

NEW MILITANT

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President Roosevelt -- Strikebreaker No. 1

Fierce Class War Tears Loose in France Against Laval's Starvation Decree Laws

TROOPS SLAY 5 "Dignity" Advice of C.P. In Fusillade Of Bullets

Five workmen gave their lives in France in the first battle of the oncoming civil war which will paint the nation either with the black of fascism or the red of proletarian revolution.

Breaking through the dead weight of passivity which fettered the ranks of labor since the establishment of the "united front" of inactivity the sailors and workmen in the great naval armories of France struck the first blow at Laval's decree laws, thereby pointing the road of struggle to their brothers in the rest of the country.

In Toulon, Brest, Cherbourg, Lorient, St. Nazaire and Havre the luxurious sea palaces of the French line are lying idle in the harbors while pitched battles between the troops and the workers stain the streets with the blood of the dead and the wounded. Beginning in Brest where clashes between the notorious Mobile Guards and strikers resulted in the loss of life of one of the workers the struggle spread rapidly to all the government's armories. In Toulon the conflict assumed its sharpest form.

Here the police, the Mobile Guards and the most ferocious of French imperialism's colonialists threw up barricades to stay the marching strikers. Their devices unavailing against the determined militants, the troops fired volley after volley into the columns of the strikers, killing five and wounding two hundred. Newspapers report that the powder plant workers were armed and returned the fire of the soldiers. Their fury at the starvation decrees of Laval and the murderous action of his armed minions impelled the workers into tempestuous action, storming the entire town.

First results of the action in these cities are already to be seen in the conferences summoned by premier Laval to "enforce" his decrees on the one hand and on the other to make them more "palatable" to the people by "distributing" the burden more evenly among all classes. How striking is the contrast between the militant struggle in the seaports and the armory towns and the flamboyant parades of July 14 in commemoration of the taking of the Bastille.

As was pointed out in a previous issue of the NEW MILITANT so scornful was the capitalist class of the Bastille Day marches with its waving of the tricolor, its singing of the Marseillaise and its patriotic speeches that two days later Laval kicked the working class in the face with his decree laws. The Toulon action, on the contrary, with its resistance to the troops, its armed encounter and its singing of our song, the Internationale, has given the Bonapartist premier pause, and has halted the rapidity of his anti-working class action.

C.P. for "Peace and Dignity" Every indication points to the fact that the strikes and the resultant actions were to a large extent spontaneous, that the trade union and the party bureaucracies of the C.P. and the S.P. had nothing to do with them, except to hamstring and restrain militancy of the workers. An A.P. dispatch reports that Stalinist leaders urged the

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Iron Workers of Minneapolis Reform Ranks

Teamsters local 574 And W.P. Members Help Raid Scabs

By Northwest Correspondent

MINNEAPOLIS, August 5.—The strike of the Ornamental Iron Workers, Local 1313, which is now in its fourth week here, is roaring along. About 250 men are out in seven or eight shops. The union's demands are: increases to bring wages up to 45-67½ cents an hour; a 40-hour week; time and a half for overtime; seniority rights; and union recognition and shop committees.

Though the strike is small, it is unusually rich in lessons because of the political developments which have grown out of it. The three parties involved are the Communist Party, the Farmer-Labor Party, and the Workers Party.

The leadership of the union has been drawn largely from the Stalinists. Before the strike was called the membership of Local 1313, through its representatives, asked several of the local unions for help. A delegate from the Iron Workers appeared before Local 574 and asked that the General Drivers give two men to sit in on the strike committee. The request was of course granted, and Local 574 pledged its full cooperation to its struggling brothers.

A Slave-Driving Boss The two largest shops affected were the Olson Company and the Flour City Ornamental Iron Works. Almost from the first the Olson shop has showed a willingness to negotiate. Yesterday this plant agreed to accede to the demands of the strikers, and some 40 employees of Olson will go back to work tomorrow.

The Flour City plant, employing about 80 workers, has followed a different policy under the management of Walter Tetzlaff, Citizens Alliance man, a boss who has for years held a contemptible labor attitude in his plant. For the past 25 years Tetzlaff has made it a

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Doomed to Life of Poverty Ozark Tiff Diggers Rebel

Writer Describes Misery of Men, Women and Children Suffering Untold Horrors In Effort to Earn Livelihood

(By Special Correspondent)

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—What promises to be the most sensational strike of the year for the Middle West is the action of the brutally exploited "tiff" miners of Washington Co., Missouri, which has just begun. "Tiff" is the colloquial appellation given to a mineral, the trade name of which is barytes. It is used extensively in the manufacture of paint and other lead products. It likewise has its uses in the rubber tire industry and last, but not least, for the sealing of oil wells when "over-production" threatens.

The strike is a protest against wage and living conditions always low but which with the recent rise in prices of foodstuffs are no longer tolerable. These miners of the Ozark hills, comprising as they do the descendants of the heroic and self-sacrificing first settlers of the Middle West are today the neglected and the "forgotten" men of the barium sulphate industry. Reduced to a standard of living, little if cooile, there was nothing else left to do. And if early indications speak for anything we think they will do it well.

Fighting for Life The fact that they are organizing is phenomenal in itself, after decades of suffering and privation in silence. But organizing they are and their first act was to stop not only the mining of the "tiff" but the transportation of the reserves which the company has piled up for just such an event as this. The forethought of the company will do them little good because these grim, determined men of the Ozarks are fighting not merely for an increased standard of living; they are fighting for life itself.

With families of six and eight and incomes of \$2.50 a week the picture of the suffering rivals any previous expose of social conditions ever made. A survey made by the Post Dispatch reporter reveals that among 2,500 miners more than half of whom are on relief, there are whole communities without medi-

cal attention, subsisting on a starvation diet and living in houses which makes the miserable hovels of the Southern sharecropper and the West Virginia coal miner seem almost grand in comparison. Many of the miners live in company houses located on the property of the National Pigments and Chemical Co., a subsidiary of the powerful union-busting National Lead Co. Still others occupy "houses" furnished by individual producers, a description of which would defy the English language. From the standpoint of protection from the bitter, wet, cold climate of a Missouri winter they can be compared only to a pig sty or a corn crib.

In such a shack of two rooms about ten feet square were found 16 people—three families. Families of six, seven and eight were the rule rather than the exception, condemned to live in these one and two room houses. Children and adults eat, live and sleep in the same room except in cases where the children are crowded into the "loft" to sleep within a few short inches of the roof made miserably hot by the mid-summer sun. Some houses were without floors, most of them without windows and all of them dilapidated beyond description. The best houses in the entire district were the generations old log houses built by the descendants of the early French settlers led by Pierre La Clede and Henri Choutant nearly two centuries ago.

Nor were any apologies offered by the profit-hungry bosses for these housing conditions. Their own ill-gotten gains mean more than the welfare of thousands of workers and their families who slave to produce these profits. It was pointed out that the houses were already there when the land was bought two decades ago by the Lead Co. and they have not been touched since. In such a way did the National Lead Co. bring "culture" and "civilization" into the backwoods of Missouri.

Malnutrition and the diseases arising from it are rampant. Of the State's 17,000 cases of trachoma, the dreadful eye disease that strikes at America's army of the underfed, it is estimated that a large percentage of them comes from the poverty-stricken homes of the Washington County tiff miners. One worker told a Post Dispatch reporter that he hadn't had a doctor in three years and even as he spoke there came the wails of two sick babies from the corner of the room, the youngest of a family of eight.

With families of eight the relief is set not to exceed more than \$8 a month for any family. A dollar a month per person! For the rest they have to depend on the "truck gardens" which hang on despairingly on the sun-baked, drought-bitten hillsides. Two meals a day must suffice them for they dread the long winter months when even the truck gardens will be gone. In the homes boxes are used for furniture and tin cans for cooking utensils and dishes. Kerosene lamps are useless since they cannot afford the oil to burn in them. What the most lowly paid city laborer would count as commonplace would be regarded as luxuries by these serfs of the National Lead Co.

Code "Sidetracked" When the N.R.A., "the Magna Charta of American Labor" came along the tiff miners thought they were going to get a break. But alas! The lead bosses in conjunction with the code authorities managed to work out a code for the lead industry which put millions into the pockets of the manufact-

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Full Report of C.I. Congress Next Week

A comprehensive article on the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, by Max Shachtman, editor of the New Internationalist, will appear in the next issue of the NEW MILITANT. Full treatment will be given to the decisions of this congress to participate in bourgeois governments, to support imperialist governments in alliance with the Soviet Union—all these new betrayals will be exhaustively discussed. Watch for the next issue!

150 Delegates Attend I.W.A. Convention

Movement Toward Left Shown in the Proceedings

By CYRUS RIGBY

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Aug. 3.—The second annual convention of the Illinois Workers Alliance opened August 3 at Springfield. About 150 delegates from all parts of the state attended.

Militancy of the Illinois unemployed workers was demonstrated several weeks ago when Gerry Allard of the Workers Party led the Hunger March on the state capitol. This convention reaffirmed not only that militancy but also the confidence the workers have in W. P. members who are also members of the I.W.A.

One element of surprise of the first day and throughout the convention was the definite and unmistakable moving to the left of American workers during the past year. Known communists were not the only ones who talked about a workers' world: unemployed delegates belonging to reformist parties and workers without any political affiliation spoke one after another of the working class revolution. Not once was the epithet "red" hurled at speakers who dared to call for the overthrow of capitalism and all its trappings. Rather the delegates to this convention deemed being called "red" more of a compliment than an insult.

On the evening of the first day free movies were shown in a public park in Springfield. These movies were taken by W. P. member Hank Mayer, Educational Director of the I.W.A., and showed the lights and

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Orders Striking WPA Workers Off Relief

Trade Unions Stand by Men Demanding Living Wage; Flying Squads Formed

Several thousand skilled workers struck on New York City Works Project Administration jobs this week demanding the prevailing union rate of wages. Flying squadrons which have proved such a popular and effective weapon in recent labor struggles set to work immediately to spread the strike throughout the city, and indications are at the time of his writing, that it will become general, affecting all of the WPA jobs.

This is not the first example of a strike on relief project works; but it is the first real sign of the determination of the workers to maintain the union standard of wages gained after decades of bitter struggle. This is the issue involved, and the trade unionists made no mistake in putting it bluntly. Long ago it became clear to the trade union movement that the efforts to establish the Roosevelt relief wage ranging from \$19.00 to \$36.00 per month on relief projects could mean nothing else but a signal to employers everywhere to force down the existing union scale. The workers who are involved in the New York strike understand the issue this way.

Forces Clash Before Rubber Union Confab

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio, Aug. 5.—Issuance of a call for a rubber workers union convention tentatively set for Sept. 12 to form an international union affiliated with the A. F. of L. has spurred progressive elements to form a block to take control away from the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and has brought sharply into light the forces which will clash at the coming convention.

Coleman C. Claberty, rubber organizer for the A. F. of L., and his assistants, are uniting reactionary forces throughout the country in an effort to keep their strangle hold on the rubberworkers, as per instructions from their boss, William Greene, who has announced he will attend.

Leading "industrial unionists" in the A. F. of L. bureaucracy probably including John Lewis, United Mine Workers president, and others are quietly encouraging a few mislead workers in the hope that they can control the Akron delegates to the next national A. F. of L. convention.

The Stalinists are concentrating their entire Akron strength to gain control of the progressive bloc and thereby make an entry into rubber and keep out the Workers Party from exerting any influence. The usual run of slander and lies against the Workers Party is the only weapon the C.P. has to accomplish their latter aim.

The Akron branch of the Workers Party is working steadily to con-

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West Coast Marine Workers Fight for Class Struggle Union

By EARL LANE

PORTLAND, Ore., Aug. 11.—Determined to smash the solidarity of the marine workers of the Pacific Coast, evidenced by the formation of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, refusal to handle scab cargo, and the ousting of such reactionary officials as Scharrenberg of the International Seamen's Union, the waterfront employers have launched a drive that has as its goal the smashing of every marine union on the West coast and a return to the intolerable conditions prevailing prior to last summer's strike.

The present agreement expires September 30, and the employers state they will not renew it unless all strikes (including sympathy strikes) are barred for the duration of the agreement, and on the condition that the militant leadership of the San Francisco local of the International Longshoremen's Association headed by Harry Bridges be ousted.

International Solidarity Time after time during the past year the longshoremen and seamen have demonstrated their working class solidarity by refusing to handle scab cargo and work ships loaded by scabs. During the Northwest lumber strike the longshoremen consistently refused to pass picket lines established by the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union, thus aiding the lumber workers

materially in their struggle.

A striking demonstration of international working class unity is the manner in which the seamen and longshoremen are at the present time cooperating with the striking Canadian longshoremen. Two ships that were loaded in Canadian ports by scabs are held up in San Francisco harbor by refusal of the I.L.A. to handle their cargo. Three ships are tied up in Canadian west coast ports by the refusal of the seamen either to take them out of port with scab cargo or to furnish steam for the winches so that they may be loaded. These actions on the part of the workers have steered the bosses in their determination to oust the militant leaders, whom they hold responsible, as the first step in their campaign to smash the waterfront unions.

Strikebreaker No. 1

Edward F. McGrady, assistant secretary of labor, who is fast earning the title of America's Strikebreaker No. 1, has taken command of the union smashing drive. He has called a series of conferences of employers and union representatives in Washington at which he is bringing the full force of government authority to bear upon the unions to force them to conclude an agreement satisfactory to the bosses. Discarding the mask of "impartiality" which he usually assumes on such occasions, McGrady

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Strike Seen Spreading

New York is virtually the first city to get WPA projects actually under way; but the trade union movement throughout the country is on record for a fight to maintain the prevailing union rate of wages. And no sooner had the walk-out started in New York than the example was followed by the workers employed on the WPA project at the League Island Navy Yard in Philadelphia. The possibilities are, therefore, that this strike will extend to a large number of cities and become widespread.

"Who's the employer here," was the question before a New York meeting of about 200 trade union officials by General Johnson, the hot air artist, who proposes to run the WPA jobs in the city after the fashion of a Prussian drill sergeant. And he answered the question. "The government is the employer. This is a strike against the government, an attack against the government and people of the United States." According to the further statements made by the General the strike is nothing but a "red" conspiracy, a plot by these "reds" to use the strikers as suckers to pull their chestnuts out of the fire. But all this "heroic" bombast had merely the effect on the meeting of a reaffirmation of the strike vote previously taken. The ultimatum issued later by the brave general ordering all strikers to return to work by the following Monday or lose their jobs, resulting in the flying squadrons setting to work in earnest.

Union Officials Put on Spot

Of course, the trade union officials are on the spot. They know who's the employer and all of their past actions have shown a hundred times over that their sympathies are pretty close to the sentiment expressed by the General. But in this instance there is something more at stake than just an ordinary strike. And today these officials fear that permitting the Roosevelt coolie wage to stand would not only tear down the wage standard but also seriously undermine the existence of the trade union movement itself. Yet there are up to the moment of this writing only scant indications of serious efforts on their part to coordinate the strike and connect it up effectively not only with the many building trades workers who are today not in the unions and who work on the relief projects side by side with the union men. So far it is mainly the building workers who are involved; but the signs of solidarity in action already displayed by the white collar groups certainly emphasizes the necessity of the coordination extending to this group as well.

Moreover, in the threat made by General Relief Administrator Hopkins is a further warning of the need of this most complete coordination of the project strike already demanded by several New York local building trades unions, amongst them the electrical workers local 3, the carpenters local

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Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

MENA, Arkansas.—The earnings of 2,600 tiff miners in the foothills of the Missouri Ozarks average \$2.50 per week. Tiff is a hard, white rock containing barium which serves as a base in the manufacture of paint pigment. The National Pigment and Chemical Co. purchases practically the entire supply, paying \$3.50 per ton for rocks, the gathering of which represents hours of arduous toil.

Most of the miners eke out a living from scrawny gardens and many must receive supplementary relief in order to subsist. This is another example of an industry being subsidized by the government: it is not the miners who actually receive the relief but the industry which thereby is enabled to pay wages lower than subsistence level. The men have recently banded together to form an independent union. The first demand is an increase of \$2 a ton for their product. "God put you men on earth to live, not to starve," cried a leader at a recent meeting on a wooded hillside attended by more than 600 desperate workers.

The men voted to strike on Aug. 12 if their demands are not met. Meanwhile they will continue to dig tiff and pile it up but will prevent it from being moved, by force if necessary. . . .

New Deal Heaven...

The aristocratic plantation owners and simple hill folk of the South have been celebrated in song and story. The largest single group in the South, tenant farmers and sharecroppers, remained unknown to the world at large until a few months ago. They have come into the limelight because of thousands of evictions of their number due to the plow-under policy of the AAA, because of their militant efforts to protect themselves through a union, and because of the vicious counter-offensive of the landlords.

It is hard to imagine living conditions lower than those of the sharecropper. His miserable one or two room shack of unpainted boards stands in the middle of the thirty or forty acres that he tends. There are no sanitary conveniences and during the rainy season the shack often stands in a typhus infected mosquito breeding puddle. In many sections the landowners are taking advantage of FERA generosity by having sanitary privies built on the plots. No attempts have been made by the landlords or the government to provide decent homes for the workers.

The usual garb of the sharecropper is a pair of patched denim overalls and blue shirt. Women and children wear clothing made of flour sacks and burlap bags with cheap "store clothes" for Sunday. Winter or summer the children seldom wear shoes.

The pay of the Arkansas sharecropper is 50 or 75 cents a day. He is rarely paid in cash however but must take his pay in credit at the commissary store where prices are marked up and accounts are kept with a "crooked pencil." His diet consists of beans, fat-back meat and corn bread with "poke salad" (the boiled leaves of the poke-berry plant) and turnip greens in season.

Relief is hard to get in spite of the obvious poverty and hunger. In many counties relief has been cut off entirely during the growing and harvesting season in order to force all able bodied persons to work in the fields. Men, women and children must hoe and pick cotton.

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union spread like wildfire among these exploited people. But the planters are not asleep. They have enlisted every possible means to fight the menace to their continued exploitation. Organizers are kidnapped, beaten and intimidated; tenants are forced to sign yellow-dog contracts; members of the union are evicted and discriminated against by relief officials; meetings are forbidden and broken up; religious and racial prejudices are fomented. A virtual reign of fascist terror exists.

The Commonwealth...

Commonwealth College, situated in the Ozark hill country, not far from the cotton belt, plays an important role in furthering the interests of the downtrodden croppers. Students and teachers venture on numerous organizational and educational forays into the region, while leaders of the union attend the school to obtain theoretical background for their movement.

Landlords recognize the danger of such an institution in the state. Two bills were introduced in the last session of the Arkansas legislature which would in effect abolish the college. A special legislative committee was appointed to investigate the teaching of "communism, atheism, nudism and free love". The school was saved by the mass protest of friends from all over the nation.

"Impartial" St. Louis Cops Bust a Record--and Heads Strikebreaking is a Pastime

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Trotsky once said that "a policeman in the service of the capitalist class is no longer a worker but a bourgeois cop," or words to that effect. And if Trotsky had been in St. Louis during the spring and summer of 1935 he would have found more evidence of his assertion than in any other six months of his eventful career.

St. Louis cops are not only expert strikebreakers but are jealous of their reputation. News of police brutality elsewhere stirs them to new zeal and energy. They do not believe in neutrality either in theory or practice. The bosses, yesterday, today and forever, is their slogan. And they do not discriminate. Women who violate the first commandment of the bosses creed, "Thou Shalt Not Strike" are given as liberal portions of the night club as the men. "Equal reward for equal militancy on the picket line" is their motto.

No Discrimination
In the Forest City garment workers strike radio cars and patrol wagons were used as scab convoys. Pickets were arrested wholesale without the slightest provocation. Arties Wilson, overworked, underpaid and brutally exploited garment slave was picked up and literally thrown in the wagon and was then hauled into the capitalist court on the charge of assault and battery. The writer of this article was given the same dose. Thus the indiscriminate character of the police was established. A woman and a man had received equal punishment for an equal "offense"—being on a picket line.

In the Forest City strike Leo Durocher "hero of the pennant winning" St. Louis Cardinals also used his car as a scab convoy. Doris Smith, low paid, part time employee of the Forest City Co. and mother of several children, was arrested and fined \$250 in court on the testimony of Durocher and a cop. St. Louis labor has put a boycott on the Cardinal team. (Incidentally, Sam Breadon, owner of the Cards, is also a stockholder in Forest City.)

The Gas Workers Strike
In the Gas Workers strike the police department established a new record in showing the partiality it feels for the bosses.

Cops were put on twelve-hour, seven-day assignments. They were withdrawn from school crossings. Scabs are more important than working class children.

Wholesale arrests were made, as many as seventy in one day. The charges were "suspicion of affray" which necessitates a common law bond, the highest fee bond for ordinary labor "disturbances."

A. A. Ahner, stoolpigeon, ex-labor spy, renegade from the labor movement of about 1920, gangster and nominal if not actual boss of every stick-up man in town was hired to break the strike. The most depraved criminals recruited from the underworld of America's largest cities were imported. The brave and handsome St. Louis police force were sent out for "protection" for these killers and cutthroats.

A nine year old boy was cursed and threatened with arrest for watching some scabs attempt to do some work which only experienced union men knew how to do and laughing at the clumsy efforts of the scabs.

A "Crime" and Criminals
A fourteen-year old girl was arrested for protesting against the brutal and insulting Gas Co.'s gangster-workmen and was hauled before the court for juvenile "delinquents." This child is to be branded as an "enemy to society" in order that Chicago Blackie and Omaha Red may be safely returned to their old haunts, the underworld dives of the respective cities. This is important. The bosses may (will) again have use to these vicious and depraved killers.

A mother, babe-in-arms, was narrowly missed by the flying bullets of cops who went berserk in an alley because some scab thought he saw a flying squadron of Gas Workers' pickets.

Many dozens of women were cursed and manhandled for refusing to let the dope fiends and petty thieves whom the Gas Co. had hired as "meter readers" into their homes. This article would be incomplete without an account of Brother Lang's experience. Lang was a striking gas worker. He was arrested and charged with beating up a man. The victim of assault not only refused to identify Lang but bawled the copper out for trying to frame a gas worker. The cop locked Lang up anyway, insisting that "he must be guilty of something." When Brother Lang protested that his constitutional rights were being violated the cop growled: "Aw, you reds give me a pain in the neck."

Thugs, "Legal" and Illegal
In February, the employees of the Commercial Foundry came out in a body in protest against a wage cut for molders from \$6.00 to \$5 a day and for labor from 40 cents an hour to 25 cents an hour. Al Ahner

was hired to break the strike and the police department to protect Ahner. Again arrests on a mass scale took place.

A few "molders" were secured. These "molders" didn't know anything about molding and did not care anything about it. They were hired to break a strike. Literally thousands of tons of worthless scrap was the result and J. C. Ertle the owner had to close shop. The molders' 50 picket line led Mr. Ertle straight to the Bankruptcy Court. The scabs at the plant went on a rampage in May and tried to run the picket line away. They were not successful but since the cops busted all previous records in this affair it must be told. Let Martin Dillman, editor of the Labor Advocate tell the story.

"Try to picture policemen stationed at a strike-bound shop to maintain 'order' who stand picking their teeth while 75 rats march out of the plant in a body with gas pipes, clubs and other weapons for a riotous attack on strikers' headquarters and to assault pickets."

"At about 1:30 P.M., May 22 a mob estimated at from 75 to 100 of Ertle's strike-breakers suddenly marched out of the foundry in a body armed with a varied assortment of weapons and made for strike headquarters where they staged a Wild West raid, driving a few unarmed, far outnumbered strikers from the place. The bullies then proceeded to make the rounds of nearby stores in search of strikers. One was sighted and set upon by the mob and several union men barely escaped serious injury or worse. One storekeeper resented the invasion and assault upon an offhensive striker, in fact he emphasized his displeasure by bringing a radio attachment and grabbing it with a firm downward motion on the scabs' head whereupon the slugs beat it from that place—'too hot'."

"A riot call brought a good supply of cops who perhaps anticipated another wholesale pinch of strikers. But it was scabs who were the duly qualified candidates for the lock-up this time. Oh! that's different. Were the rioters arrested? Don't make us laugh."

"The rioting scabs were simply escorted back into the shop by these uniformed minions of 'law and order.' Neighborhood merchants protested so loudly that Superintendent and Harry Schneider, leader of the raiding bullies, was arrested but released on bond."

These scabs were tried and two of them drew \$50 fines. The case was appealed and the fine was of course never paid—at least so far as we know.

With the words of the Labor Advocate I am willing to close: "Three routing whippers for St. Louis' 'impartial' cops during strikes!"

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Before Rubber Union Confab

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vince workers of the correctness of our policies and bring them into the Party, not only because correct perspectives must be given before and at the convention but because our primary task is to build the Workers Party.

It is doubtful that any one force will have a commanding position at the convention. But the workers must become more alert and understand more clearly the numerous underhanded methods being used to swing them behind the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and also the Stalinists. Claherty is spending his time and money creating small locals in out-of-town plants so he can have mechanical control of the convention. His story about the Youngstown local is an example. He reported a large mass meeting and a good local after a trip there to organize a minor plant. Actually, less than a dozen workers joined!

Flattering letters from the Lewis are used by these reactionaries to subtly win the progressives to their banner and thus give them more control in the A. F. of L. A few mislead workers seem to fall for this. All the reactionaries really want is not a strong union, but votes to oust Green so they can take his place and then continue his betrayals.

The Stalinists tell rubber workers that the C. P. has 20 presidents of the autoworkers unions with them and that they are going to run the autoworkers convention to form an international next month! So the rubberworkers are supposed to believe their only hope lies in uniting with the C.P.!

We let the past record of the Workers Party here speak for itself. The only leadership, the only warning of impending betrayal, the first call to progressives to unite after the Claherty had Green sell-out this spring was given by the small but active group here!

As the Workers Party first agitated for a strike; first brought to Akron the lessons of Toledo and Minneapolis strategy in strike, so we are trying again to give the rubberworkers correct perspectives.

We want to repeat for emphasis. Only insofar as the rubberworkers understand the nature of the forces contending in the industry and adopt the ideas of the Workers Party, will the labor movement in Akron progress.

CORRECTION

Our Canadian comrades have asked us to make the following factual correction of an error which appeared in the "Greetings to the Vanguard" in the NEW MILITANT for July 27: Instead of, "of special interest to the organized workers in the United States is the platform of the Progressives in the Cloakmakers Union (I.L.G.W.U.) for unity of the sectarian Stalinist Workers Unity League with their organization," the article should read, "Of special interest to the organized workers in the United States is the platform of the progressives in the Industrial Dressmakers Union (Stalinist W.U.L.) for unity in the ranks of the I.L.G.W.U."

Protest Persecution of Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists - W.P. Call

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In Moscow and there became acquainted with the views of Trotsky and the Left Opposition, particularly in the questions of the Chinese Revolution. He soon became an Oppositionist and upon his return to China brought with him the first documents of the Left Opposition ever to reach this country.

Niel-Sih Tortured Daily

He was arrested in Peking in March of this year together with his wife and two infant children. Only the most strenuous efforts on the part of relatives and friends secured the release of the two children, but all efforts on his behalf and for his wife proved futile.

Both were subsequently transported to Nanjing where Niel Sih is now being subjected to daily beatings in an effort to force him to sign a statement repudiating his Communist views. The release of his wife has been made contingent upon the publication of such a statement. As a result of the treatment which he has suffered, he has fallen seriously ill. The authorities have refused to give him any medical treatment and his condition is believed to be critical.

Despite this, and despite the importunities of a relative of his who holds a post in Chiang Kai-shek's own headquarters, Niel Sih has steadfastly refused to repudiate his views as a revolutionary or to betray the names of any of his comrades.

In sharp contrast to the conduct of most of the Stalinist functionaries who have been arrested in recent months, all our comrades have displayed unswerving fidelity to their convictions. The other four comrades, Sze Chao-sing, Wang Yao-bua, Hu Hwang-chang, and Liu Chia-liang, were arrested in Shanghai in April and all refused

to sign documents denouncing Communism and embracing the Kuomintang. One of our best men, Sze, was brought before a local judge who was one of his own relatives. The judge pleaded with him to renounce his views, promising immediate release if only he would do so. Sze refused and subsequently shared the fate of the others who were handed over to the military.

Of the latter, Wang has already served four years in Tsaohoching Prison, located just outside of Shanghai, one of the most notoriously foul of all the Kuomintang dungeons in which political prisoners receive treatment far worse than that of ordinary criminals.

Wedge Between City and Country

The labor movement in the cities has been abandoned and left prostrate by the Stalinists, who have linked their fate to that of the peasant armies in the rural interior. The policy of the Chinese Stalinists is being dictated solely by the military-strategic interests of the Soviet Union and takes no account of the fundamental interests of the Chinese Revolution. A wedge is thus driven between the Chinese proletariat and the insurgent peasantry, and this has resulted in the recent heavy defeats of the peasant armies in Central China.

Wholesale betrayals and capitulations in the remnants of the Stalinist apparatus have brought the whole revolutionary movement to a still lower ebb. In this situation tasks of the greatest magnitude devolve upon us, the Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists.

Smug and complacent over the defeats which it has been able to mete out to the Stalinists (thanks largely to the Stalinists' own policies), the Kuomintang has not failed to recognize in us the real

Minority Groups in Teachers Union to Wage United Fight To Save Union at Convention

In April, 1935, the leaders of the Rank and File suddenly woke up to the fact that the Administration was preparing the expulsion of the opposition forces.

Instead of proposing a genuine united front movement to include all opposition groups on the basis of a limited program acceptable to all, the leaders of the Rank and File staged a "united front from below" meeting of its own membership and adopted a program to promote its own factional interests. Then it invited the Progressives and the Committee for Democracy in the Union to join its so-called "united front."

When the groups including various independent members refused, the Rank and File was forced to yield and accept a genuine united front program and organizational set-up. The United Committee to Save the Union, which was formed, adopted a program calling for the struggle against expulsions and for the complete democratization of the Union. All groups agreed that this program would have the widest possible appeal.

No sooner had the United Committee settled down to work when the majority of the Executive Board of the Union threw a bombshell into the organization by serving the opposition with an ultimatum that they must dissolve their groups, discontinue their activities or face an investigation by the Executive Council of the A.F.T. Lefkowitz boldly announced that the aim of his move was to expel the opposition groups from the Union. The prediction and the warning issued by the Committee for Democracy in the Union in November, 1934 and the whole course pursued by it since then had been vindicated at the end of May, 1935!

Bowing to Prejudice

The brutal and cynical manner in which the Administration decided upon the "investigation" called forth the protests of various independent elements, including the Militant Socialist teachers group, headed by Hendley and Miss Tulin. This group was opposed to expulsions as well as to the investigation, but was likewise opposed to the program of democratizing the union proposed by the United Committee. They also refused to join the united front on any terms.

To induce the Militant Socialist teachers to join, the representatives of the Progressive Group proposed that the entire democracy section of the program be eliminated and that the fight be waged solely against the "investigation" and against expulsions. That this was a violation of their agreement did not concern the Progressives; they desired to have the Militant Socialists in the united front even on an anti-democratic basis. The Rank and File, the largest and dominating group in the United Committee, argued against the elimination of the democracy part of the program, but finally capitulated to the Progressives' demand instead of forcing it to carry out the agree-

ment or assume the responsibility for breaking the united front. The representatives of the Committee for Democracy took a firm and consistent position, arguing that the fight to remain in the union was bound up with the struggle to democratize the union. They argued that the Administration would be quite willing to let them remain in the Union if that was all they demanded. The struggle against expulsions acquired meaning and could be used to effect changes only when it was bound up with the struggle for the right of the membership to determine the policies of the union.

These arguments were not heeded by the other forces in the United Committee; they were determined to court the Militant Socialist teachers even at the expense of emasculating their minimum program. But even after this decision was made, the Militants refused to join the united movement on any terms. They refused to be associated, they declared, with the other forces in the movement because of their previous record. They have since organized their own little independent protest movement in an effective manner.

Committee Active

The United Committee to Save the Union undertook and carried out a certain number of actions useful to the campaign. It staged a large protest meeting on June 7 which was attended by over 700 union members. The Executive Committee of the College Teachers Section of the union has gone on record against the investigation because of the activity of the United Committee. It was effective in stirring up such a protest sentiment that at a meeting of the Delegate Assembly, although the official vote on the investigation was 80 in favor and 77 opposed, the unofficial count showed that 81 were recorded against the investigation! No wonder the Administration refused to permit a recount by roll call! They realized that they had been

defeated even in the Delegate Assembly which they control.

The United Committee has also circulated the various locals of the A.F.T. and prominent members of it, informing them of the conditions in Local No. 5 and appealing to them to support the opposition in the coming National Convention which will be held in Cleveland beginning August 26. The Committee is also organizing a mass delegation to the convention to support its position. It hopes to convince the majority of the delegates that the interests of the union demand defeat of the machinations of the Lefkowitz-Linville clique to split the union in order to save themselves from defeat by the membership.

Save the Teachers Union

The Administration of the union is determined to effect a "reorganization" of the union at all costs. It will stop at nothing—not even a split. Only the overwhelming defeat of the administration proposals at the convention and the intervention of the membership of the A.F.T., aided by the protests of the progressive locals in the A. F. of L. can defeat these wrecking operations.

The progressive trade unionists throughout the country must realize that the struggle now being waged inside the A.F.T. for the preservation of Local 5 is part and parcel of the struggle which they are waging within their own unions for democracy and clean, effective, militant unionism. They must help this struggle by sending resolutions to the Executive Council of the A.F.T. urging it to condemn the arbitrary and undemocratic policies of the Administration of Local 5 and its red-baiting statements as a menace to the reputation of the A.F.T. as a progressive trade union organization; as a menace to the jobs of the union teachers. They should request the Executive Council to recommend to the National convention that it go on record in defense of the democratic rights of the membership of the various locals to determine the policies of the organization, to defend the right of minorities to function legally within the locals of the A.F.T. including Local 5.

Resolutions should be addressed to: Executive Council, American Federation of Teachers, 506 So. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

The Manager's Corner

This weeks report brings the contributions received for the eighth page weekly up to \$425.46. But this is only a little better than 20 per cent of the total sum needed. Still to be collected is \$1,574.54. How soon can we make it?

Judging from present indications this should be a matter of only a very short time. Now the campaign is getting into full swing. The Chicago branches have a big affair scheduled. The Philadelphia branches will have a picnic Sunday Aug. 18 and the Allentown branch will have a picnic on the same date. All proceeds are for the benefit of the eighth page weekly.

But in order not to be outdone the New York branches are now going in for a real concentration in the campaign and doing it in a big way for the remainder of this month. The district committee has assigned one of its members to each branch to be personally in charge. Contributions, subscriptions for the eighth page weekly and greetings will be solicited. The branches are going in for a hot competition, each having a definite quota assigned and keeping a record of the activities of its members. The trade union fractions are getting special assignments in the campaign, and the moon-joint excursion on the Hudson for the benefit of the eighth page weekly promises to become a successful affair.

In point of contributions made including advance subscriptions secured for the eighth page weekly (None of the regular subs or renewals are counted in this column) and greetings collected the Boston branch still leads the field with a total of \$52.50.

Harlem Leads

In New York City the Harlem branch is back in the lead with a total contribution of \$50.38. Next follows the West Side branch with a total of \$38.00 and the Center branch with a total of \$32.75. After that the other branches have a record as follows: The Flatbush branch \$22.50, the Bronx branch \$21.00, Boro Park branch \$14.00, the Astoria branch and the East Side branches have contributed \$5.00 each and the Brownsville branch \$3.50. It is not altogether the smallest branches that are in the lowest columns; as a matter of fact, compared to membership proportions the Harlem and the Flatbush branches have by far the best record.

Outside of New York City the Boston branch has already been mentioned. After that follows the Philadelphia branches with a total contribution of \$23.73. One gratifying feature of this contribution is that a goodly portion were submitted in new subscriptions to the eighth page weekly. The Minneapolis branch is next in line with a contribution of \$23.00, the Chicago branches with a total of \$17.05, the

Newark branch sent in \$15.00 to date and the Los Angeles branch \$10.00. The other branch contributions we will not mention until they become more substantial. But we do wish to say to all of them, and this goes also for all individual sympathizers: Hurry your contributions. The sooner we complete the campaign the sooner the first of the eighth page issues will be in your hands. During the rest of this month we must have real speed and we should be pretty near to our goal.

During the week we have received the amounts listed below:

Contributions	
Harlem Branch, N.Y.C.	\$16.85
Philadelphia branches (Lee)	2.00
G. Krakowski, N.Y.C.	1.00
Boston branch	6.00
R. Herman, Chicago	1.00
Los Angeles branch	1.00
Selma, N.Y.C.	.75
Scott, Wash. D. C.	1.00
Youngstown branch	6.00
Flatbush branch, N.Y.C.	1.25
Bronx branch, N.Y.C.	2.00
M. G. Massachusetts	5.00
Total	46.85
Advance Subscriptions	
Paul Graves, Detroit	4.00
Subscriptions (Club Plan)	
Los Angeles branch	6.00
Greetings	
Pittsburgh branch	2.00
Chicago branches	3.75
Previous total	\$362.96
Grand Total	\$425.46

One of the contributors listed above, Comrade Scott writes: "You may be interested to learn that after subscribing to and supporting the C.P. press for five years I have this day cancelled my sub to the Daily Worker. Forward to a daily NEW MILITANT."

SETTLING BUNDLE ACCOUNTS

This month we did it. Not only have the current amounts for bundle orders been met but we have succeeded in reducing slightly the total outstanding accounts. That, in the first instance, is due to the very good response made by some of the branches who were far in arrears. The example set by the comrades in Minneapolis and Boston we already mentioned in our last issue. But we still have altogether too large delinquent list.

The Chicago branches still have the dubious honor of heading this list, owing on August first a total to the NEW MILITANT of \$45.93. The Allentown branch owed on the same date a total of \$27.50, the Pittsburgh branch \$25.00, the Philadelphia branches a total of \$23.60, the Detroit branch \$17.20, the Charleston, W. Va. branch \$15.65, the Columbus branch \$14.40, the New Castle branch \$11.20, the St. Louis branch \$10.70. Since August 1 the Pittsburgh branch has remitted a partial payment.

**For a Soviet China!
For the Fourth International!
Long live the World Revolution!
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF
CHINA (Bolshevik-Leninists)**

Skeletons Out of the Daily Worker Closet

A Few Telling Quotations

By HENRY THURMAN

In the Daily Worker of April 3, 1935, and also in the issue of May 11, is printed the following correct Leninist policy on the war question: "It is difficult to forecast the lineup in the next imperialist war. But it is very probable that such a war would start either as an attack upon the Soviet Union or as Stalin said would be rapidly transferred into a united attack of the imperialists against the U.S.S.R."

"But whatever the exact circumstances in which the hostilities would begin, the French Communist Party would continue to wage its relentless and unceasing struggle against French capitalism and their own imperialists. It would raise Lenin's slogan of turning the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war. . . ."

But the Stalinist editorial board was caught napping. Only a few months before it had printed a front page article vehemently denying that there was, or could be, any truth in the rumors of an impending military pact between Stalin and La Belle France. The gentlemen of the editorial board did not know (?) that Stalin had lost all faith in the international movement, and no longer considered a militant proletariat, fighting against their own national bourgeoisie at home, to be the best and only true defense of the Soviet Union. They did not know (?) that Stalin wants desperately to get rid of the embarrassment of the Comintern, as a chameleon snake at a broken tail until it rids itself of the useless member. They had not adapted themselves as yet to the sorry spectacle of a bureaucracy renting out the International in the manner of Abraham renting out his wife Sarah.

A "Little" Correction

Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the Communist Party of France, cleared up matters, as the following quotation in the June 12, Daily Worker shows:

"And here I shall answer a question which has been put to me: 'In any war unleashed by Hitler against the Soviet Union, would you apply your slogan: Transform the imperialist war into Civil War?'"

"Well, no! Because in such a war it would not be a question of an imperialist conflict between two imperialist gangs, it would be a question of war against the Soviet Union."

"Maochen for all, indeed!" as Lenin would have said.

Now let us consider the matter from the viewpoint of internationalists. In a war of Germany against the Soviet Union and France, we want the German workers to turn the war into a rebellion against Hitler's regime—yes? Correct. See them gazing with pained anxiety over the line to see if their comrades on the other side remain loyal to internationalism. What are the German workers to do if the Com-

munist International eggs on the French workers to support the war? Stalin, Thorez, and Hathaway, have you forgotten the German masses in your considerations?

Monstrous Indeed

Thorez tells us that "it would be monstrous to consider a side imperialist which included the country of socialism, the country of the working class."

So if France fights on the same side as non-imperialist Russia, that makes France also non-imperialist for the time being. The French bourgeoisie will fight, not for the maintaining of the Versailles Treaty but for—the defense of the Soviet Union, pure and simple? Well—yes.

Yes, it would be "monstrous" to think of France as an imperialist nation with the "Communist" Party supporting it in a war. But France is imperialist, and the act of Thorez, in chaining the French party to the chariot wheels of the national bourgeoisie—is monstrous!

Thorez borrows the very arguments of the social-chauvinists of 1914, for he brings in the example of Marx's attitude toward the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, which was one of the social-patriots' favorites. Lenin answers Thorez.

Lenin on the Stalinists

Lenin wrote: "Whoever refers at present to Marx's attitude towards the wars of a period when the bourgeoisie was progressive, forgetting Marx's words that the workers have no fatherland, words which refer to a period when the bourgeoisie is reactionary and has outlived itself, to the period of socialist revolutions, is shamelessly distorting Marx and substituting a bourgeois viewpoint." (Socialism and War.)

Since Lenin wrote those words, the workers have gained a fatherland, the Soviet Union; but we are still in the age when the bourgeoisie is reactionary, and the real defense of the Soviet Union is identical with the struggle against our own national ruling class, for its eventual overthrow. The struggle of the French workers against the French master class, for example, is the best guarantee of a successful struggle of the German masses against Nazism.

Thorez brings up another point in defense of a position that a Marxist-Leninist cannot defend. He refers to the fact that Lenin accepted the aid of French officers who were willing to blow up railroad tracks to keep the German troops from advancing upon the Bolsheviks. Obviously this agreement in 1918, in which the Bolsheviks accepted aid but did not aid French imperialism by handing over the services of the French working class, and which did not renounce the Leninist policy of fomenting revolution against the French bourgeoisie, has little in common with the present traitorous pact.

and the I.U.C. When this C.P. program finally came to a vote it was overwhelmingly defeated; a resolution was passed condemning the Stalinist tactics used in Illinois in the past, particularly during the Hunger March.

A resolution for affiliation of the I.W.A. with the Workers Alliance of America was passed without serious opposition. This plan was not opposed by W.P. delegates to the convention because of the party's expressed and proved stand against splitting organized workers, whether employed or unemployed—this in spite of the raw tactics used recently by the national leadership of the W.A.A. when Lasser invaded N.U.L. territory in what could be interpreted as nothing else but an effort to chisel away fragments of the N.U.L. membership. The understanding of I.W.A. delegates who voted for the national affiliation was that the Illinois unit must remain a rank and file organization of the workers, as opposed to one mechanically dominated by Lasser and Rasmussen and the S. P.

Among others two W.P. members, Jim Shipley and Charles Fearn, were elected to the Executive Board by the convention. Hank Mayer was continued as Educational Director and commented on the fine job he has done in propaganda and workers' education in Illinois during the past year. Other comrades were assigned duties towards building an organization to include all the unemployed workers of the state of Illinois.

Philadelphia PICNIC For the benefit of the eight-page weekly New Militant SUNDAY, AUGUST 18th, 1935 in Fairmount Park, west of 33rd and Cumberland Sts. Arranged by Philadelphia Br., W.P.

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

By A. J. MUSTE

War clouds become thicker and blacker. Daily occurrences and speeches furnish conclusive and final proof that the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union and the Comintern have capitulated to French imperialism, sold the revolutionary integrity and soul of the Third International for a mess of pottage. Under the circumstances Socialist workers in the United States and elsewhere—those of them who have abandoned the fallacy of classic Social Democratic reformism and who claim to be "revolutionary"—are more and more insistently confronted with the question: How and under what banner may the revolutionary elements in this period be welded together into a powerful, international, revolutionary party, under whose leadership all the forces of the working class and its allies may unite, not merely for defense against Fascist aggression but for the counter-attack to destroy capitalism.

Socialist party members in the United States in evaluating their own party and their own responsibility in the face of this question must make up the balance sheet of the party development during the little over a year that has elapsed since the Detroit convention of the S. P. and the adoption of the Detroit Declaration. This development has been reported and provisionally analyzed in the NEW MILITANT and the New Internationalist and it is not necessary to review it at length.

The Detroit Turn

At Detroit, in 1934, a National Committee was elected which the Militants claimed to dominate. The Detroit Declaration was far from a Marxist one. It represented, however, a certain turning away from reformism. In other words, it was a Centrist declaration. The election of the N.C. and the adoption of the Declaration were hailed by the Militants, on the one hand, as a climax of their work over a period of years, as representing a decided turn to the left, and the vindication of their contention that the S.P. could be made a "revolutionary" party. On the other hand, they stated that this was the beginning of a vigorous and more rapid move toward the latter goal. On this basis "unattached radicals" were invited to join the S.P. and "Communists" such as Goldman, Gitlow and Zam accepted the invitation. Those who were not convinced that organizations such as the A.W.P. and the C.I.A. should be liquidated and join the S.P. were put down as hopeless sectarians.

The Old Guard in the S.P., and especially the New York section, promptly took the offensive. Organizationally it defied the N. C. Politically it declared that the Detroit Declaration was "Communism" if it meant anything and that the Socialist Party must stand openly and unequivocally on a gradualist and democratic basis, that is, on reformism. At the Boston session of the N. C. as a result of this course the Old Guard again proceeded promptly to follow up this opening and further baited the N.C. The Militants on their part, as well as their "allies" such as Norman Thomas, realized that the Old Guard was gaining ground and that they must put up a much more determined fight if they were not to be routed. So the Socialist Call was projected and established, and talk that those who had hoped to be able to avoid a split in the party were wrong and that the Old Guard must be kicked out began to be heard.

The First Blow

At Buffalo three months later the Thomas-Allen, etc. group made a gesture of attack on the Old Guard, laying down certain requirements which they must meet within a given period or (presumably) be kicked out. At the same time a much more decisive attack, however, was made on the left wing by means of the resolution which declared "advocacy of armed insurrection" as incompatible with membership in the S.P. The notion that one could hold any views, and especially revolutionary ones, in the S. P. was thus abandoned. The Centrists made an attempt to establish a political position of their own as that of the S.P. by an organizational gesture against the right and a political blow against the left.

The denouement which might have been expected and which some of us had frequently enough predicted, came at the recent New York Plenum of the N.C., which has been reported in the columns of the NEW MILITANT. There Thomas, Hoan, etc. signed a peace pact with the Old Guard so that all good Socialists could get ready to roll up a big vote or the party (meaning for Hoan?) in the 1936 presidential election. The basis of the pact is the exclusion of "Communists," that is, Marxists from the S.P., technical "acceptance" by the Old Guard of the Detroit Declaration with the understanding that the right to "criticize and modify" exists, etc.

Militants Fail to Create Left Wing The first point that stands out today is that after all these years of work by the assorted varieties of militants in the S.P., no revolutionary left-wing of any proportions has been crystallized in the party.

Militants Fail to Create Left Wing

What Next in the Socialist Party? An Analysis of Developments Arising Out of the Recent Old Guard Triumph at the N.C. Meeting

The militants who said they were going to do this job—yes, even make the S. P. itself revolutionary—and who rode so high and sung so confidently a year ago, suffered at the New York Plenum an obvious and shameful defeat. So far from being kicked out, the Old Guard is in the ascendancy and in a stronger position to advance its avowed purpose of undermining any attempt to build a left wing.

Under the circumstances those who question whether any considerable left-wing will be built in the S.P. have some basis for their doubts. The real point, however, is that no left-wing can be built on the basis and by the methods the Militants have employed in the last half dozen years.

What is the reason for the failure of the Militants to do what they professed they were going to do? First, they have never worked out a political program and sought to gather followers, educate the membership of the S.P. and carry on the fight against the Old Guard on the clear basis of such a program.

Secondly, having no clear political basis on which to fight, their struggle has been an organizational one. "We will get control of the N.C. and of the party by uniting all elements opposed to the Old Guard for this purpose and then we will use our control to make the party revolutionary"—this is in effect what the Militants said to themselves. The Old Guard on its part carried on a political fight on the basis of a program though, of course, an incorrect one, and they won out. The opposition to them, not standing united on a program, being composed of politically unclear, heterogeneous elements, fell to pieces just at the critical moment.

Norman Thomas, for example, having no principled differences with the Old Guard, could not make a final break with them, no matter how many violations of discipline they committed, how ruthlessly they might hold him up to ridicule, and how many oaths of loyalty he might swear to the Militants, and thus run the risk of having the party get into the hands of "revolutionists" with whom he does have differences and whose control of the party would mean to discredit it "in the eyes of the trade unions," that is, of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats.

The Fetish of Unity

Because of this inherent political weakness the Militants also had their hands tied by a formal and fetishistic conception of the "unity of the party." Keep the party together, there must be no more divisions in the working class, was their plea. Suffice it at this point to make three brief observations:

First: "Unity" on an unsound and unclear basis means, as repeated experiences of the working class have demonstrated and as the Militants have now once again found out, disruption at the critical moment—disruption precisely of the more progressive forces to the benefit of the reactionaries.

Second: What kind of unity is it which means political collaboration with the Old Guard, reformists and trade union bureaucrats, but no collaboration with, objectively, even enmity towards revolutionists?

Third: Such painless births are envisaged by those who expect a revolutionary party to be born on the basis of keeping all the boys together in a party may have become a possibility in the biological realm but it is not yet in the social!

If the Militants have learned anything from recent experiences and expect to go seriously about crystallizing the left-wing, they must begin by facing the fact that they are now in a very weak position. The Militant leaders have themselves given the clearest indication of their helplessness and un-

preparedness, by the failure of the Socialist Call; for example, to make even a plausible attempt to state their position and plans since the N.C. meeting.

Important Questions

Among the chief sources of their weakness in the fight against the Old Guard and as a force for the crystallization of a genuine left-wing is their attitude on the labor party question. With few exceptions they are for a Labor party and have in no important sense differentiated themselves from the Old Guard on this point. The role of a Labor party in the U. S. in this period is bound to be a reformist one. Politically, how build a revolutionary wing on the basis of building a reformist labor party? Organizational activity to build a Labor party, get votes for it and get elected to office on its ticket will furnish a means of evading fundamental revolutionary problems. In such activities all militants will have to play a tail-endist role, no matter how fine a face they may try to put on it, to the Old Guard and the trade union officialdom—the role of a minority which does not know precisely where it is going.

Secondly, the Militants are weak because of their lack of a clear position on what are now the real test questions before the international working class movement—the questions of the Soviet Union, the role of the Stalinist bureaucracy in international relations, the attitude to the Second and Third Internationals and to the movement for the Fourth International, the question of how in the approaching war crisis a betrayal more infamous and tragic than that of 1914 is to be prevented. Even the R.P.P.A. forces are either unclear on these points or in some instances tend still to a Lovestonite position. The Old Guard does not conceal its purpose to follow the same fundamental policies of betrayal as in the past. How pretend to be crystallizing a revolutionary wing unless you have a clear answer to the masses as to how you are going to prevent this betrayal? How postpone this answer?

The Trade Union Problem

Third, the economic basis for existence upon which many Militant leaders depend will prevent them, unless, of course, they break away from it, from following an out and out revolutionary policy. The Old Guard leaders in the S. P. are professionals, lawyers, for example, who are related to the top officials in the unions and get their practice, directly or indirectly, from them. They behave accordingly. The Militants are younger professionals on the make, the second layer of officials in the unions, etc. Now if they held their positions in the unions as representatives of a rank and file opposition to reactionaries and conservatives, they would be pushed to the left because the interests of this rank and file in the capitalist crisis would demand it. But in the main this is not at present the case. Therefore, though advocating progressive measures up to a certain point the Militants cannot contemplate an intransigent battle against the trade union bureaucracy and a decisive break with it, for this would mean a threat to their jobs and also to the basis of their prestige, their social position, in the labor movement. Thus even at Detroit the Militants either offered no opposition, or only the weakest sort, to the Old Guard's blunt refusal to pass even a mild resolution of censure on the A. F. of L. officialdom. As we pointed out at the time, so far as the American labor movement and specific American problems are concerned, the trade union question is the test question today. On this the Militants failed, and must fail unless they effect a right-about-

face. The second point that stands out from an analysis of the past year's developments in the S.P. U.S. is that a terrific blow has been struck at the conception that the S.P. could be "reformed," that is, that a majority could be won to a Marxist position and so make this the position of the party and the basis of the party membership. On the contrary, the course of those who rejected this road and who worked for the merger of the A.W.P. and C.I.A., established the W.P. as the independent revolutionary party, and raised the banner of the Fourth International, has been justified.

The Open Letter

There was a timeliness which was perhaps not altogether a historical accident, and in any case is significant, in the publication here and elsewhere, right upon the heels of the N.C. S.P. meeting, of the Open Letter for the Fourth International. The forces in the United States who have entered the W.P. and have accepted the program of a Fourth International are not entirely insignificant, compared with those of the S.P. Indeed, the number of S.P. members who accept or claim to accept our theoretical position is not small. But even if this were not so, S.P. members, Militants, all who are not reformists in the S.P., must face the challenge of the Open Letter and draw conclusions in the light of it as to which party represents the revolutionary vanguard, the future of hope for the proletariat and not the past of betrayal and defeat.

For the numerous Marxists and militant workers in the U.S. who are at present unattached, there can now, after the developments which have taken place in the S.P. and the revelations of the Comintern Congress now in session in Moscow as to the final capitulation of the Comintern to social patriotism, be no question of going into the S.P. or C.P. The Workers Party is the revolutionary party in the United States. Its doors are open. This is no time for any Marxist or honest militant to stand on the side line. There is no time to lose even in the U.S. in increasing and welding together the party of the vanguard.

We are aware that there are a considerable number of individuals in the S.P. who are not yet ready to accept our program or if they do, to draw the organizational conclusions from it. We never have, and we do not now in the Stalinist manner call them counter-revolutionists and Social Fascists. On the contrary, we expect them to be our comrades in the struggles of the working class today and hope that many, if not all of them, will be not merely fellow-travelers but comrades in the fullest sense of the term in the approaching revolutionary struggle.

The Duty of Left Wingers

We do say to them, however, that if they are serious in asserting that they are not reformists or mere Centrists it is, in the first place, their duty to study the program of the W.P. and the Open Letter, and to see to it that they are discussed in the Socialist Party. If these comrades are not prepared for such discussion of the problems before the revolutionary movement, they have no right to the name of revolutionist. If these issues cannot be discussed in the Socialist Party, there is no use talking of building a revolutionary wing in it.

Secondly, the leftward moving elements in the Socialist Party who still believe that something can be accomplished there must make their own program covering the crucial issues of today, not seeking an escape in generalities, and they must win followers, educate the S.P. membership, and carry on the fight against not only reformism but centrism on the basis of such a program. Thirdly, these comrades cannot expect to be taken seriously if they can make collaboration with the reformists of the Old Guard in the S.P. and collaboration with elements such as Norman Thomas, on the basis of toleration of such a surrender to the Old Guard as the recent "peace pact," the basis for their procedure, while they hold aloof from or objectively even struggle against revolutionary elements in the S. P. or outside. To say that they have differences with these elements is to say exactly nothing or else to cover up organizational fetishism and cowardly evasion, for they claim to have differences with the Old Guard and the trade union bureaucrats also. Any movement in the S.P. which makes serious pretensions at aiming at the crystallization of a left-wing must make a clear and final break with the organizational horse-trading and maneuvering which have marked the Militant tactics in the past, must stand unequivocally and from the outset on a program of break with all reformists and Centrists and unity with the revolutionary elements on the basis of a revolutionary program. Let the rank and file in the Socialist Party and especially the Socialist youth apply that test rigorously and without delay to every program submitted to them and to every would-be leader who stands up before them.

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

C. V. PHILADELPHIA—Question: What is the meaning of the struggle between Hitler and the Catholic Church?

Answer: In general, Fascism cannot tolerate the existence of any organization over which it does not have complete domination; otherwise the interests of classes other than, and opposed to, finance-capital can exert themselves. When the Fascist state has become Bonapartist, this is particularly true as evidenced by the fact that even a large storm troop organization composed of plebeian elements, which might get out of control, cannot be permitted. For this reason, Italian fascism had to engage in a struggle with the Pope, and Hitler is repeating the process.

The existence of the Church, however, is not incompatible with fascism. On the contrary, once it has been adjusted to the new conditions of its master, it becomes again the justifier, with a mandate from heaven, for the increased misery of the masses, even though, as in Germany, it will have less funds at its disposal. (The Church devalues a great deal of the wealth of which Hitler is greatly in need).

O.S.S. NEW YORK—

Question: What is meant by: inflation? Deflation? Devaluation?

Answer: In general, these terms, as used by the capitalist economists, have various and different meanings, reflecting the confusion in the minds of the bourgeoisie. To some economists, for example, any general rise in prices is an "inflation"; any decrease is a "deflation"; their difficulties arise, of course, through their failure to understand the distinction between money as a standard of value and as a standard of price.

Under the "normal" development of capitalism, prices rose and fell. This was neither "inflation" nor "deflation." It merely meant that the amount of gold for which fixed quantities of commodities would exchange fell or rose, and, since the standard of price (the weight of gold represented by the dollar, pound sterling, franc, etc.) remained stationary, the number of dollars (or pounds, francs, etc. also) fell and rose.

The term "inflation," therefore, has no significance unless an actual change takes place in the standard of price so that each unit (dollar, pound, franc, etc.) represents less gold than formerly. Prices then rise not because it requires more gold to exchange for commodities, but because the amount of gold represented by each unit of paper money is less. Inflation may be partial or complete, the latter implying that the standard of price has become worthless.

"Devaluation" is inflation except that the government, when it is able, formally sets the lowered standard of price.

"Deflation" is a meaningless term, a product of bourgeois confusion, and can have significance only if it is intended to mean the returning to a standard of price which has been reduced, or, if the latter has not been the case, the raising of the standard of price. However, it is very unlikely that we shall ever witness anything of this sort. The "devaluations" and "inflation," which we are witnessing, an index of the decline of capitalism internationally, are forced upon the capitalists. This fact alone eliminates the possibility that "deflation" will ever take place.

What to Attend

Friday, August 9—S. Y. L. dram group meets 8 P.M. at 55 E. 11th St. Casting for "Exhibit A," a one act anti-war play scheduled as the first production of the Spartacan Players, will begin this Friday. Ausp: Sparacus Youth League.

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Ethiopia in the Thieves' Den

The struggle against Mussolini's robber attack on Ethiopia must be continued and intensified. It was, however, made clear at the meeting last week of the Council of the League of Nations that we do not have a case of a dastardly Fascist nation bent on plunder, on the one hand, and a group of noble, democratic capitalist powers seeking to make peace and to protect Ethiopia on the other hand.

France and Italy have pursued their imperialist designs in Africa for decades and specifically moved toward the parcelling out of the control, if not the ownership, of Ethiopia among themselves in 1908. England at the moment appears as the chief obstacle in the way of Italy's aggressive plans, largely because even potential control by Italy over Lake Tsana and the head waters of the blue Nile in Ethiopia would strike a blow at her cotton-growing program in the Sudan, and seriously interfere with other British plans for check-mating the United States and her other rivals. France appears as Italy's "friend" because that serves her interests in building up alliances to combat the effect of the British-German naval agreement, etc., against the day of inevitable war. But France will not for one moment consent to any action by Italy which might adversely affect her own colonial empire in Africa.

For the moment both Great Britain and France would like to prevent the outbreak of a life sized war in Africa because of the repercussions this would have among their own black, brown and yellow subjects, and because they are by no means as yet prepared for that general European or world war which must be the inevitable result of the outbreak of war in any important situation, if not immediately, then after a brief interval of months or years.

The object of delay by imperialist powers cannot possibly be based on peace and on the protection of small nations or colonial peoples.

Fight for Union On West Coast

(Continued from Page 1)

openly espouses the cause of the employers and makes a veiled threat of government action unless the unions capitulate to the demands of the employers. In a statement issued to the press in Washington on July 29, he said:

"Flour is rotting in the holds of the ships, (ships loaded with seab cargo from Canada) perishable goods are destroyed, newspaper publishing is being curtailed because the paper is being held on these boats, and business generally is adversely affected.

"This is an intolerable condition, and one which cannot be allowed to continue.

is no use making a new contract unless they obtain a guarantee that the agreement will be lived up to. They would renew the agreement if they had that guarantee."

Gutter Press Aids Fakers

To prepare the way for this assault upon the unions the boss press is bending every effort to whip up a "red scare" with Lundberg, president of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, Bridges of the I.L.A. and other militants being daily labelled "minions of Moscow." The San Francisco Chronicle has taken the lead and is playing a tune which the balance of the gutter sheets are taking up in one key or another. The chorus shrieks, "American Unionism and Red Radicalism cannot live together in the same house." In this red baiting campaign the bosses have the full support of Ryan and his West coast satellites, "Paddy" Morris, Lewis, Peterson and Co. While Ryan is openly attacking Bridges and the other militants his western henchmen are forced to proceed more carefully because of the strength of the rank and file.

The Portland News-Telegram in an article on the recent meeting of the executive board of the Pacific District of the I.L.A. boldly outlined the tactics that the reactionaries will probably use in their campaign to oust the militants. According to this paper, which is usually close to the A. F. of L. leaders, it is not planned to put the question of Bridges' removal to a referendum vote for they undoubtedly admit this would prove a

The object can only be to get a breathing space in which to line up their forces for the next war and in the meantime carry forward the robbery of Ethiopia under the cloak of peace maneuvers and good intentions.

Thus the Council of the League of Nations decided, first, to appoint a fifth member on a commission to arbitrate the Ualual clash between Ethiopian and Italian troops. The commission is, however, not to take up questions of boundaries or the ownership of the territory in question but simply to determine who fired the first shot in the above incident. Second, the Council will meet again on September 4 to discuss the whole situation.

In the meantime no restrictions are placed on Italian war preparations and the negotiations on the really vital matters are to take place between Italy, France and Great Britain with Ethiopia excluded. Italy even abstained from voting on the motion to provide for another session of the League Council in September.

Maxim Litvinov, Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, and now president of the League of Nations Council, hailed the announcement of these negotiations as "something the Council has learned with satisfaction." If Hitler Germany, for example, were anywhere today sending military forces thousands of miles away from Germany in preparation for a bare faced attack on a small nation, the Soviet Union would unquestionably have protested. The result of the present policies of the Comintern and of the foreign office of the Soviet Union under Stalinist leadership is that the Soviet Union has uttered no word of protest against the Italian adventure in Ethiopia. The Soviet Union is not "free" to do so long as the interests of its "ally" in the Franco-Soviet pact are for a "friendly" attitude toward Mussolini! The Negroes in the United States, colonial peoples throughout the world, those who enthusiastically join in demonstrations of the League Against War and Fascism against Italy, the Italians who want to see Mussolini's designs foiled and his regime smashed, will do well to take note of this significant fact and to draw the necessary conclusions.

Extend and intensify the struggle against the Fascist robber attack on Ethiopia! For the boycott of Fascist Italy! For the struggle against imperialism on every front!

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boomerang to their plans. Instead it is expected they will announce that the employers will make agreements with all locals except San Francisco. This will enable the reactionaries to tell the members that recognition of San Francisco can be secured only through strike. It will leave the ther locals the choice of voting agreements without San Francisco, or insisting that San Francisco remove Bridges, "the source of all the trouble."

This may not be the precise plan that these fakers have up their sleeve but the workers can look for maneuvers of a similar nature from these union splitters.

The marine workers must prepare themselves for a bitter struggle to preserve the gains they won in last summer's heroic strike. They are in a much stronger position to wage a winning fight than they were last summer. They are all united through the Maritime Federation of the Pacific with its 34,000 members. McGrady has amply forwarned them of the role the bosses' government will play. The main danger is within their own ranks. Hold your ranks firm in the face of the attack of the bosses and send the first faker who tries to split your ranks by raising the red scare down the same road that the rank and file of the I.S.U. sent Scharrenberg.

Mass Arrests in Spring Strike

Mass arrests marked the seventh week of the stubbornly fought Brooklyn spring strike where 450 workers are crippling production and well on the road to a victorious settlement.

Paying no attention to the much-vaunted declaration of La Guardia legalizing mass picketing "New York's finest" smashed a line of some 100 strikers on August 5 before they even reached within three blocks of the plant. 76 pickets were arrested and charged with "disorderly conduct." On the next day 24 workers were arrested on similar charges. Among those seized were several members of the Workers Party who were extremely active.

If the arrests were meant to dampen the fighting spirit of the men and women they failed miserably. Behind the courtroom, in the

Fierce Class War Tears Loose in France

(Continued from Page 1)

workers to maintain "peace and dignity." How strongly this smells of Bill Green and his crew of professional strikebreakers!

"Peace and dignity" has become the new formula for treachery ever since the Stalin-Laval communique. The writings of Vaillant-Couturier, editor of l'Humanite, that the Communist Party was a "government party," that the Communist Party was set upon "protecting the fatherland, its culture and its wealth . . . while waiting for the Day," that the Communist Party was the most determined fighter for the People's Front with the capitalist Radical Party which will "join together all good wills in the struggle for a peaceful France"—all of this presaged the first actual betrayal in action in Brest.

Fruits of Social Patriotism

Class collaboration, the natural and inevitable concomitant of social patriotism as set forth in the Stalin-Laval communique and accepted by the Stalinist leaders in France as only "natural," finds its expression on July 14 and after where the Stalinist leaders hush up all criticism of Paganon, the Minister of Interior responsible for government repression in the beleaguered cities because—you see!—he is a member of the Radical Party which is in favor of the Franco-Soviet pact and therefore must not be irritated. On Bastille Day Stalinist leaders had the placard borne by a revolutionary contingent reading "Down with the Decree Laws of Laval-Herriot!" seized and the name of Herriot expunged from it. This, notwithstanding the fact that Herriot is a member of the cabinet and a participant in the reactionary measures against French labor. He too, is alleged to be a "friend" of the Soviet Union and nothing must be done to anger him.

When the strikers confronted the troops they chanted the Internationale. When the Stalinists made peace with capitalism and its armed forces they brayed the Marseillaise, the song of the assassins of the Paris Commune of 1871, of the jingoes and slaughter-bund of 1914. In a meeting at the Buffalo stadium in Paris, in preparation for the July 14 celebration it remained for Jacques Duclos, C.P. leader, to do what all the socialist and bourgeois orators had failed to do—to bring the audience to its feet in the singing of the patriotic Marseillaise.

C. P. Applauds the Army

The very troops that the Stalin-

ists are pledged "to maintain at their full level of security" are brought into play against the workers, wounding them by the hundreds. The Stalin-Laval declaration was not enough. In the July 16 l'Humanite they gild the lily in peans of praise for the army of French imperialism. A prominent box reprints a "Declaration made by M. Marc Rucart, Radical Socialist Deputy from the Vosges, general reporter of the 6th of February Commission to the session of Peace and Liberty at the Buffalo Stadium before 10,000 delegates on July 14 in the name of . . . the Socialist party, the Communist party . . . and 58 other organizations participating in the gathering of July 14.

"In this immortal French Declaration which constitutes for all the people of all the land, the charter of liberty, the men of 1789 have written that the public force was constituted for the guarantee of the Rights of Man.

"The Republicans know that they can count on the loyalty of the army, the expression of the public force—of the army formed of the sons of the entire people—

2090, the painters local 905 and the bricklayers local 37. "No one has to work who does not want to," declared Mr. Hopkins, "and if they don't want to do it, other people on relief rolls will take their places and receive the security wage." Here is a clear statement of organized strike breaking and for the trade union movement there can hardly be any other recourse but to accept the challenge and fight it out.

Wm. Green in his editorial in the American Federationist, August issue, takes cognisance of the threat in asserting that when relief wages are set in competition with normal wages, work and living standards for all will be dragged down. But what does he propose? "State and local labor organizations should organize for effective participation in state relief plans and offices." And after the local and state organizations have participated to the fullest extent in these plans, then what, it may be pertinent to ask? There can be only one answer: The way out is already shown in New York. Strike the project jobs.

—A.S.

Iron Workers of Minneapolis Reform Ranks

(Continued from Page 1)

ular practise to import workers from Germany and Austria to Minneapolis. He has proceeded to exploit their skill and take advantage of their ignorance of our language and customs by underpaying these foreign workers so as to budgeon down the wages of other workers in his plant. Some of these workers, who could speak a little English, soon learned of this and, having been union members in Germany, went to the local metal workers union to ask for help. The union had found work for these men. The other immigrants had been told of this and sooner or later managed to escape the yoke of Tetzlaff.

Another of Tetzlaff's tricks is the farming out of special jobs to his gang foremen so that the workers are doubly exploited, both Tetzlaff and the foremen wringing their profits from the workers. Tetzlaff has given stock to his non-union employees. This stock paid no dividends, had no maturity date. Again, he would sell stock to his workers, permitting them to pay for it by deducting from their pay checks. Later he lost control of this stock issue through a deal with an eastern holding company, the National Bronze Company. He has since regained control, but to the dismay of the workers their certificates have become almost valueless in the process. For years Tetzlaff has maintained stool-pigeons on the job. Bearing this in mind, one sees that the struggle at the Flour City plant is not only for wages and working conditions but for the basic right of the workers to organize for their own mutual benefit, a right always denied by Tetzlaff.

Farmer-Labor Mayor Herds Scabs

The past two weeks of the strike were uneventful. Daily picket lines, though small, prevented the bosses from trying to re-open with scab labor. The strikers felt, and correctly, that the real struggle would resolve around the labor-lafing Flour City Ornamental Iron Works.

On the morning of July 26, the recently elected Farmer - Labor Mayor Latimer suddenly appeared at the Flour City plant with a squad of 68 police and proceeded to escort 30 strike-breakers into the

to give a rebuke to all those who endeavor to use it as an instrument for personal ambitions or for the ambitions of a fascist minority.

"They remember that the public force is at the disposal of the indivisible nation and the governmental authority will not tolerate the existence of other organizations of a military character than those which represent the supremacy of the first magistrate of the Republic and the control of the nation.

"On this day, July 14, they salute the armies of land, sea and air—officers, sub-officers, soldiers and sailors—the national forces constituted for the defense of liberty."

Whatever else need be said of the treachery of the Stalinists is spoken in the mute comment of the slain Toulon strikers, victims at the hand of these "defenders of liberty."

Writer Describes Misery of Men, Women and Children Suffering Untold Horrors In Effort to Earn Livelihood

(Continued from Page 1)

urers but the code for the tiff miners got "sidetracked" and these workers were crushed to a still lower level of existence. Persistently did the National Barytes Producers Ass'n beg for a code and just as persistently did the government and its lead code authorities turn a deaf ear. It would not be too presumptuous to guess that on this Code Administration sat a representative of the lead interests.

Hoping to break the strike of the 2,600 miners, who came out in a body, the company decided to use the huge reserves which they have been piling up just for this event. But they made their calculations without taking into consideration the temper of the miners. Since there is enough tiff in the yards to supply the mills for at least three months the strikebreaking power of these hundreds of tons of minerals is obvious. The company hired a steam shovel to load the mineral on flat cars. But when the machine got to the place it was met by a "reception committee" of 300 miners. Armed with a varied assortment of weapons ranging from clubs and stones to the old "squirrel gun" (usually a 12 bore shotgun) which nearly every miner keeps above his door. The shovel never got a chance to sink its teeth into the reserve and no ore has been moved to date.

On the morning of the strike they came a thousand strong to the Washington County Courthouse demanding immediate relief, the strike-breaking role of the federal relief authorities has already been shown by the offer to get "jobs" for them on reforestation work, promising jobs for 500 men.

When the strike vote was taken a

thunderous volume of "ayes" went up. The men stood up and cheered while the women looked on with tear-dimmed eyes. The sentiments of these determined people fighting for their lives and the lives of their children was summed up in a few short words by the chairman, George Bourbon, tall, white-haired tiff digger for more than 30 years when he told W. H. Comins, general superintendent of the company:

"If you use that reserve pile of tiff we'll starve. We are starving anyway and we are on strike to win or perish. We want to peaceable if its possible. But if not we'll have a nice quiet, little battle here all our own."

The organizers and leaders of the strike is the American Workers Union, an unemployed organization which will probably prove a great weakness. The Stalinists have just got through "merging" their Unemployed Councils with this organization from which the A.W.U. gained nothing except the addition to their national committee of Wagenknecht, nationally known Stalinist faker and others of the Stalinist wrecking crew to the local Executive Committee.

At any rate the bosses are fooling with the most dangerous animal in the world when they fool with the Missouri tiff digger—an animal that hasn't got a thing in this world to lose. They are fighting under the impulse of the first law of nature—of self-preservation, of keeping body and soul together. Reared in the school of "rugged individualism" they may try to convert the empty promises of demagogues into a living reality. And they have taken the only road—the road of militant struggle.

in one of those situations where all the past sins of the false Stalinist line were back to hound them. To get pickets in a hurry, you need a real, living contact with the masses. The Communist Party does not have this. The Unemployed Council? It does not exist. The Communist Party local? Either it has dwindled to almost nothing, or its members are not interested in picketing. The Friends of the Soviet Union? Nice people no doubt, but not the kind to come out on a picket line. Why not call a meeting of the district committee, discuss the problem, issue a leaflet, agitate? That might do the trick—in a week or so. But a picket line was needed right now. This afternoon.

How Revolutionists Act

And how was it with the Workers Party in Minneapolis? It was different. We know that situations like this will arise again and again. We know that they must be prepared for by hard realistic work—day-to-day work that never slackens. What could we do to establish that picket line? The Workers Party has contact with the General Drivers Union, with the Federal Workers Section of Local 574, and with its own no-longer-insignificant membership. A half dozen messengers were sent about town—to various plants, to workers on various relief jobs. Workers were told that their help was needed immediately on the picket line at the Flour City plant. Because the workers trusted the messengers, they responded. By 4:30 a good 250 pickets were outside the Flour City building. A crowd of a thousand or so quickly gathered, and the police began arriving in squad cars. The plan of the employers was to escort the scabs through the picket lines in autos owned by the management and the salesmen. Among the scab autos were to be interspersed the police cars. It so happened that at 4:30 the entire strike committee was absent from the picket line, and down in the Mayor's office conferring with Latimer.

The cars began coming out. Somehow, or other the police cars were always held up for a minute or so as they came rolling out of the plant. This cut the police off from the scab autos, which were greeted with a shower of bricks. Each scab car looked as though it had been caught in a rain of cannon-balls. Things finally got to the point where the police cars were having the same trouble, and the cops were rolling around on the floors of their cars amid a shower of flying glass. Though the event

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