

Official Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

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One of the principal problems that has always confronted the American Socialist movement has been to establish fraternal relations of collaboration with the trade unions. As a result of certain historical factors which cannot be enumerated here, the American trade unions have been, with very few exceptions, isolated from the Socialist movement. Many errors committed by the Socialist movement in the past have contributed

Adopting this policy of winning over the trade unions for independent political action, the Socialist Party succeeded in 1917 in winning to this policy almost a dozen national trade unions and a large number of local and central labor organizations in the big cities. In addition to a general collaboration, there was also an intimate collaboration between the Party and the trade unions in the course of the

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Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL KEICH
Among the Patriots...

The Liberty League has secured 56 prominent reactionary attorneys to pass privately on the constitutionality of New Deal legislation and suggests Al Smith for President. . . . In 1919 W. R. Hearst remarked: "Smith has always been too close to Tammany and to certain public service corporations to make him an ideal public official." . . . Al Smith replied: "Hearst is a particularly low type of man. He hasn't a drop of good clean red blood in his body." . . . Recently Hearst announced: "I think Alfred E. Smith would make a powerful candidate for President. He is the accredited leader of the Democratic Party. . . . The genuine Democratic Party should not have its honored name stolen by the autocratic Asiatic party of Karl Marx and Franklin Delano Roosevelt." . . . Father Coughlin slinks from the Roosevelt bandwagon and crawls aboard the Hearst-Smith-Liberty League outfit: "It is an admirable characteristic of Mr. Hearst to put aside personal animosity as he has done in suggesting Alfred R. Smith for the Presidency. Roosevelt's policies are un-American. Norman Thomas is a piker compared to him. After all, Thomas stands for a fairly good brand of American Socialism but Roosevelt stands for a poor brand of Russian Communism." . . . The good Father is also interested in capturing the auto workers from the A. F. of L. with his Automotive Workers' Industrial Association. He says, "Labor shouldn't direct its action against the bosses because all we have in Detroit, except Henry Ford, is a bunch of straw bosses carrying out the orders of bankers. . . . My advice is not to say 'hell with the stockholder and capitalist' but to say 'charge more for your car and take less in profit and pass the money on to labor'." . . .

Soak the Rich...

W. J. Cameron, Henry Ford's publicity agent, says, "Every form of attack has been made to gain control of the Ford Company. Banks have been pulled out from under it; unions have started strikes there; men have come with hundreds of millions of dollars to buy it. Now comes this tax-the-rich idea. We think it is simply a break-up-Ford idea." . . . Oscar De Priest, former Negro Congressman from Illinois, states: "This 'soak the rich' legislation is striking at the Negro's best friend—the wealthy employers of the big factories of America, such as Henry Ford, Standard Oil, General Motors and others. If they are soaked we will be drowned!" . . . Roosevelt's share-the-wealth taxation program will raise less than \$2.75 per capita annually. . . . In some states sales taxes cost as high as \$100 annually per capita. . . . Detailed Treasury figures show that in 1935, 61.3 percent of all Federal taxes will be paid by consumers while only 38.7 percent will be borne by persons best able to pay. In 1930 the conditions were reversed: consumers paid 31.8 percent of the total tax bill, the well-to-do 68.2 percent. . . .

Science and Invention..

Marconi, inventor of wireless telegraphy, has presented Mussolini with the latest device for transmitting "death waves" which he claims will revolutionize warfare. Ethio-plans will have the honor of being murdered in the latest scientific fashion. . . . Julius Streicher, Nazi Jew baiter, advises the use of a small pendulum as a divining rod for detecting Jews. "Jewish blood," he says, "belongs to lead and zinc, products of radioactive decay, while Aryan blood belongs to gold and platinum." . . . In June the Statistical Bulletin of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. attributed the 1934 increase in the birth rate as "the direct result of an upward trend in the economic tide." . . . The current issue attributes the increase as being due to a lowering of the standard of living. "The birth rate is well known to vary inversely with the income class of the family and highest birth rates are found among the economically least favored classes. . . . It is almost certain that families on relief have a higher birth rate than non-relief families." . . .

Prosperity...

The Chicago Tribune reports the number of "paupers" trebled by the dole. Of Illinois 300,000 relief cases, 66,500 are classified as "unemployable." . . . In New York City, General Johnson reports 40,000 people or one sixth of the unemployed on relief as being too ill to work, mostly from malnutrition. . . . The U. S. Department of Commerce reports that the national income increased 10 to 15 percent in 1934. . . . Alexander Kotchevovsky, Houston, Texas, dancing master, has introduced a new dance characterized by leaping, flying movements and wide steps symbolizing the return of prosperity. . . .

Stalinists Launch New Phoney Labor Party in San Francisco

Opportunist Platform Is to Right of Epic;
Devised to Catch All Voters

By CHARLES CURTISS

SAN FRANCISCO.—"Labor Unites with Liberal Democratic and Radical Forces for the Municipal Elections" is the heading of a leaflet stating the program of the San Francisco Municipal Labor Party, which was ratified on August 31. The Labor party being formed under Stalinist aegis in San Francisco, key labor city in California, is an indication of the nature of the Labor parties the Communist party is going to form throughout the state. For this reason it deserves the attention of workers nationally.

The program for the proposed Labor party calls for everything from 100 percent unionization of the city to abolition of one-man street cars; from a demand for referendum, to free school books; from a unified publicly owned transbay transportation system, to a statement of opposition to vigilantism; from the improvement and extension of vocational training, to a demand for the freedom of Tom Mooney.

The program lists 21 demands and slogans. The mass-class Labor party so loudly touted by the Stalinists, reveals itself to be a catch-all to attract votes on any basis. But the burning question to literally hundreds of thousands it leaves untouched. To these hundreds of thousands enrolled in the Epics and Utopians, besides thousands of unaffiliated workers, the present capitalist crisis has driven one fact home: capitalism is an outworn system that must be replaced with a new social order.

Upton Sinclair, on the platform of "End Poverty in California" and "Production for Use," polled nearly a million votes in the gubernatorial elections of last year. The overwhelming majority of these votes were protests against the present system, and for socialism, although a confused type of socialism as popularized by Upton Sinclair in his "production for use and not for profit" platform.

That the methods proposed by Sinclair to attain socialism, would and could not lead to the desired goal, but somewhere far off from it, is very true, but right now we shall not deal with this aspect of the question.

Although nearly a million California voters cast their mandates for a new social order, the fact of the matter is that the proposed program for the Stalinist-inspired Labor party does not even contain a word about the necessity of the abolition of the capitalist system, and the establishment of socialism.

The program of the Stalinist conceived and executed Labor party limits itself to the struggle for immediate demands. The program does not base itself upon the idea of the overthrow of capitalism, but merely to the patching up of this system. It is silent concerning the burning question of the era: capitalism or socialism. The elementary teachings of Marxism-Leninism concerning the use of parliamentary elections to propagandize the revolutionary solution by the workers of their problems, is thrown overboard by the Communist party. The highest aim of the parliamentary struggle seems to be for the Stalinists to give the workers the idea that capitalism can be reformed. The mistake is two-fold: first, not to utilize the interest aroused in politics around election periods for the advocacy of the revolutionary solution, and second, in giving the workers the illusion that any gains of a substantial nature can be won through parliamentary struggle.

As a matter of tragic fact, the Epic movement, having as its central slogan, Production for Use (in addition to a series of immediate demands), is far to the Left of the Stalinist-created Labor party, which bases itself solely upon the struggle for immediate demands, and does not even place before the workers the need of a new social order. The program of the Labor party cannot even be called reformist; the best description that can be given for it is Left-liberal.

The self-proclaimed vanguard of the working class, instead of leading the workers to the broad highway of revolution, is dragging them to the abyss of the most craven type of reformism. The masses have seen the necessity of a new social order (confused though they are as to the means of attaining this social order), but the Labor party does not even pay lip service to this ideal.

The Workers Party of California, however, places before itself an altogether different task. It does not drag behind the masses; it does not strengthen their illusions in parliamentarism. To those workers convinced of the necessity of replacing capitalism by socialism it points out the only real way of attaining this goal; through the scientific method of Marxism-Leninism, the workers' dictatorship over the capitalist class, as a temporary stage to the free communist society. To the workers still imbued with faith in capitalism, it shows the need for a new social order.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

Philly Fruit Clerks Ask Aid for Members Facing Jail Terms

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Readers of the NEW MILITANT are aware of the fact that five fruit clerks are facing long terms in prison if convicted as a result of strikes they conducted in Delaware County and Philadelphia.

Certain wisecracks in the labor movement are spreading the rumor that "there is nothing to these cases," "you guys are just making a big howl about nothing," etc.

In reply to these people we want to cite a few examples of "justice" in Delaware County:

1. In March, 1930 Roy Peltz and Tom Holmes were convicted of "sedition" and received \$5,000 fine and 1 to 20 years in County Jail, and two years, respectively. These two workers were trying to organize a union in the Viscose Mill (world's largest manufacturers of rayon) in Marcus Hook, Pa. The "sedition" consisted in giving out a leaflet which advised workers to organize into a union and if necessary to "protect yourselves against police brutality and interference." This was construed by the "just" court to mean "sedition."

2. In the spring of 1932 two young workers, John Adams and Harry Roth were arrested in Chester, Pa. (Delaware County) and charged with "sedition" because they advocated in case of war the workers should "turn their guns against their oppressors." They did one year in jail apiece.

3. There were two other workers who were sentenced to 90 to 180 days in jail because of unemployment activities.

Speaking of Delaware County, we wish to quote from the Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger, September 9, 1935:

"Governor Earle yesterday at a 'Cornhill' on the Grace Farm, Swarthmore, attacked the McClure organization, declaring 'of all the corrupt political organizations, there was never anything in the United States to equal this.'"

Furthermore, "justice" a la Delaware County is not entirely restricted to Delaware County—Al Lichtman, one of the five fruit clerks, was just sentenced to a \$1,000 cash bond to keep the peace in Philadelphia County in spite of the fact that the only "evidence" against him was the testimony of the boss' son.

Now Messrs. Wisecracks, do you see what Earle says about Delaware County, the stronghold of the McClure gang? Do you think that "gentlemen" of the calibre of McClure and his henchmen, who send workers to jail for years when they try to organize a union or conduct unemployed or anti-war activities, will hesitate to send up union members when they have conducted a three months militant strike?

Shipping Clerk Strike in New York Ended

ILGW Heads Paralyze
Militant Battle of
Striking Workers

The shipping clerks' strike is over. The strikers returned to work Thursday without winning their wage and hour demands, and without union recognition. They have a promise from the bosses' associations to pay a \$15-\$16 minimum for a 44-hour week. At a meeting of the strikers held Wednesday afternoon the "settlement" was put forward by the leaders of the union as a "victory" and accepted by the clerks. Under the conditions the clerks were given little choice in the matter. The stoppages called in various shops in support of the strike had all been called off. Numbers of clerks had returned to work. It was either a case of accepting the terms offered or carrying on with badly weakened forces. But to call such a settlement a victory is quite another matter. It was anything but a victory. An analysis of the causes for such a setback is the first step towards winning the next battle.

To begin with, the refusal of President Dubinsky and the I.L.G.W.U. to give the shipping clerks a charter as a local of the I.L.G.W.U. placed, from the start, a great handicap on the local. As a part of the I.L.G.W.U., with the prestige of the I.L.G.W.U. behind it, and backed by it in their organization campaign, the local could have been put on a real mass base before strike action was considered. The responsibility for this failure lies not with the clerks but with the leadership of the I.L.G.W.U. who turned down the request for a charter.

Secondly, as a Federal union the local was given the "support" of the officials of the Trunkers Local 102. This support was of the kind that a scaffold gives a man about to be hanged. The truck drivers went on strike simultaneously with the shipping clerks, and settled their strike at the expense of the clerks. In other words, they applied the noose and then kicked away the "support," leaving the clerks dangling in mid-air. Metz, manager of Local 102, has a record that is known, and not favorably, throughout the I.L.G.W.U. This action was in line with that record. President Dubinsky, who sanctioned the settlement by Local 102, cannot by later financial support and statements wipe out his share of the responsibility for this act.

Thirdly, when the shipping clerks responded to the strike call in thousands, the inexperienced and youthful strike leaders were unable to

The Manager's Corner

Contributions this week in the campaign for the 8-page NEW MILITANT again record a drop. The total brought in for the week is only \$33.50. These contributions were received as follows:

Contributions	
West Side Branch	\$ 5.50
F. Martin, St. Paul	1.00
H. Smith, Hutchinson, Kans.	1.00
Robert Merrill, N. Y. C.	1.00
Harlem Branch, N.Y.C.	6.70
Anonymous, N. Y. C.	1.00
Center Branch, N. Y. C.	5.00
Flatbush Branch, N. Y. C.	1.00
Astoria Branch, N. Y. C.	2.00
Charleston, W. Va. Branch	1.00
Cleveland Branch	1.00
Total	28.20
Advance Subscriptions	
Cherloff, Youngstown Br.	2.00
Club Cards	
Rigby, Utica	1.50

Youngtown Branch 3.00
Greetings
Brownsville Branch, N.Y.C. . . . 80
Previously recorded . . . \$95.81

Grand Total . . . \$131.31

The Harlem branch has now taken the lead not only in the New York District but over all the branches in the country. The contributions from the New York branches stand to date as follows:

Quota	Contributed
Harlem branch	\$ 96.00
West Side branch	101.00
Center branch	130.00
Flatbush branch	30.00
Bronx branch	150.00
Newark branch	54.00
Boro Park branch	48.00
East Side branch	99.00
Astoria branch	30.00
Brownsville branch	63.00
Paterson branch	15.00

Cannon to Lecture on 4th Int'l In Series Starting this Week

Why has the Communist International degenerated from a revolutionary party to a bureaucratic organization of social patriots? What is the program of the Workers Party for the impending war? How can the militant workers prepare themselves against Social Democratic and Stalinist betrayal? What are the lessons of the struggle against Fascism in Germany and France for the workers of the United States? What are the forces and prospects for the Fourth International?

These and other questions will be answered in the series of four Sunday-night lectures "On the Road to the Fourth International" to be given by James P. Cannon, editor of the NEW MILITANT, beginning September 15, at Irving Plaza Hall.

The lecture titles are: September 22—From Lenin to Stalin (the Downfall of the Communist International); September 29—Working Class Policy in the Impending War (Revolutionary Defeatism vs. Social Patriotism); October 6—The Struggle Against Fascism (Historical Lessons for America); October 13—The Road to the Fourth International (Forces and Prospects for a New World Party Under the Banner of Marx and Lenin).

Great interest in the series is expected. Tickets for the four lectures will be sold in advance for 45 cents for the series. Individual admissions will be 15 cents, that is, if there is sufficient room. Order tickets in advance from district office of Workers Party, 55 East 11th

Irving Place and 15th St. properly organize the strike. It was then the bounden duty of the I.L.G.W.U. to loan capable and experienced organizers to the clerks. Again, the failure of proper functioning of the strike machinery cannot be placed on the young and inexperienced militant leaders, but on those who could and should have furnished the experienced leadership.

Again, though unofficial support was given to the strike by some locals and particularly Local 22 through the calling of stoppages, this support was sabotaged by the reactionary leaders of other locals. Instead of "benevolent neutrality" with unofficial support, the reactionaries were officially silent and unofficially sabotaging the strike. This was clearly seen by the stoppages. Such stoppages being mainly called in the dressmakers' shops and usually initiated by members of

Local 22. By the overwhelming response to the strike call and by their militancy on the picket lines, the shipping clerks could not be ignored. Financial support was generously given by the I.L.G.W.U., and President Dubinsky was forced to intervene. This belated intervention could not save the strike. It did, however, gain the "settlement" and by that may pave the way for a future victory.

The shipping clerks and all progressive forces in the I.L.G.W.U. should now press for the unity of the local with the I.L.G.W.U. They should carry on a vigorous organizational campaign. They should force recognition of the minimum wage in all shops—all as part of the preparation for a united struggle with the dressmakers in the general strike scheduled for next January.

Conflict Continues In Teachers Union

(Continued from Page 1)

of conciliation, they were willing to confer with the administration, under the supervision of the Council, in order to arrive at a working basis which would result in the effective functioning of the union.

Impressions of the Delegates

It is interesting to note that the delegates to the convention represented a good cross section of the teachers of America. There were present teachers of all ages: the gray-haired and dignified one nearing the age of retirement, the mid-de-aged and the younger generation, representatives of all teaching levels from elementary school to college. There was also present a sprinkling of Negro delegates from Arkansas, Georgia and Washington, D.C., as well as a delegation of teachers from Cuba who told the convention of the repression of the labor movement by the present reactionary regime. Politically, every shade of opinion was represented. Because the convention was so representative it demonstrated that the A.F.T., though still a small organization compared to the total number of teachers, had become a vital force among the teaching body. It showed also that even the most backward and most difficult to organize of the white collar professions, the teachers, are organic into trade unions; as an organic part and not merely as an ally of the labor movement. Reports presented to the convention showed that progress toward mass organization has already been made in a number of localities. In Cleveland the union movement has succeeded in organizing 2,500 of the 4,500 teachers and has secured recognition by the Board of Education. In Philadelphia, the local which was organized about a year and a half ago with a membership of seven, has grown to over a thousand and to the activities of the progressive leadership. In Arkansas, the land of sharecroppers and closed schools and payless teachers, 42 locals have

been organized within less than two years. A number of union teachers have also been active in organizing sharecroppers, a phenomenon which gives additional significance to the union movement.

Report of Officers of A.F.T.

The report of President Lowry was highly academic in character, containing the usual progressive platitudes. It did, however, contain a summary dealing with the fundamental problems which the organized teachers face. He stressed five problems: the education of the teacher to a fuller knowledge of current social problems, factional division, fear of dismissal or union activity, closer fraternalization with organized labor, and finance. The weakness of his report consisted in the fact that he offered no tangible program or recommendations whereby these problems might be dealt with.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer Florence C. Hanson was more interesting from a factual standpoint. It is interesting to note that the organization received \$25,003 in form of per capita dues and that Local 5, N. Y. supplied \$6,852 or approximately one fourth of the total amount. This fact brings out better than anything else the importance of Local 5 in the national organization. As to membership the report shows that the national organization consisted of 195 locals of which 86 were locals organized this year. The A.F.T. has now a total membership of approximately 15,000, a gain of 453 percent in the number of locals and 12 percent in members. There was a loss of ten locals, which was unusually large, but.

"In face of the attacks upon the teacher union movement this is a remarkable record. Some of our newest and smallest locals have held their position in the face of strong opposition. A barrage of hostility was opened in Ohio last year. It has been intensified this year. In Toledo where attempts

have been made to dismiss the teacher leaders, with success in one case. In Massillon, Ohio, the superintendent endorsed by Local 330, the president and vice-president of the local were not reappointed after a vigorous contest. Please note that Massillon 330 shows a growth. Continuous press accounts put out by the Ohio Chamber of Commerce and the Society of American bankers branding the American Federation of Teachers as radical and communistic and its officers as communists have increased the difficulties of holding and building locals. In spite of this, however, the Ohio membership has more than held its own." (From the annual report of Secretary-Treasurer Hanson.)

We have quoted from this report for various reasons. First it illuminates the role which the Lefkowitz-Linville-Green combination is playing in branding hundreds of members of Local 5 as communists—it is exactly the kind of language which the open-shop, labor-hating Chamber of Commerce and the professional patrioters are using to prevent the organization of teachers in their efforts to smash the local already in existence by securing the dismissal of teachers who are active in union organizing. In New York Lefkowitz and Linville, assisted by the capitalist press and the Right wing Socialist press, the New Leader and the Forward, are preparing the ground for mass dismissal of teachers by their campaign of union wrecking and slander.

The second problem which Mrs. Hanson's report raised are the means to be employed to defeat the terroristic campaigns of the Boards of Education, the Chambers of Commerce and the professional patriots. In the Wagner Bill, the Federal government was compelled to recognize at least on paper, the right of workers to organize in unions of their own choosing, and to bargain collectively with the bosses. This fundamental right, for teachers, is not recognized by local and state educational and governmental authorities. This can only be obtained by teachers through their own efforts and struggle and by the closest association with the labor movement. In the teacher field, the company unions, which take the

form of local and state associations affiliated with the National Education Association, have been entrenched for a number of years under the guise of neutral professional and academic organizations. Actually they are the agents of the Boards of Education and the employing interests as has been attested time and time again by the position which they have taken on such questions as retrenchment in education, salary cuts, tenure, academic freedom and loyalty oaths. The struggle for the unionization of teachers, a struggle which until now has not received the attention it deserves from the progressive labor forces, has now become one of the important problems of the movement. The unionization movement, as seen in this light, means not only the winning of the teachers; it means the winning of the youth of America—the future generation—for the labor movement. It means also the forging of powerful forces that will aid in the defeat of fascist tendencies.

4. Teacher Tenure and the Treacherous Role of Company Unions of National Education Assn.

The teachers of New York State, due largely to the activities of the Teachers Union, are fortunate in having secured the enactment of permanent tenure laws for those possessing permanent licenses. A few other states have also passed such laws. However, in most states this important right has not yet been secured. In such states teachers are usually hired individually on an annual contract basis, which contracts contain clauses regulating their personal life and often violating their most elementary right as citizens. In addition they can be dismissed for any reason and for no reason whatsoever. Under this system of annual contracts, mass dismissals have taken place under the policy of economy and retrenchment pursued by local boards of education. Bids have been advertised for the vacancies thus created, which has resulted in pitting teachers against each other in an effort to secure these jobs. In North Dakota, for example, as a result of this racket, teachers' salaries have been reduced to about an average of thirty dollars a month. In some states, as in Arkansas, no salaries have been paid

for some time, and what salaries teachers have obtained have come from the Federal relief funds.

Again and again the question of tenure was raised in the convention and the term company unionism was frequently used. Evidence was presented which showed that the efforts of the union movement to secure tenure for all teachers were defeated by the opposition of the local and state affiliates of the National Education Association, controlled by the superintendents. The company unions specifically mentioned were the Pennsylvania Education Association, the Ohio Education Association, and the California Teachers Association. In certain academic quarters (see for example The Social Frontier, edited by Prof. Counts who ought to know better), the National Education Association has been treated as though it were merely a useful or at worst a harmless academic professional society. The reports of the delegates concerning the activities of this organization left no doubts as to its company union character. The problem of exposing and defeating these company union outfits has still to be worked out by the teacher union movement.

5. The Struggle for Academic Freedom.

Another problem which was much in evidence at the convention was that of the fight against violations of academic freedom expressed in the dismissals of teachers for opinions expressed in the class room, for activity in the labor movement, and in the movement for loyalty oath legislation initiated by the Hearst press. A number of victimized teachers addressed the convention, among them being Victor B. Jewett of California, who was dismissed for expressing an opinion upon aspects of life in the Soviet Union; and Dr. Winslow N. Hallett, a teacher at Cedar Crest College in Pennsylvania, who was dismissed as a result of his efforts to organize teachers and the unemployed in Allentown, Pa. In Toledo, Columbus, and Massillon, Ohio, a number of dismissals have taken place during the year because of similar activities. The convention, voted, of course, to give active support to these teachers in the effort to secure their reinstatement.

6. The Delegation of the United

Committee to Save the Union

A word must be said concerning the activities of the delegation sponsored by the United Committee to Save the Union, a delegation consisting of about sixty teachers from Local 5, who came to Cleveland at their own expense to oppose the wrecking of their local by machinations of the Lefkowitz outfit. The delegation conducted itself in such a dignified and impressive manner that it served to refute the calumnies heaped upon these teachers by the Lefkowitz-Linville crowd. In their private discussions with individuals and groups of delegates they always received a fair and courteous hearing in presenting the minority's side of the case. The members of the delegation, by their intelligent conduct, contributed in no small measure to the victory that was achieved.

7. The Lefkowitz and Linville Shanders in the N. Y. Press.

In conclusion we are compelled to reply briefly to the statements which have recently appeared in the New York press by Dr. Linville and Dr. Lefkowitz, which are as false and unfounded as they are disloyal to the American Federation of Teachers. They state that the defeat of their proposal to revoke the charter of Local 5 and the election of a progressive slate was achieved by an unprincipled combination of left wing elements and of office-seeking reactionaries. It is true that in the convention there were two progressive caucuses: one led by Maynard Krueger of Chicago and the other by Clyde Kiker of Toledo. These caucuses negotiated and achieved unity of action upon the principled basis of a program which called for: 1) rejection of the revocation demand; 2) public repudiation of the Green telegram; 3) Active opposition by President Lowry to the Lefkowitz-Green conspiracy to intimidate the convention; and 4) Agreement upon a common slate for national officers and members of the Executive Council. This united front of all progressive forces on a principled basis is a symbol of the new spirit of realism which has manifested itself recently in the struggle to overthrow the reactionary Green machine and their allies Linville, Lefkowitz and the Right wing Socialists. —A TEACHER.

Burning Problems Face Fifty-Fifth A.F.L. Convention

MARCH OF EVENTS

F.D.R. Warns Soviets...

Through Secretary of State Hull, Roosevelt has given warning to the Soviet Union that he expects Russia to keep its pledge given at the time recognition was granted. Hull makes it perfectly plain in his statement to the press that what America had in mind in demanding Litvinov's signature to Article 4 of the pledge was one institution and one institution only: the Comintern. "The language of the above-quoted paragraph irrefutably covers activities of the Communist International, which was then, and still is, the outstanding world communist organization, with headquarters at Moscow." Since Krestinsky rejected the protest of the United States against the holding of the Seventh World Congress of the C.I. in Moscow, Hull warns that the official relations between the two countries may be seriously impaired.

Meantime Walter Duranty expresses for the Stalinists their utter amazement that this Seventh Congress should in any way be confused with the earlier congresses which really aimed at advancing the interests of the world proletarian revolution. Duranty tells the bourgeoisie to look beneath the left phrases at the political realities as expressed in the entire course of Stalinism, and not to take too seriously the mere echoes of the past that have no more real content so far as the C.I. is concerned. But in the matter of relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., it is not so much any violations of a pledge that counts, as does the main aim and objective of the American bourgeoisie in the near future. These aims concern the period preceding the Second Imperialist World War for redhibition of the world.

Aim of U.S. Capitalism...

Press comment stresses that Roosevelt was motivated in his present move against the Soviet Union by the exigencies of the coming Presidential elections. He desired to rob his reactionary critics of one of their main arguments proving Roosevelt to be "radical": his attitude towards the Soviet Union. But it should be clear that while this is undoubtedly involved, Roosevelt would never have taken this further step towards the break of relations with the Soviet Union if it had not been in line with the major interests of the capitalist class. It follows on the heels of the refusal to grant Russia credits, and on the heel of the withdrawal of consuls and military attaches from the Soviet Union. It is thus a renewed guarantee to Japan that the United States will not aid Russia when the Japanese start the attack.

Recognition of the Soviets came at a time when Japan was threatening a rapid advance and deeper penetration into China. Involved in the domestic crisis and unprepared for a military conclusion, the American capitalist class found it necessary to impede the advance of Japanese imperialism by threatening a military alliance with Russia. This move succeeded for the time being, but could not be a permanent solution of the problem of the Pacific. When Japan resumed its conquest and plunder of China, America changed its course and decided to push Japan into a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. This would weaken both and permit the United States to step in at the moment of exhaustion to defeat its Japanese rival as well as the Soviet Union which would meantime be taken care of from the West through the attack by Hitler.

It is with this strategy in mind that the U. S. is now engaged in a vast project of militarizing the entire Pacific, establishing air bases and naval bases in all its possessions.

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sions and as near to Japan as possible. Every move with respect to the Soviet Union thus has Japan in mind also. H. B. Hinton, writing in the New York Times of Sept. 1, emphasizes this: "Far Eastern experts were called into consultation and the situation was viewed from a perspective including Japan. Our official students of Russian affairs know that Maxim Litvinov, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, obtained at least two years of security on his Far Eastern border when he negotiated the recognition of his government with Pres. Roosevelt. Russian relations with Japan almost immediately took on a better aspect, the Chinese Eastern dispute was settled. . . . What Hinton fails to add is that the American imperialists also secured by this means the holding back for the same period of Japan's march into Asia, at least of the speed of this march."

American diplomacy subordinates all other tasks to this major task: the defeat of Japanese imperialism. The neutrality law—so-called—is a move subordinated to this same aim. The United States wants to have no entanglements in Europe. Her interest in peace is the same profession in words and violation in deeds as that of Mussolini who pours his troops into Africa, or Baldwin who rushes the British navy into the Mediterranean. Similarly Roosevelt is setting the guns in the Pacific and smoothing the path for the air and naval raiders in the coming war. Sept. 2, 1935

Fear of Progressive Tendencies in Labor Movement Disturbs Officials

(Continued from Page 1)

are apparent as the A. F. of L. faces its fifty-fifth annual convention. The heaviest blows to the bureaucratic domination and control of the movement have come from two widely different directions: from the teachers union and from the newly constituted international union of automobile workers. The first was, by far the most decisive.

At its recent national convention the teachers union administered a serious rebuke to the "red scare" campaign of Bill Green and Co. and rejected by a firm majority vote his arrogant demand for expulsion of its New York local which he charged to be under Communist influence. Not content merely with this rebuke the convention elected the entire progressive slate for officers and executive board. When this happened Bill Green had not yet finished his personal supervision of the convention of the newly constituted automobile workers' union. There also he suffered a reverse. The assembled delegates refused to give a vote of confidence to his handpicked crew of officials. Green had his way by use of sheer autocratic measures, but the attitude of the delegates constituted a challenge to his leadership and gave him an indication of what he may expect in the future from the workers in the mass production industries.

Political Policy Challenged

These, however, are not the only manifestations disturbing the tranquility of Green and company.

Their policy is challenged or at least subjected to serious questioning, elsewhere. The Oregon State Federation is going leftward. Its recent convention came out in condemnation of the profit system and voted to establish a new political party. No doubt there was as yet little clarity on what kind of a party is needed, but the outworn policy of rewarding friends and punishing enemies amongst the agents of privilege does not at all find the same favor as before in trade union ranks. That holds true also for the Connecticut State Federation of Labor. It has decided to conduct a referendum vote of all local A. F. of L. unions in the state on the question of creating a labor party. Likewise the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, now in convention, is giving serious consideration to the labor party question.

These latter manifestations become doubly significant in view of Green's constant reiteration of fictitious labor gains achieved by legislation in the capitalist Congress and presented by him as real. These he hails as new progress in relations between capital and labor. Undoubtedly the Executive Council report to the convention will attempt to bolster up its record with these fictitious gains. The trade unionists may not understand so well the lawyers language of the statute books. Their attitude is much more likely motivated by a realization of the effects of these laws on their organizations and on their attempts to struggle for bet-

ter conditions. It is hardly necessary to assume that they have a conscious aim of creating a large reformist party or that they envisage great parliamentary victories. Rather the manifestations in the direction of new parties and labor parties represent a desire to break with the policies of the past and to get a square deal by their own efforts. This aspect invests these manifestations with their greatest significance.

Retreat in Face of Bosses Assault

They are closely tied-up with the whole question of working class economic standards. And it is precisely in this respect that the incompetence of the A. F. of L. leadership is the most glaring and where its turn to greater perfidy and a more reactionary position is the most outstanding. The logic of the opposition encountered in the living movement drives it inexorably in this direction because, like the capitalists, this leadership has vested interests to protect.

Many grandiose proclamations were issued from A. F. of L. headquarters against the coolie wage level set by the Roosevelt administration on the WPA relief projects. Much active lobbying was conducted in Congress and at its committee hearings. The scale of \$19 to \$24 repeated Green, and all his cronies after him, and they were correct—will tear down the whole American standard of wages. But the coolie scale went into effect. And, out of sheer incompetence to ward it off and downright sabotage of the struggle against it by the A. F. of L. officialdom, the American workers now face this scale as their basic standard. In this field things are much more real than the so-called favorable labor laws on the statute books. And in this

Bankrupt Union Leadership Must Be Challenged by Awakened Membership

field the miserable capitulation to the coolie wage scale sacrificed important trade union principles and squandered many real gains attained in hard-fought struggles.

Faith in System of Exploitation

But the A. F. of L. Executive Council does not intend to tolerate any of the new manifestations in the trade union movement. It rallies to the support of the capitalist system and its present spokesman who so shrewdly put over again the old capital and labor relations in a brand new clothing. It backs up Roosevelt's declaration that the economic emergency is passed and supports his promise of a "breathing spell" for business. It is preparing to strengthen his political fences for 1936. In the most contemptible fashion it hails the present upswing as the "healthiest thus far," for it is "due chiefly to inherent economic strength. . . . Dividend payments in August exceeded last year by \$11,000,000," says the Executive Council report preparing to whip it up at the coming convention; for are not these higher officials all interested in dividend payments? What other feature is "healthy" about this upswing? It cannot be the employment feature, for in regard to this the Executive Council states: "Employment this Spring has been below last year's level although production was higher." In other words: with the upswing, proclaimed as healthy by Green and company, unemployment is growing and the speed-up system is growing with it. And the Council statement further makes clear that while the cost of living continues

to rise, recording in July this year 62 percent above last year, the share of the workers in the total national income had dropped from its 21.9 percent in 1929 to 18.1 percent in 1934. A "healthy upswing" indeed.

Crucial Issues Still Remain

In face of these facts the decrepit A. F. of L. leadership proclaims as healthy an upswing accomplished entirely at the expense of the workers, through increased exploitation, and it reiterates its faith in this system of exploitation. This, let us not forget, comes also as a prelude to the coming convention. It makes only so much more clear that this leadership remains wedded to capitalism in theory and practice and depends upon the active forces of capitalism to sharpen its own class in order to deal the more effectively with any opposition to its reactionary policies and bureaucratic domination.

But the crucial issues still remain to be decided in the future. The coming A. F. of L. convention may proceed in comparative calm and without the serious conflicts yet coming to the fore. Nevertheless the reactionary course of its corrupt regime lays the trade union movement ever more open to new capitalist assaults. "What direction the workers will take when facing these assaults should not be in doubt. That can be clearly ascertained from their attitude and their actions up to now."

In the coming battles both ideas and leadership will be put to the test.

Roosevelt Assures Business It Will Get New "Breather"

(Continued from Page 1)

get old-age pensions, go not to the ghost of Long or the dreams of Townsend, but to the sane and sound original share-the-wealth and old-age-pensioner, Franklin D. Roosevelt. He is a past master at stealing thunder, and making it crack for him.

Roosevelt Program a Fraud

The easiest way to expose the Roosevelt hypocrisy, on the share the wealth Tax Program as on old age pensions or any other presumably liberal reform, is to compare what Roosevelt actually does with the high-sounding phrases he is so fond of. The Roosevelt Tax Program is a fake through and through. It does nothing whatever about eliminating tax-exempt securities, the means whereby the majority of the very rich escape practically all income taxation. It does next to nothing to regulate so-called "personal holding companies," another favorite device whereby the wealthy report "No Income" while they live on \$10,000,000 a year. And, if all of its provisions worked as the Treasury itself predicts, the whole Program would net only a little over \$200,000,000 yearly—a mere drop in the bucket of the Federal income, which would leave "sharing of the burden" within a fraction of the percentages which Roosevelt himself gives.

This does not mean, of course, that the present Tax Program is the last in the rise of Income and Inheritance Taxes. This will come, will have to come, but it will wait for the most part until after 1936. And at that time it will be not the higher brackets that will share the burden, but the lower income range. The ones who will be really hit will be from the same middle class which Roosevelt now so winningly tries to charm with his paper blows at the Tories.

Roosevelt does not, however, in his letter to Howard, stop on a Left note. As in the case of the Soviet correspondence, he is anxious to assure the public that, though he is a real reforming liberal, through and through, yet he is a safe and sane liberal—nothing that a sensible business man, or an owner of a large newspaper chain, need be worried about. He has no new upsetting acts up his sleeve; he grants business a breathing spell; his program is substantially completed.

Profits Mount

And well might Roosevelt feel that, for the moment at any rate, his program is substantially completed. Profits are once more rolling in. The automobile companies are doing their biggest business since 1930; steel, since 1931. General Motors and General Electric have just raised their dividends. The Stock Market is continuing its longest sustained advance since the crash. Merchandising expects the biggest year since 1930. The army and navy have the largest appropriations in peace-time history, and a new high in personnel. The chemical companies are operating full time. Electric output has been up, during several weeks, to all time highs. Business will indeed have

to have a breathing spell—for at least long enough to add up the profits.

Naturally, a few details are not yet taken care of. Unemployment seems to remain close to its low levels. Real wages have been declining during the present year. The Schechter Decision has given an impetus to a wide-spread increase in hours. The influence of WPA is rapidly lowering relief standards.

Indeed, somehow or other, the present partial revival of prosperity seems to be leaving out the working class altogether. It is a prosperity exclusively designed for the "business men" about whom Howard and Roosevelt so solicitously correspond.

And this is no accident. Capitalist prosperity was always of a kind that gave 90 percent of its relative benefits to the capitalists, and a poor 10 percent to the masses. It always meant a prosperity for profits, with perhaps a few dollars extra for the workers as a by-product. But now, in the decline of capitalism, with the expansive and self-reviving powers of capitalist economy exhausted, "prosperity" becomes a grotesque caricature even of its former self. Prosperity—that is, profits—can be rehabilitated only by the impoverishment of the masses. No possible business upturn can absorb any large section of the unemployed, and the contradictions between wages and profits—always present but often hidden during the advance of capitalism—becomes glaring and open.

Roosevelt's program is substantially complete—at least it is his own words that say so. We can stop, then, to taste the flavor of the New Era he promised. It is for the working class to make judgment.

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JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY

New War Alliances

On one and the same day, the Daily Worker printed the following comments on the Ethiopian situation:

On September 14, 1935, page 1: "Laval Asks Concessions for Italy and Military Rule Over Ethiopia."

On September 14, 1935, page 4, in the column conducted by Harry Gannes:

"The last important bulwark of the League for a possible support of Italian Fascism has given way. In an unwilling, but quite definite speech, Premier Laval has spoken with the voice of the French masses, and not his own that of de la Roquette, and the de Wendels, of the Comité des Forges, the war munitions makers and the pro-Fascist exploiters."

(Continued from Page 1)

And what of Ethiopia, the pawn in the imperialist game? The independence of this small country of less than 11 million people, living under semi-feudal conditions, has in the last decades been dependent on the conflicts among the imperialist powers themselves. Even this tenuous independence is now threatened by Mussolini.

If Mussolini is to be repelled it can be accomplished only by international working class action. The quarrel between France and England against Italy is a conflict of imperialist powers; war between them is imperialist war, regardless of the immediate cause. To support imperialist "sanctions" against Italy is to pledge support for this imperialist war which will go far beyond a "defense of independent Ethiopia."

The genuine independence of Ethiopia requires arousing the colonial masses of Africa against their predatory masters, the French, English and Italian imperialists and an active movement of solidarity by the workers in the advanced countries. Such a movement will also have its effect on the masses in the colonies and semi-colonies of imperialist America who are oppressed under the iron heel of Wall Street.

The task of the workers of the United States is to expose the hypocrisy of the Roosevelt government in its "neutrality" position, to get the railroad men, longshoremen and seamen to refuse to handle any munitions, arms or foodstuffs going to Italy. Means must be found to give material aid to the Ethiopian

people in the struggle for independence.

The slogan of "Boycott Goods for Fascist Italy" has been launched by the International Communist League. Everything in our power must be done to arouse the masses for the revolutionary struggle in defense of the Ethiopian people and against imperialist war.

This is possible only by an uncompromising struggle against those in the ranks of the labor movement who wittingly or unwittingly aid in the deception of the masses as to the aims of French and British imperialism and prepare for a new world slaughter and betrayal. In every working class organization, the militant voice of fraternity with the Ethiopian people should be raised.

SMALL QUESTION BOX

The September 11 issue of the New York Times asks, on its editorial page:

"Can it be that the Russian wheat is being sold to Italy by the Comintern over which the Soviet Government has no control?"

We can see no objection to making the proper reply to this question. The answer is:

"No. The Russian wheat is being sold to Italy by the Soviet Government over which the Comintern has no control."

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Rubber Workers Convention Rejects Appointed Officials

(Continued from Page 1)

above Green to assimilate one or two of them in the international union as a sop to the workers. This depends on how strong the opposition to the bureaucracy becomes.

Plans to carry a protest to the national convention of the American Federation of Labor are being made in the event Green and his cohorts use the outrageous methods which marked their actions at the autoworkers convention.

The rubber workers likewise feel certain that the convention will be packed with delegates from locals miraculously revived by Claherty out of town in order to assure the bureaucrats of automatic control of the sessions.

Rubber Workers Aroused

The indignation aroused by Green's treacherous methods in Detroit has been reflected among the workers here who have seized eagerly all reports from the autoworkers convention and most of the delegates realize what sort of a convention they are facing.

The ample warning received by the delegates from the experience of autoworkers will probably have a two-fold effect. Oil in the form of minor concessions to the rubber workers will be used by Green to smooth the "troubled waters." A crystallization of more anti-bureaucratic forces will strengthen the small progressive bloc elected as delegates.

Feeling for an independent union has not been entirely allayed as rubberworkers recall vividly to mind the two-year history of their struggle for an international union which threatens to be climaxed with another betrayal.

Expulsions in the spring of 1934 thwarted a move for an international union. Then the United Rubberworkers Council was formed at a national convention to head the unions but Claherty became president and again kept the reins of control.

Now after months of delay, a convention is to be held which all indications say will be another "Detroit affair."

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Oneal Makes His Report

Confidential Memorandum of Right Wing to Second Internat'l Shows Reactionary Contempt Towards Young Militants

(Continued from Page 1)

struggles which were of a vital interest to the working class as a whole.

But when the United States entered the World War, the American Federation of Labor and the majority of the unions supported the war whereas the Socialist Party became an anti-war party. The old Socialist militants who survived the persecutions of the war period think that their position was right, that they could not have acted differently.

The different positions of the trade unions and of the Socialist Party toward the war alienated these two movements from each other. This marked the end of the collaboration between the two movements. With very few exceptions, the trade union movement slipped towards a conservative policy and the Party became isolated from the organized working class. While we were thus isolated, the war came to an end and the Party had to fight against a powerfully organized Communist movement in its midst which led to the splitting of the Party in 1919. Three Communist parties were organized by former members of the Socialist Party, while inside the Party there still remained members influenced by Moscow. The fight inside the Party continued for a number of years, producing a serious loss of membership; the morale of the Party continued to decline and discouragement took hold everywhere.

Contrary to the European countries, the United States emerged from the World War prosperous. Generally speaking, the workers were content and Socialist propaganda made no progress among them. With the exception of a slight depression in 1921-22, the period from 1916 to 1929 may be called the Golden Age of American capitalism. There was relatively little unemployment, and wages and working conditions were, on the whole, satisfactory to the workers.

In the course of this period, the Communist organizations conducted a violent war upon the trades unions and the Socialist Party. In certain cases the Communists destroyed the trade union organizations and exhausted the workers before the employers. The trades unions, for their part, declared war upon the Communists. However, they did not yet establish with sufficient clarity the distinction between the Communist and the Socialist position, with the result that our Party was looked upon with suspicion if not with a virtual hostility by a large part of the organized workers. It must be said that certain Socialists, notably among the numerous so-called "intellectuals" and among the inexperienced youth, whom our position against the war had attracted into the Party, did a good deal to provoke this hostility by their harsh criticism of the trade union movement. Meanwhile, there was also a decline in the membership of the Communist Party, and bitter internal struggles provoked expulsions and splits.

The Crisis

The great industrial crisis which began in October, 1929, produced a new situation. The Socialist Party which numbered more than 100,000 members in 1919, had fallen down to less than 10,000 members. With the sharpening of the crisis, new elements joined the Party. The growth was not very consistent and even today the membership is only about 18,000. Many of the new members were young people who had just quit high schools or colleges and there was a considerable difference in age between the Party veterans and the new members, which produced an abnormal situation leading to conflicts and disharmony. Ignorant of the objective conditions which led to the decline of the Party, of the Communist movement and of the trade union movement, the younger elements concluded that the veterans were responsible for the weakness of the Party.

At the same time, the trades unions were, at the outset, so absorbed by the problems raised by the crisis, and which even threatened certain trades unions with disruption, that it was difficult to recruit members for the Party among them. However, with the continuation of the crisis, the trades unions little by little abandoned a number of their views and their conservative policies. Up till then they had been very little interested in social legislation. But since 1929 they have progressively changed their attitude and they are now fighting for numerous important measures of this kind, and the prejudices against the Socialist Party are disappearing little by little. In the meantime, the Communists continue their intrigues within the trade unions and toward the end of 1934 the American Federation of Labor issued a new manifesto declaring war on the Communist movement.

Since 1932

The conflict inside the Party came out into the open at the National Party Convention held in 1932, when the new elements sought

to remove Morris Hillquit from his post as National Chairman. Hillquit, while going to the extreme limit in his attempts to reconcile the diverse elements and to contribute to harmony inside the Party, had a clear and firm position on the fundamental questions of principles and tactics. He always considered that it would be impossible to build up a genuine Socialist movement in the political field unless mutually friendly relations and collaboration between the Socialist Party and the American trade union movement were established. He also considered that in view of the very nature of American institutions, it was an indispensable condition to all progress and all Socialist success to base ourselves entirely upon democratic and constitutional methods of political action. And that is why, since 1922, he had more and more violently condemned every attempt to flirt with the Communists and their sympathizers and had just as vigorously opposed the Socialist Party being drawn into alliances with various types of bourgeois reformists.

The essence of the question at the Milwaukee Convention was not the personality of Morris Hillquit but the conception of Socialism which he held. However, during the underground campaign which was conducted against him for several months, especially outside of New York City, his opponents spoke of "Americanizing" the Party, dwelt upon the fact that he was a foreigner by birth, accused him of submitting to the old traditions of the European movement, and also made use of the popular prejudice against New York which is intimately linked with American nativism and with the agrarian tendencies of the south and the west.

Hillquit was reelected by a very small majority, but his opponents obtained a strong representation in the new National Executive Committee; he was then afflicted by his illness which ended with his death in October, 1932, and which gave them the upper hand.

When the National Convention met in June 1934, the division inside the Party had become very serious and the events in Europe had contributed to increase further the fundamental differences of opinion. The defeat of the working class in Germany and in Austria, the seizure of power by the Nazis, the danger of a new war, and the discouragement which resulted from the continuation of the crisis, had strong repercussions upon the immature mind of the membership and above all, upon our youth. They began to despise cynically the whole European movement and argued that the defeat was due to the "old policies and the old leaders." They argued that the program of the Party had to be radically revised "to the Left."

Inside the Party, a very distinct Communist faction was formed and various Communist groups blandly sent their members into the Party and into the youth organization in order to "bore from within." The new elements obtained the majority on the National Executive Committee during this convention, which also adopted a new Declaration of Principles which aroused controversies the like of which had not been seen in so violent a form since the struggle with the Communists in 1919. United front attempts with Communist organizations also contributed to the conflict.

The new Declaration was adopted by the membership in a referendum by a vote of 5,933 against 4,872, that is, by a majority of 1,061. Its opponents declared that it was a step towards a Communist declaration and its supporters denied it. The Oregon state organization withdrew from the Party and the Indiana state organization organized a referendum for withdrawal from the Party when its charter was suspended and later revoked. The struggle between the two groups continued. In November, 1934, the vote for the Party declined in five or six states, and in these states a strong decline in membership was recorded. Altogether the Party lost 5,500 members, the activities of the Party were paralyzed and the National Bureau was incapable of gathering the funds necessary for the continuation of its work.

Another argument against the new Declaration was that a score of states or even more had adopted draconic anti-syndicalist laws which endanger the very existence of any party which alluded to the use of any form of violence or illegal methods for the accomplishment of its aims. The Oregon Socialists withdrew from the Party because of a severe anti-syndicalist law existing in this state, because they believed that by accepting the new Declaration the Party would be unable to continue its activities.

The United Front

Since the Russian Revolution, the Socialist Party had followed an unchanging policy with regard to Soviet Russia. It demanded the recognition of Russia and the establishment of trade relations with

Soviet Russia, while rejecting all the united front offers which it received from Communist organizations, and demanding the restoration of democracy for the Russian working class. This was the Party policy up to the 1932 convention when a tendency manifested itself, changed this policy in favor of a united front with various Communist organizations for "specific aims." This also contributed to extend the conflict existing in the Party.

The entire trade union movement was mortally opposed to the Communist movement and the Socialist veterans considered that to conclude a united front with the Communists would be to conclude a united front against the organized working class. It would be to abandon the fraternal relations which were developing between the Party and the trades unions in spite of the internal conflict in the Party. The Party organization of New York State, the oldest state organization, counting the largest number of members, was the most categorical in its opposition to the united front and in its opposition to the new Declaration of Principles. That is why the State of New York was the center of the Party conflicts.

The Youth Movement

These various ideological solutions and tendencies in turn affected the organization of the Socialist youth (Y.P.S.L.). It was influenced by all the "Leftist" forms of ideology and politics. In two months it produced two Communist groupings, one of which joined the Trotskyists en bloc. At its last National Convention, it raised the age limit to 30 years which, if it is permitted, will make it a rival party to the Socialist Party. In New York City the local section of the youth movement came into conflict with the Party organization, which resulted in a split within this section, but as a result of the peace agreement of July 13-15 it is hoped that a united youth movement will soon be reestablished.

Organizational Conflicts

From the intellectual conflict there naturally arose conflicts between the national, state and local organizations and the youth movement, centering for the most part around the State of New York. Since its organization in 1901, the Party had been based upon the conception of "State autonomy." That is to say, the state organizations have always enjoyed the exclusive jurisdiction with regard to problems concerning affiliation, propaganda, election campaigns, etc. This form of organization flowed from the experience undergone with the Socialist Labor Party, which had centralized all power in the hands of the National Executive Committee, which abused arbitrarily its power in order to crush all opposition to its decisions by the expulsions of members, of sections and of State organizations.

The jurisdictional decisions adopted during the conflict between the local and State organizations have been too numerous and too complicated for an attempt to discuss them here. The result of it was accusations and counter-accusations of bad faith and of illegal or arbitrary actions, the essential point of this form of controversy being constituted by the power attributed to the State organizations and to the National Executive Committee. Here, however, it was above all the veteran members of the Party who defended the powers of the State organizations, whereas the new members gave their assent to the powers demanded by the National Executive Committee.

Summary

In summarizing the situation in the United States, it can be said that the conflicts in the Socialist Party are due essentially to a new movement arising out of the world crisis with all the abnormal phenomena which it involves. (1) **The War.** The youth are so obsessed with fears of a new world war that they want to put an end to the anguish of these apprehensions. Thence, the attraction that any pseudo-revolutionary program holds for them. (2) **The Crisis.** For five years millions of young people have been unable to find employment and this has led to a morbid psychology of vengeance against capitalist society which hardly promotes intelligent reflection. (3) **Russia.** Premature reactions toward the Five Year Plan and the tremendous Communist propaganda on the "seizure of power" have influenced the opinions of new members to a certain degree. (4) **The European Defeats.** The defeats of the working class in Germany and in Austria and the reverses suffered by our Spanish comrades foster the point of view that the blame for them devolves upon the organizations and the programs of the Socialist and Labor parties of the world, and that they must be completely reorganized. They consider that the veterans are incapable of doing it and that this task falls to the youth. (5) **Fascism.** They

have a morbid fear of fascism and in general they believe that its rise in Europe could have been prevented if the youth with its vigor, its enthusiasm and its clearer views upon social and economic forces had been invested with the leadership.

Many of these new elements did not come from proletarian families, but from the liberal professions and the petty-bourgeoisie, above all from the colleges, the theological schools and the universities. They constitute a raw material which a workers party does not find it easy to assimilate because they bring with them the ideologies of their class. The hope of the Socialist Party rests in bringing into the movement an increasing number of men and women coming from the working class, above all workers who have been educated by the trades unions. They will have a stabilizing influence on the Party and will guarantee it a strong proletarian base.

The agreement which I am enclosing to you is the first step accomplished towards this stabilization. The veteran comrades have displayed tolerance and patience in their efforts to avert a fatal split. However, they have not shown themselves inclined to conclude any compromises with certain ideas and certain programs which would be just as fatal to the Socialist movement of the United States. It is our duty, not only to the working class of the United States, but to the International, to maintain a healthy party of the working masses free from all utopian ideas and rejecting dangerous adventures, a party based upon the interests of the proletarian class and not upon emotional reactions and fears. We have good reason to hope that the Party has now accomplished a turn in the sense of such a movement and that our comrades will do all that is possible to bring peace and unity into its ranks.

I should like to insist strongly on the fact that all those who are concurrently called the "Old guard" have not for a single moment projected or desired a split in the Party. We have openly exercised our rights to discuss the principles and the policy which were the cause of the disagreements in the movement, and in the states and the cities where our point of view carried we have, naturally, by the regular Party methods, fought the tendencies which, in our opinion, threatened to isolate us from the organized labor movement, to obscure the differences between Socialism and Communism, and to undermine the faith of the young generations in democratic and peaceful methods of labor action. That has been the case notably in New York.

The danger of a split became genuinely imminent during the first half of this year when the so-called "militants," confident in the majority they believed they had in the National Executive Committee, demanded of this organ to "reorganize" the New York movement—that is, to expel all the members and to readmit only those who were in agreement with them or who promised to obey their orders. Obviously, if this threat had been carried out the expelled majority would not have been disorganized and would not have disappeared from political life. The demand for this categorical measure becoming more and more violent, it nevertheless appeared quite obvious that the majorities of certain states and strong minorities of others could not tolerate such an expulsion en masse and the "reorganization" proposed for New York would have produced a split of the Party on a national scale. When the National Executive Committee met on July 13-15, it appeared that among its members only three out of eleven were determined to vote for the expulsion en masse of the New York Socialists. The New York Committee was then invited to confer with the representatives of the national organ, and an agreement was worked out which was ratified by two-thirds of the votes of the National Executive Committee and unanimously by the New York Committee.

We may hope that this agreement will lead to the reestablishment of a spirit of good feeling in the ranks of the Party, to the dissolution of organized groups and factions, will permit the elimination of practices which have up to now caused needless friction, and will thus put us in a position to work together actively to build the Party and to propagate its ideas while discussing as comrades the differences in theory and in tactics.

The American movement has always been a very weak link of the International and we are fully conscious that it is our duty and that upon us devolves the responsibility towards the comrades of all countries to build up in the United States a strong Party, a party which will be able to contribute to the struggles of the masses of all countries and which will fulfill its duty in every crisis that may confront the working class here or abroad.

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) JAMES O'NEAL.

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France Faces The Crisis

Labor Displays Its Readiness To Battle Against The Regime But Socialists and Stalinists Sabotage Struggle

By H. FRANK ROBERTS

France is today pregnant with change. The imminence of imperialist war and the exceedingly acute growth of internal contradictions are hastening the convulsions which will exert a decisive influence upon the march of events in Europe and in Africa. The government of Laval-Herriot is a stop-gap. It cannot for much longer maintain its precarious balance between class forces moving toward decisive conflicts. It seems to be generally expected that the Laval cabinet will give way either to a cabinet of the extreme Right which will base itself not on a parliamentary majority but directly upon the Croix de Feu and other Fascist groupings, or a Radical government headed by Daladier and supported by his allies in the Front Populaire, the Socialist and Stalinist parties. A government supported by or including de la Roque, which may take power, if need be, with the help of a coup d'état engineered by the General Staff, would mean the launching of an immediate intensified offensive against the organizations of the French proletariat. A government of Daladier, loyally supported by Blum, Cachin & Co., would be a further step in the gross and staggering betrayal of the French workers inherent in the Front Populaire. If French finance capital entrusts the direction of its government to a so-called "Left coalition," it will be because it can count on that betrayal. The Front Populaire promises not revolution but "civil peace." It stands committed not to revolutionary defeatism in the event of war but to the support of the French bourgeoisie in the holy war against German Fascism.

The events last month at Brest and Toulon showed that the French workers want to fight for their bread and that to carry it through they are prepared to wage and win the struggle for power. But the Front Populaire desires not struggle but civil peace. Listen to Jacques Duclos in an article headed "A Government of Truce? Yes!" (L'Humanité, Aug. 23, 1935):

"The (Laval) Government is heading for battles between Frenchmen at a time when we must concern ourselves with giving work to the unemployed and stimulating national economy. We certainly want a government of truce which will not marshal the workers in uniform against the workers in the factories and offices. We certainly want a government of truce which will unite all Frenchmen in defense of their bread against the two hun-

dréd families which pillage the country. . . . But, to realize the union of France working under the aegis of a government of truce, we must have an end to the policy of the government of national disunity. And the Communist party, declaring itself ready to support a government of the Left, demonstrates its concern for national recovery and for a real truce." (My emphasis—R.)

This, today, is the language of the "revolutionary vanguard" of the French proletariat! Not "battles between Frenchmen" but the "union of France," the unity of "all Frenchmen"! Not the struggle for power, but "national recovery" and an end to "national disunity"!

In the name of national unity, the French Stalinists have embraced as their own the Tricolor standard of the French Republic, the flag of the French bourgeoisie, red with the blood of the workers of 1848, 1871, 1914-18 and of 1935. When the preparations for the parade of July 14 were being discussed by a joint Radical-Socialist-Stalinist committee, the Radicals indicated their desire to carry the Tricolor. The Stalinists readily assented. But, added the Radical delegate, our party is weak here in Paris and our flag display will seem puny next to the combined forces of the S.P. and C.P.! Whereupon the Stalinist delegate voluntarily offered the services of the C. P. sections in the parade as carriers of the Tricolor—if the Radicals would be good enough to provide the flags! And so it was done.

On July 14 Paris was treated to the spectacle of communists on the march, with the Tricolor side by side with the Red flag at their head, singing the Marseillaise! And at the head of the parade was Daladier, denounced not so long ago by L'Humanité as the murderer and assassin of February 6 and whom now they call to power! "We do not abandon to the enemy the Tricolor flag of the Revolution," said Marcel Thorez in a speech before the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, "We do not abandon the Marseillaise, song of the soldiers of the Convention." (L'Humanité, Aug. 5, 1935). Was it so long ago that the Communist International proclaimed for the Chinese revolution: "We will not abandon the blue banner of the Kuomintang to the enemy!"? The tragic betrayal of the Chinese workers marshalled by the Comintern behind the blue banner of Chiang Kai-shek will now be repeated, if the Comintern has its way, for the French workers, marshalled behind the Tricolor standard of the French bourgeoisie,

Another incident of the July 14 demonstration reveals the extent to which the Stalinists have carried their capitulation to the Radicals—i.e., to the French bourgeoisie. The socialist section of the 20th ward carried a banner which read: "Down with the Decrees of Laval-Herriot!" The Stalinist leader of the same district rushed over in a rage just as the parade was starting and ripped away the name of Herriot! Herriot is in the government and stands responsible for the starvation decrees of Laval—but he is a Radical and therefore not to be offended!

The fierce clashes at Toulon and Brest the first week in August—when workers trying to defend their livelihood came into bloody conflict with the armed forces of the state—brought forth from the organs of the Front Populaire—the charge of provocation! It was to be expected that the organs of French capitalism, like Le Petit Parisien and Le Matin would refer to the demonstrators as "rabble." But what could workers have thought who read in Populaire, the Socialist organ, that "human scum" were responsible for the demonstrations, and in L'Humanité that the "Toulon and Brest events were due to 'persons living on the fringes of labor' carrying out as 'provocateurs' their 'job as incendiaries'!" These scum, rages Vaillant-Couturier, the Stalinist No. 1 Publicist, "outraged the Tricolor flag which the workers put at the head of their processions, next to the Red flag, on July 14!"

And as a political conclusion from the Toulon events, the French Stalinist party issued special instructions to watch out for provocateurs who are trying to incite the workers to onward acts!

In all France only one revolutionary organization is fighting hard and courageously to block the path of treachery down which the Front Populaire is leading the working class. That organization is the Bolshevik-Leninist group of the Socialist party which alone in France today is upholding the banner of Lenin and Liebknecht for revolutionary defeatism in the event of war, which alone is calling for the armed mobilization of the working class in the fight against Fascism and which when the crisis breaks will alone be capable of providing the revolutionary point of polarization to which the workers, betrayed by the Second and Third Internationals, will be able to turn. The Bolshevik-Leninists of France are carrying on the struggle for the Fourth International against terrible odds but with incomparable courage.

"Militant" Confab Proves A Failure

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sessions with a multitude of platform speakers, leaving very little time for discussion from the floor. The little time there was for discussion was limited to five minutes per speaker. Thus little clarification could result from the "Institute." Even one of the "Militants," Frank Trager of Baltimore, denounced the arrangements of the conference, during the session on the Labor party, and demanded that arrangements be made for a serious discussion of this point. An extra hour was given to the Labor party question, out of which resulted the only arrangement for additional discussion; Paul Porter and J. N. Thurber being authorized to hold a conference on this question preceding the A. F. of L. convention.

The first session, "The Road to Socialism," was given over to two main speakers, David Berenberg, who is essentially a Right winger, and David Felix, who is typical of the Right-Centrist contemptuous of "theory." The short hour's discussion that followed saw a number of Yipsels come out for the dictatorship of the proletariat, while Zam, ex-Lovestonite, declared against including this fundamental concept in the theoretical program.

The second session was largely given over to a meandering speech by Norman Thomas on the "Practical Problems of the Party." Frank Trager also spoke on the agricultural situation, taking an empirical approach with no hint of the problem of a proletarian strategy toward the diverse elements who constitute "agriculture."

The third session, on the Labor party, was occupied mainly with speeches by Paul Porter and minor trade union functionaries, merely giving pictures of the various situations in the trade union movement. There was no time for discussion. Frank Trager at this point denounced the arrangements which prevented discussion.

Pacifist Leads War Discussion
The fourth and final session on "War and Fascism" was given over to a paper by the pacifist, Devere

Allen, and to speeches by Amicus Most, Mary Fox and Ernest Erber. Most denounced Allen's paper as "sloppy thinking" but himself took the same pacifist line of "stopping war." Mary Fox expressed the general desire of the "Militants," who desire a Socialist "American League Against War and Fascism," merely objecting to the present League because it is Stalinist-controlled and not because of its pacifist program. Fox, however, was very pessimistic, describing the sabotaging by the Right wing and the labor fakery of any attempt to build on the basis of the unions. Erber, newly elected chairman of the Yipsels, was the only speaker who came near to a Leninist line on the war question.

Albert Goldman was the first speaker in the discussion, criticizing the pacifism of the "Militants," and introduced a series of points, which were referred to an editorial committee. He was strongly supported by Francis Henson, secretary of the Revolutionary Policy Publishing Association. David Felix, speaking on Goldman's proposal said: "Here is a man who comes from a group (Trotskyists) who have long discussed this problem. We're children on this. It's like good whiskey. We want it once in a while, but we're not really ready for it."

All proposals went back to the editorial committee, since the proposed "Militant" program was not officially adopted.

Program Ambiguous

The program, written by the ex-Lovestonites, Zam and Becker, on behalf of the top caucus of the "Militants," deserves the sharpest criticism. It is highly ambiguous on the fundamental questions of the proletarian revolution, envisioning a working class government arising only out of the defense against Fascism rather than as an offensive movement, giving no hint of the nature of the civil war attending the conquest of power, and slurring over completely the proletarian dictatorship as the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. It does not even declare for socializa-

tion of industry without compensation to capitalists! It is thoroughly pacifist on the war question, saying nothing about transformation of imperialist war into civil war. Its analysis of American capitalism has no section on the farmers, but incidental references show it to conceive, in typical social democratic style, of the farmers as a homogeneous class. In Lovestonite fashion, it goes even further than most "Militants," and calls not for a Labor party, which would be bad enough, but for a Farmer-Labor party. To cap it all the trade union section contains not a whiff of criticism of the trade union bureaucracy. In succeeding issues of the NEW MILITANT this Centrist program will receive the extended criticism it merits.

The Revolutionary Policy Publishing Association, whose newly elected secretary, Francis Henson, at the last "Institute" session affirmed the desire of his group for unity with the "Militants" on the basis of a revolutionary program, held a conference in New York on August 23-25, with representatives present from Michigan, Missouri, Pennsylvania, New Jersey Tennessee, Buffalo and New York City.

The conference adopted the general line of a document, which will be published in the next issue of the Revolutionary Socialist Review, which among other things criticizes the "principle deviations" of the Communist International on the war question and the class struggle, repudiates national defense, and declares against any type of coalition government. Other documents were adopted which will shortly be analyzed in the NEW MILITANT.

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