of man and the heroic suffering of the soldiers in the colonial armies belong not to the American bourgeoisie who are only too anxious to forget the revolutionary actions of the past, but to the American proletariat who will truly complete the first American Revolution by the establishment of a working class dictatorship.

The bourgeoisie claims that the Revolution abolished the difference between classes and the necessity of strife. But the whole history of America since then is a history of violent clashes between exploiters and exploited. From Shay's Rebellion down to the present day a red thread of revolt runs through American society. Nat Turner's revolt, John Brown, the civil war, the strike years of 1877-78, May 1, Homestead, the large and fierce strikes of the present period, all bear witness to the class conflict raging in the United States.

Marx, in the introduction to the first volume of Capital speaks of the stimulating influences of the American Revolution of the 18th century and the American Civil War of the 19th on European society. The first influenced the course of the Great French Revolution and brought in its train a spread of democratic ideas through Europe. The second helped bring about a series of important reforms in the old world. Who can say that the revolutionary events which will take place in American society in the 20th century will liberate not only the American proletariat but that of the entire world?

hands of the Executive Board including the power to suspend and expel members. The present very limited democracy would be succeeded by a bureaucratic dictatorship of the officers and the Executive Board. The road would be clear for further expulsions of members if they raised any organized objections to these measures or to any policies which the clique sought to pursue.

Effect on Other Unions  
If the Administration succeeds in carrying through its program it will give the Green-Wall leadership encouragement in their present campaign to expel the communists from the unions—which is their device for labelling and getting rid of the progressives.

If minority groups can be suppressed in one union, then they can be suppressed in other unions as well. It is to be expected that the reactionaries in other A. F. of L. unions will not be slow in seizing upon similar "reorganization" measures. The demagogical cry will be raised that progressive groups based upon a simple trade union program are taking orders from "outside organizations," meaning by that the working class political parties. The pretext for the suppression of progressive minority groups will have been obtained by the precedent set in the case of the Teachers Union. Thus the investigation of Local 5 acquires significance for the progressive forces in the entire labor movement. It is not an exaggeration that these machinations endanger the existence of the progressive forces.

It thus becomes the duty of the progressives in other unions to come to the assistance of the large militant membership of the Teachers Union in their efforts to preserve the unity of the organization against the Administration splitters.

The progressives should discuss this question in their own groups. They should raise this question in their unions and try if possible to have them pass resolutions condemning the investigation and defending the right of organized minorities to exist in the Teachers Union. Protests of this kind should be sent to:

The Executive Council,  
American Federation of Teachers  
506 N. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

PORT WORTH, Tex. (FP).—Though the Texas Electric Service Co. at Eastland, Tex., denies that a strike is in progress, about 40 union and non-union men have walked out, according to International Vice-Pres. W. L. Ingram of Electrical Workers. The men struck in protest against the firing of three union employees.

Protest Meeting  
Friday, July 12, 8 P.M.—A.J. Muste speaks on "Recent Events in Soviet Union" at 1776 Pitkin Ave., B'klyn.

# Bolshevik Speaks for Fourth International at SFIO Congress

The following is a summary of the speech of Molinier, for the Bolshevik-Leninist group, at the Mulhouse Congress of the Socialist Party of France:

He explains why some of the members in various sections will vote against the report of the delegates to the Second International.

What is involved here at this time is not the question of approving some points of opposition of the French delegation but of posing here briefly the international problem in all its amplitude.

This is the key question which determines all others, which delineates the political evolution of the tendencies: the crossroad where they meet or divide, a problem which determines their will to carry on a real struggle against war. It is on the international scale what armament is on the plane of the struggle for power.

And this question of the International poses itself again and again every time the question of war or the seizure of power appears in a sharp form. The dilemma: Either "gradual national and international development" or coordinated international revolutionary action.

This difference crops up in all the debates.

Of what value are internationalist phrases if you are organizing for nationalism? At this time only the bourgeoisie acts in concert in the world and when the socialist delegates go to these conferences they act there as hirelings of their bourgeoisie.

Have we an international? That is, have we a coordinated political organization of international struggle? What do those think of the Second International who still have authority in the eyes of the majority of this Congress?

Lebas said at the National Congress on February 20, 1920:

"... The war, as comrade Rafin-Dugens, has so correctly observed, has killed not only men and destroyed wealth . . . one of its corpses, one of its victims was the International. . . ."

"... One must examine the situation created in the Party in all countries and observe more-over if we can agree on saying how we can reconstitute it, this International, whatever number we give it. . . ."

"... These, of course, are the reasons why the Federation of the North has decided in almost complete unanimity to propose to the Party to withdraw from the Second International. This, of course is not because we are throwing mud at it but because we very sincerely believe that we can work more effectively for the reconstitution of the new international outside of the old and decadent one rather than by remaining inside it."

Paul Faure at the National Congress, February 20, 1920:

"... We ask, comrades, that the French Socialist party leave the Second International."

"I listened to Renaudel and vainly sought in his speech for decisive reasons which to my mind he did not produce for maintaining our adherence to this organization."

"Our resolution remains un-

shakable. We became more and more impatient, understanding that from the socialist standpoint the atmosphere of the Second International became absolutely unlivable. . . ."

Since when has it come back to life?

Defeat in Italy, in Germany, in Austria, in Spain, in Belgium, where the former president of the International presides at the imprisonment of striking miners! The corpses are rotting.

The Third International?  
Let us consider it. It must be said:

It bore the banner of revolution throughout the world.

Did it organize the split? Does it mean to split when one fights for principles?

It degenerated with the degeneration of the Russian revolution; it has seen its death certificate signed by Stalin.

It is now the International whose parties after many zig-zags are becoming the means of national defense in conformity with the fluctuations of the foreign policy of Russia; such a betrayal means placing the official seal upon the tombstone of the oppressed of the entire world.

(Molinier retorted to Dormoy who interrupts him at this point:) "It is only natural that you defend Stalin after he has sunk to your level."

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?  
Unity of the Second and the Third Internationals?

On what basis? The basis which allows the same class influences, the same germs of difference to exist?

Or our basis? Concerted, joint, action against capitalism, which is concentrated and spirited action driven forward. Never class peace! No theory of socialism in one country.

In the present state of things one must base himself on experience to rebuild the International.

WE MUST BUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL which means to take into account the life and the death of the others.

In many countries: Holland (R. S.P.-O.S.P.), America (C.I.A.-A.W.P.) unity was achieved on this basis.

All the living forces of the two internationals must be organized on this basis! What about the big parties? Win over the decisive elements.

For that: without subordinating daily action to the creation of the Fourth International, we will group around us on the principles of revolutionary action all the active forces of the Party, and with them pave the way for the Fourth International.

Molinier's speech was for the most part heard in intense silence, interrupted very infrequently and applauded lustily by a small minority of the Congress.

The defense of the Stalinist policy fell upon citizen Grumbach, one of the most active defamers of the Communist International in its best days.

READ THE NEW MILITANT

## Zack Expelled from Workers Party

Joseph Zack has been expelled from the Workers Party of the U. S. for gross violations of discipline. He wrote to a leading comrade in Minneapolis advising him to violate an N. C. decision on a grave trade union matter in action. He further openly violated party discipline by contradicting and challenging to a debate the Party speaker presenting the Party point of view at an open mass meeting in New York. He has been participating, without any consultation even with the Party, in efforts to launch a paper to be called "Independent Unionist"

which has for one of its slogans: "For A New Progressive Federation of Labor." The W. P. has never issued any such slogan; it is contrary to the Party's trade union line. The fact that Zack is now announcing himself as speaker at a public meeting at which he promises to "expose" alleged controversies within the W. P., furnishes additional confirmation of the correctness of the action taken some weeks ago by the Political Committee meeting jointly with the N. Y. District Committee in expelling him from the Party—not for his views which he was given every opportunity to set forth in the regular channels within the Party but for flagrant and persistent disregard and violation of the elements of revolutionary discipline.

### LECTURE

## The Truth About "Trotskyism"

A REPLY TO OLGIN'S PAMPHLET AGAINST "TROTSKYISM"  
What is the connection between the new slanderous attack and—  
—Stalin's Campaign Against the Bolsheviks in Russia?  
—The Social-Patriotic Policy of the French Communist Party?  
—The Right Wing Swing of the American Communist Party?  
—The growth of the movement for the Fourth International in France, Holland and the United States?

Speaker:

MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor, The New International

WEDNESDAY, JULY 17th at 8:00 P.M.

At IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place and 15th Street, New York

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Auspices: New York District, Workers Party of the U. S.

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