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F-LMayor

Two Workers Dead, Many Wounded, By 'Farm-Labor'Cops

BULLETIN

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 14.-A tense situation here. Red scare planned. Indictments possible. Grand Jury absolves police and calls for additional police forces. Farmer-Labor mass meeting condemns police and Mayor Latimer. F.L. speakers weak and vacillating with exception of Scott and Bellman. Wm. Brown, president of Local 574 demands expulsion of Latimer from party. Latimer booed and jeered by crowd.

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 13.-Two workers are dead, thirty wounded. and numbers gassed as a result of sult of a private arrangement be charter signed by twenty-five mem. of the week before, and were deconvention, the leaders of the "Mil- with the result that the 200 present pickets and supporters at the Flour Oity Ornamental Company's plant here. Five thousand pickets, strike sympathizers and spectators gathered in front of the plant late Wednesday night. Without warning the police opened fire with tear gas on a group of strikers holding a meeting in a vacant lot across the street from the plant. Following the gas barrage which was fired from armered cars, the police fired volley afte volley into the crowd. When the meeting was broken up, guns and clubs were turned on the spectators.

Two Dead

Eugene Casper, 18 years old, shot through the chest by a police bullet, died on the way to the hospital. Melvin Bjorkland, 21, ridled with buckshot in the chest, died on the street. Young Casper was crossing the street followed by a friend, when a policeman drew a pistol and deliberately shot him down. He was not a striker. Among the wounded in the hospital are men who were smashed down by police clubs while walking home with their wives.

Since the brutal police attack on Wednesday, mass meetings and demonstrations of protest have been held. Farmer-Labor Party Mayor Latimer, who attempted to defend a company to terrorize the showed by means of region since anyone walking by a his actions at a mass meeting of L convention, scheduled for Octo- its time-honored political policy, is 2,000 Farmer-Laborites, was booed ber 7, at Atlantic City. Some of subjected to a severe scrutiny. and jeered. On leaving the hall he engaged in an argument with an iron worker and as a result is nursing a cracked mouth. The Mayor. who pledged himself in the election of a rank and file challenge to their evitable logic of antagonistic tento remove Bloody Johannes and his present position and policy. They dencies and it can only become kind from the police force, is being do not yet anticipate a direct threat more pronounced the more the conbitterly denounced by the workers. William Brown, president of Local progressive tendencies is beginning gle must result in the victory of the 574 was enthusiastically supported at the Farmer-Labor meeting when he demanded the expulsion of the Mayor. After the meeting was hurriedly adjourned by the Farmer-Laborites, Harry Menville of the Iron Workers and Micky Dunne of exists; and the lower strata of the ation progressive tendencies are 574 addressed the crowd.

"Farmer-Labor" Police

Following Wednesday's battle Mayor Latimer issued a weaselworded statement in which he attempted to place the blame for the batchery on the strike leaders and on Tetzloff, manager of the plant, at the same time covering up the their existence begins to worry the port of the capitalist parties. police by stating that "all police guns were locked up in the squad cars, but some of the officers must have found themselves in a tight spot and gone and got their guns." The Hennepin County Grand Jury, after "investigating" the murderous attack of the police, and following reports by Mayor Latimer, the Chief of Police and the Mayor's "Labor Board," made up of three tame labor leaders, three union hating bosses, and presided over by Doctor Prosser, author of the "Prosser Plan," for blacklisting union mem bers, brought in a report calling for additional police and completely exonerating the police force for the murder of Eugene Casper and Melvin Bjorkman, and the wounding of thirty others.

The police gangster attack on the workers of Minneapolis is but another part of the campaign of labor fakers, Mayor Latimer and the Citzens Alliance to break down the militant spirit of organized labor and is particularly directed against Local 574. The spirit of the workers is high, and they are determined that the murderous police at- Comrades: tack directed by Mayor Latimer Bainbridge in 1934.

RALLY SUPPORT FOR THE

Minneap's Conflict Continues Form Unholy Alliance at Geneva LaborHits In Teachers Union For New Imperialist World War

vention the Executive Council of lost by a tie vote of six to six; secthe A.F.T. met in executive session ond, a motion to refer the matter to consider the report of the invest to Local 5, without any action, tigation committee concerning Local which was also lost by a tie vote the fact that the body had not been to appoint the committee as recomformed and had not authorized the mended by the majority report nvestigation and that the commit- mentioned above, which was car-

Teachers Meeting

A. J. Muste, former vice president of the American Federation of Teachers, and T. Stamm will speak on the present situation in the New York Local of the A. F. of T. at a meeting to be held at Irving Plaza, Wednesday, Sept. 18, at 8 P.M.

All teachers and other workers interested are invited to be present. There will be questions and discussions from the floor.

knowledge and authorization. Here group, he would bring the matter we have an example of the "ethics" before Green who would see to it of an administration that holds up that the charter of the American its hands in horror at the ethics Federation of Teachers was reof the opposition.

The Executive Council had before egate from Cambridge, mass, and business men had been following business men had been followed President Lowry and Executive story to the convention on Friday, along with the President as sympa-Secretary Hanson, which rejected adding that this threat was like a thetically as they could, but that revocation of the charter, referred machine gun pointed at the body they were becoming disturbed over the matter back to Local 5 for set- to put them "on the spot." The Roosevelt's continued championing tlement and called for the appoint- Executive Council which consisted ment of a mixed committee of of a majority of liberal and con-tioned the Utilities Bill and Roose teachers and labor leaders to be authorized to step in and straighten ed. One member, unwilling to beout the difficulties. The minority lieve his own ears, said in a dramreport, presented by Selma Borch atic tone, "Will you repeat that plans for the coming period? ardt of Washington, called for the again, Dr. Lefkowitz?" The reprethree propositions: first, a motion

Prior to the opening of the con- to revoke the charter, which wa Members of the Council stressed of six to six; and third, a motion ried by a vote of eight to four.

The representatives of the opposition in the local were given a limited opportunity, in the form of ten minutes each, to present their case before the vote was taken. The majority in the Executive Council was anxious to arrive at a compromise agreement with both factions in the local in order to avoid the necessity of bringing the matter before the convention. The administration of Local 5 turned down all offers of conciliation. Dr. Lefkowitz declared that the motion voked. Later, Bernice Rogers, del-Roosevelt, as a "friend of the Ad-portant of the four sessions held The Executive Council had before egate from Cambridge, Mass., and ministration." He stated that many revocation of the charter. The sentatives of the opposition ex-Council was thus presented with pressed their willingness to a policy (Continued on Page 2)

Burning Problems Face 55th A.F.L. Convention

By ARNE SWABECK

new conflicts in the movement. Bill Green and his becomes more perfidious and moves cronies at Washington may watch closer toward a more outspoken rewith dismay the several indications actionary position. This is the into their leadership; but the fear of flict intensifies. Finally the strugto haunt them like a nightmare.

convention. A living movement is the movement. With the increasing pressure. In several respects they no other recourse than to lean more much undeveloped and confused, bosses and in more outspoken sup-

leadership. This official hierarchy has reand control of the movement. Its

"red scare" campaign has been Problems of unsusual importance given a setback. Its policy of or-

In turn this doenies one or the other. The question of Fundamentally this is the out- leadership and policy is completely standing issue before the coming interlocked with the very life of compelled to respond to the pres- pressure exerted upon the workers sure of conditions under which it by the weight of capitalist exploitofficialdom as well as the state fed-bound to make their way in the erations and city central bodies, trade union movement no matter that are closer to the rank and file how much the top leaders fulminate membership, begin to reflect this against them. But the latter know come into conflict with the top bu- directly on their alliance with the reaucracy and so, while the pro- enemies of the movement, by more gressive tendencies are still very complete collaboration with the

> Some Blows to Reaction Both the growth of progressive (Continued on Page 3)

Drop Fear The Socialist Call "Institute," was turned over to Norman Thomheld at Bound Brook, New Jersey, as, whose capitulation to the Right

Masses Bear Load

Roy O. Howard, owner of the pow- mittee of the Socialist Party, which Ever fearful of what the Right passed by the Council had no legal erful Scripps-Howard newspaper declared war on the Left wing wing will say if they attempt to standing and that he would refuse chain, Roosevelt last week gave the through the socalled "peace pact" organize a real caucus, the "Militee's report had therefore no official to recognize it. He presented the middle class another reassuring pat with the Right wing, and only a tant" leaders invited all members standing. Thus it was established Council with an ultimatum in the on the back. The letters were a few months before elections will of the S.P. and the Y.P.S.L. to come that the investigation was the re- form of an application or a new follow-up to the Soviet protest notes take place for the biennial national to the Bound Brook "Institute," tween the administration of Local bers of Local 5, and threatened signed to meet the growing anti-5 and the national office over the that if the charter was not revoked Roosevelt blasts now coming from ing no decisive steps to build a could not possibly agree on a proheads of the Council without their and a new charter granted to his the Hearst papers, the New York fighting Left wing. Herald Tribune, the Chicago Tribune, and the rest of what Roosevelt leaders' arrangements for the two-locratic methods of organizing a likes to call the "Tory" press.

Howard wrote, in his letter to of "radical" legislation. He menvelt's Tax Program as two particularly troublesome items. What, he wanted to know, were Roosevelt's

The "Breathing Spell"

Roosevelt's answer was divided into two principal parts. The first, and longest, was a defense of the measures he has taken, especially a defense of the Tax Program. The second, and the one that the newspaper headlines have been playing up, was the statement that his program had been "substantially completed," and that he was now able a "coal and iron cop" in front of a to promise business a "breathing saloon early in the morning, last

revealing than Roosevelt intended the coal company to terrorize the Treasury Department statistics how coal dump and picking up a piece the percentage of the Federal in- of coal can be technically accused come derived from "consumers" taxes"—taxes falling primarily on the masses-had risen during the past seven years from around one third to nearly two-thirds. This meant a corresponding decrease in the percentage derived from Income Taxes, Inheritance Taxes, etc. How, in the face of this, asked the President, can anyone object to the reasonableness of increasing the Income and Inheritance Taxes in the higher brackets? This question was accomplished by long paragraphs about "sharing the burden," 'a juster distribution of the nation's wealth," and the usual Roos evelt demagogy which has been familiar since his campaign days. It is in this way that Roosevelt aims to keep his liberal and reformist standing with his middle class followers. He is the champion of Friday, Sept. 20, 8 P.M.—Forum at all against the "inordinate" claims of any group or class. And in this way he continues to draw the teeth from the sporadic efforts to start a liberal or progressive Third Party ceived some serious blows to its tendencies in the movement and the movement for the 1936 campaign. bureaucratic method of domination increased reaction of its leadership If you want to share the wealth or (Continued on Page 3)

FDR Tells "Militant" Confab Stalinists Bosses To *Proves A Failure* Hail Laval

nite steps.

In an exxchange of letters with ing of the National Executive Com- he rose to speak.

The futility of the "Militant" day "Institute" is characterized by conference or convention, the "Milthe fact that one of the most im- itant" leaders cluttered up the four

September 7-8, which the "Mili- wing at the last N.E.C. proved to tants" had privately boasted would the hilt the hopelessness of the Breathing Spell' Note produce a Left wing bound together "Militants" leaning on Thomas for by a revolutionary program, was support. Despite his abject capitu-To Howard Shows instead an inconclusive and mud-lation, the "Militants' invited Thodled gathering which took no defi- mas to what was supposed to be a Left wing caucus meeting, and gave Two months after the last meet- Thomas a five minute ovation when

Following the typical social dem-(Continued on Page 4)

Framed in Scranton

By KIM DOLSON

SCRANTON, Pa.—Stanley Dziengiewlewsky, prominent and militant worker, has been indicted by the grand jury on a charge of aggravated assault and battery. Two persons who are in no way connected with the case are pressing the charges. The whole case is an example of the manner in which the Expect A.F.L. Head ample of the manner in which the Hudson Coal Co. persecutes and hounds down militant class struggle fighters in their persistant war against organized labor.

Dziengiewlewsky was arrested by Memorial Day, on a charge of steal-The defense of the Tax Program, ing coal. (The charge, false of if read carefully, was perhaps more course, is a convenient excuse for

> At the Borough Building, Minorick, the "coal and iron cop" assaulted Dziengiewlewsky with a gun, breaking his glasses and tearing his suit.

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your subscription has EX-PIRED. We urge you to send in your renewal by return mail, thus insuring the receipt of your copy without interruption.

subject: "War Clouds in Europe." Speaker: Ludwig Lore, columnist tion. of the Evening Post. The proceeds from this lecture will go to 8-page NEW MILITANT fund.

Green In Maneuver At Meet

BULLETIN AKRON, Ohio. - A smashing victory against Green and Claherty was won when delegates to the rubber workers' union convention by 44 to 9 votes rejected a resolution asking Green to appoint officers. Green said he accepted the mandate as final, and left town. He pointed out that the rubber workers had also rejected his financial support and advice—a hint of what is to come. The Claherty camp is now working to get him elected president "legally," while progressive forces are concentrat-

By JACK WILSON

ers' convention to form an international union here this Thursday was expected to parallel closely the autoworkers' recent convention at Detroit with the A. F. of L. bureaucracy headed by William Green again usurping all workers' rights British imperialists to declare war. and forcing a reactionary leadership on the new international.

about the oncoming rubber conven-

Plan Rigid Control William Green has publicly an-(Continued on Page 3)

To Repeat Auto **Union Scandal**

ing against him.

AKRON, Ohio .- The rubberwork-

Confidential Report by Oneal to 2nd International Reveals Situation in the Socialist Party of U.S. The following document, which throws such a revealing light on Pagreement, but the agreement is a to this isolation. The American ate interests of each imperialist

Committee of the Socialist and Labor International.

Brussels, August 16-18, 1935. Point 3 on the Agenda SITUATION IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE U.S. A. Memorandum Presented by James O'Neal.

(Received by the Secretariat of the L.S.I. August 9, 1935.) July 31, 1935.

To the Secretariat of the L.S.I., Brussels, Belgium.

shall have no more success in 1935 Party greatly appreciate the inter-agreement was arrived at which tire Party will eventually be able than it had when directed by Mayor est shown by the L.S.I. in the con- put an end to the open conflict and to unite. flict in the American movement, and promises to restore the unity of the Obviously, the differences on what retary Adler that I present the a copy of the agreement reached should be, are not completely elim- committed by the Socialist move- trade unions in the course of the on its colonies in Africa.

For the Session of the Executive the situation in the Socialist Party in this country, is the report submitted to the session of the Executive Committee of the Second International, which met last month in Brussels, by the American member of the Executive, and leading spokesman of the Old Guard in the S.P. James Oneal. This confidential report was received by the NEW MILITANT from an entirely authoritative source in Czechoslovakia, We obtained the report in a German translation, from which the memorandum printed below is re-translated into English.

The members of the Socialist York City on July 13 and 15, an in the state of New York, the enit is in reply to the request of Sec- Party. Enclosed I am sending you Socialist principles and tactics cialist movement. Many errors boration between the Party and the afraid of Mussolini's encroachments

origins of this conflict. However, Committee and the New York State before beginning the report itself, Committee. While the conflict ex-I am happy to be able to communi-tended to a whole series of cities cate that at the session of the Na- and states, it is in New York that tional Executive Committee of the it was most violent and it is deemed Party, which took place in New that peace having been concluded

EIGHT PAGE NEW MILITANT! following report concerning the between the National Executive inated by the adoption of this ment in the past have contributed

view the origins of the dispute.

The Labor Movement One of the principal problems that has always confronted the over the trade unions for independ-liance with Great Britain is imperbeen to establish fraternal relations | Party succeeded in 1917 in winning | that regardless of Mussolini's promerated here, the American trade organizations in the big cities. In alliance, into French colonial posexceptions, isolated from the So-there was also an intimate colla-

source of hope inasmuch as it regu- | Socialists have understood that in | power are constantly changing, lates some of the most irritating spite of the local successes gained leading to new alignments. France, organizational, tactical, and juris- in many towns or states, the So- which wants "pesce" in Europedictional questions which rose out cialist Party would remain funda- since for the time being it is satisof the conflict regarding Socialist mentally a propaganda society so fied with its conquests on the conprinciples. After this promising long as it had not won over the tinent after the last war-fears introduction, I shall now briefly re- organized working class to a policy fhat the recent Italo-German mutuof independence from the bour al recognition of one another's

geois parties. American Socialist movement has ent political action, the Socialist ative. At the same time she fears of collaboration with the trade un- to this policy almost a dozen na- ises last January, Italian aggression ions. As a result of certain histor- tional trade unions and a large in Ethiopia will be extended, in ical factors which cannot be enum- number of local and central labor view of the renewed Italo-German unions have been, with very few addition to a general collaboration, sessions in Africa.

(Continued on Page 4)

Argument

'Sanctions' Pleas **Conceal Jockeying** for War Positions

Laval's speech in support of England's position against Italy in the Ethiopian dispute marks a new stage in the unholy alliance of Franco-British imperialisms. the Popular Front in France and the Second and Third Internationals. The pacifist gestures of Roosevelt both in regard to "neutrality" and the invocation of the Kellogg Pact are on a par with similar acts of his worthy predecessor, the peaceloving President Wilson.

The French minister, who on January 7, 1935 had struck a bargain with Mussolini understood to give the latter a free hand in Ethiopia, astounded the diplomatic world by proclaiming at the League of Nations Council meeting:

"France is faithful to the League covenant. She cannot fail in her obligations. . . . I rejoice with my country fover Sir Samuel Hoare's speech], which understands the full necessity of close collaboration with Great Britain for defense of peace and safeguarding Europe."

This cementing of the Franco-British alliance recently, seriously threatened because of the Anglo-German naval agreement which officially recognized and sanctioned German rearmament, is hailed on all sides as a victory for peace.

"Sanctions" against Italy-economic and military measures—are implied in the speech of Laval. The Second International, the Third International and the International Federation of Trade Unions have urged sanctions against Italy. The president of the British Trade Union Congress recently declared:

"There are formidable powers of coercion to be applied in the economic sanctions of the League. They are clearly stated in Article XVI of the Covenant. They constitute a compound group of economic, financial, and military measures. . . .

"It is a grave responsibility to counsel measures which may cause war. But what is the alternative, from the trade union statepoint, to this policy? War is a certainty, anyway, unless Italy is restrained.' (British New Leader. September 6, 1935)

In a word, the British trade union leaders are ready to support the The French Socialist and Commu-

nist parties add their voices to this Exactly as Francis J. Dillon, auto | imperialist front by calling upon organizer, kept secret all news the British Labour party for comabout delegates, proceedings, etc., mon international action in agree-Flatbush branch, W.P., at Clark- of the auto convention, so Coleman ment with the program of Francoson Ave., Brooklyn (between Bed- C. Claherty, A. F. of L. rubber or British imperialisms. Among the ford and Flatbush Aves.). The ganizer, has not revealed any facts demands of these social-imperialists is: "The closing of the Suez Canal to all Italian military trans-

By whom? Obviously by the anti-Italian imperialist powers. And the war among the imperialists which will follow will be loyally supported by these hysterical and treacherous "friends of peace." Confidence in Pierre Laval and

Sir Samoel Hoare to prevent war in Ethiopia or a world war, is preparation for a new world betrayal of the working class. The immedi-"needs" means a threat to France; Adopting this policy of winning and that therefore a more solid al-

British imperialism is similarly

(Continued on Page 3)

Comments

On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Among the Patriots...

The Liberty League has secured dent. . . . In 1919 W. R. Hearst re- which was ratified on August 31. marked: "Smith has always been tain public service corporations to

hasn't a drop of good clean red the state. For this reason it deblood in his body." . . . Recently serves the attention of workers na-Hearst announced: "I think Alfred tionally. E. Smith would make a powerful Father Coughlin slinks from the ment of opposition to vigilantism; Roosevelt bandwagon and crawls from the improvement and extencharacteristic of Mr. Hearst to put Mooney. aside personal animosity as he has done in suggesting Alfred E. Smith and slogans. The mass-class Labor addition to a series of immediate for the Presidency. Roosevelt's pol- party so loudly touted by the Stal- demands), is far to the Left of icies are un-American. Norman inists, reveals itself to be a catch- the Stalinist-created Labor party, Thomas is a piker compared to him, all to attract votes on any basis. which bases itself solely upon the After all, Thomas stands for a fair But the burning question to literal struggle for immediate demands, ly good brand of American Socialism but Roosevelt stands for a poor untouched. To these hundreds of workers the need of a new social brand of Russian Communism." . . ! thousands enrolled in the Epics and order. The program of the Labor The good Father is also interested Utopians, besides thousands of un party cannot even be called reformin capturing the auto workers from affiliated workers, the present capthe A. F. of L. with his Automotive italist crisis has driven one fact be given for it is Left-liberal. Workers' Industrial Association. He home: capitalism is an outworn 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 'to hell with the stockholder and capitalist' but to say 'charge more for whelming majority of these votes 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 goal, but somewhere far off from vinced of the necessity of replacing the boss' son. hundreds of millions of dollars to it, is very true, but right now we buy it. Now comes this tax-therich idea. We think it is simply a break-up-Ford idea." . . . Oscar De Priest, former Negro Congressman the rich' legislation is striking at Standard Oil, General Motors and abolition of the capitalist system, others. If they are soaked we will and the establishment of socialism. be drowned!" . . . Roosevelt's share the-wealth taxation program will taxes cost as high as \$100 annually per capita. . . . Detailed Treasury paid by consumers while only 38.7 percent will be borne by persons best able to pay. In 1930 the conbill, 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. Ethiopians will have the honor of being fashion. . . Julius Streicher, Nazi present teachers of all ages: the fundamental problems which the Jew baiter, advises the use of a grayhaired and dignified one near organized teachers face. He stressed small pendulum as a divining rod ing the age of retirement, the mid five problems: the education of the for detecting Jews. "Jewish blood," dle-aged and the younger genera teacher to a fuller knowledge of he says, "belongs to lead and zinc. Aryan blood belongs to gold and college. There was also present a activity, closer fraternalization products of radioactive decay, while platinum." . . . In June the Statis-Life Insurance Co. attributed the D.C., as well as a delegation of ed in the fact that he offered no fessional patrioteers are using to 1934 increase in the birth rate as teachers from Cuba who told the tangible program or recommenda- prevent the organization of teach-"the direct result of an upward convention of the repression of the tions whereby these problems might ers in their efforts to smash the trend in the economic tide." . . . The current issue attributes the actionary regime. Politically, every The report of the Secretaryhave a higher birth rate than nonrelief families." . . .

Prosperity...

people or one sixth of the unem- the union movement has succeeded

. . . The U. S. Department of Com-tion by the Board of Education. In

Stalinists Launch New Phoney Labor Party in San Francisco

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

By CHARLES CURTISS

ites with Liberal Democratic and limits itself to the struggle for im-56 prominent reactionary attorneys Radical Forces for the Municipal mediate demands. The program to pass privately on the constitu- Elections" is the heading of a leaf- does not base itself upon the idea tionality of New Deal legislation let stating the program of the San of the overthrow of capitalism, but and suggests Al Smith for Presi- Francisco Municipal Labor Party, merely to the patching up of this

The Labor party being formed, too close to Tammany and to cer- under Stalinist aegis in San Francisco, key labor city in California, make him an ideal public official." is an indication of the nature of . . . Al Smith replied: "Hearst is the Labor parties the Communist a particularly low type of man. He party is going to form throughout lutionary solution by the workers of

The program for the proposed candidate for President. He is the Labor party calls for everything to give the workers the idea that accredited leader of the Democrat- from 100 percent unionization of the ic Party. . . . The genuine Demo-city to abolition of one-man street cratic Party should not have its cars; from a demand for referenhonored name stolen by the auto- dum, to free school beoks; from a cratic Asiatic party of Karl Marx unified publicly owned transbay advocacy of the revolutionary soluand Franklin Delano Roosevelt." . . . transportation system, to a stateaboard the Hearst-Smith-Liberty sion of vocational training, to a League outfit: "It is an admirable demand for the freedom of Tom

The program lists 21 demands ly hundreds of thodsands it leaves and does not even place before the system that must be replaced with a new social order.

Upton Sinclair, on the platform "Production for Use," polled nearly a million votes in the gubernatorial elections of last year. The overwere protests against the present 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 and could not lead to the desired shall not deal with this aspect of the question.

fornia voters cast their mandates from Illinois, states: "This 'soak for a new social order, the fact of the matter is that the proposed prothe Negro's best friend—the weal- gram for the Stalinist-inspired La- the workers still imbued with faith try to organize a union or conduct the responsibility for this act. thy employers of the big factories bor party does not even contain a in capitalism, it shows the need for of America, such as Henry Ford, word about the necessity of the a new social order.

The program of the Stalinist con-SAN FRANCISCO.—"Labor Un. ceived and executed Labor party Philadelphia. 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 revotheir problems, is thrown overboard by the Communist party. The highest aim of the parliamentary struggle seems to be for the Stalinists capitalism can be reformed. The mistake is two-fold: first, not to utilize the interest aroused in politics around election periods for the tion, and second, in giving the workers the illusion that any gains of a substantial nature can be won

> As a matter of tragic fact, the Epic movement, having as its central slogan, Production for Use (in ist; the best description that can

through parliamentary struggle.

The self-proclaimed vanguard of the working class, instead of leading the workers to the broad highway of revolution, is dragging them of "End Poverty in California" and to the abyss of the most craven type Swarthmore, attacked the McClure charter. of reformism. The masses have seen the necessity of a new social corrupt political organizations, order (confused though they are as to the means of attaining this social order), but the Labor party does system, and for socialism, although not even pay lip service to this ideal.

> The Workers Party of California, capitalism by socialism it points workers' dictatorship over the capitalist class, as a temporary stage to the free communist society. To

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

Philly Fruit Clerks AskAidforMembers Facing Jail Terms

NEW MILITANT

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

Certain wiseacres in the labor movement are spreading the rumor that "there is nothing to these a big howl about nothing," etc. to cite a few examples of "justice"

in Delaware County: into a union and if necessary to "protect yourselves against police brutality and interference." 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." did one year in jail apiece.

There were two other workers who were sentenced to 90 to 190 days in jail because of unemployed activities.

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

"Governor Earle yesterday at a organization, declaring 'of all the there was never anything in the United States to equal this."

aware County is not entirely rehowever, places before itself an al-clerks, was just sentenced to a their strike at the expense of the experienced militant leaders, but on ident Dubinsky was forced to incogether different task. It does not \$1,000 cash bond to keep the peace clerks. In other words, they ap-| those who could and should have tervene. This belated intervention drag behind the masses; it does not in Philadelphia County in spite of plied the noose and then kicked furnished the experienced leader-Sinclair to attain socialism, would strengthen their illusions in parlia- the fact that the only "evidence" away the "support," leaving the ship. mentarism. To those workers con- against him was the testimony of clerks dangling in mid-aid. Metz,

unemployed or anti-war activities. will hesitate to send up union memthree months militant strike?

Shipping Clerk Strike in New York Ended

ILGW Heads Paralyze Militant Battle of Striking Workers

The shipping clerks' strike over. The strikers returned to work cases," "you guys are just making Thursday without winning their wage and hour demands, and with-In reply to these people we want out union recognition. They have a promise from the bosses' associations to pay a \$15-\$16 minimum for 1. In March, 1930 Roy Peltz and a 44-hour week. At a meeting of Tom Holmes were convicted of "se. | the strikers held Wednesday afterdition" and received \$5,000 fine and noon the "settlement" was put for-1 to 20 years in County Jail, and ward by the leaders of the union two years, respectively. These two as a "victory" and accepted by the workers were trying to organize a clerks. Under the conditions the union in the Viscose Mill (world's clerks were given little choice in largest manufacturers of rayon) in the matter. The stoppages called Marcus Hook, Pa. The "sedition" in various shops in support of the consisted in giving out a leastet strike had all been called off. Numwhich advised workers to organize bers of clerks had returned to work. It was either a case of accepting the terms offered or carry-This ing on with badly weakened forces. But to call such a settlement a victory is quite another matter. It was anything but a victory. An tional degenerated from a revoluanalysis of the causes for such a tionary world party to a bureaucra- ber 22-From Lenin to Stalin (the setback is the first step towards tic organization of social patriot- Downfall of the Communist Interwinning the next battle.

To begin with, the refusal tion campaign, the local could have Kourth International? been put on a real mass base before strike action was considered. The be answered in the series of four lectures will be sold in advance for responsibility for this failure lies Sunday-night lectures "On the Road 45 cents for the series. Individual not with the clerks but with the to the Fourth International" to be admissions will be 15 cents, that is, leadership of the I.L.G.W.U. who given by James P. Cannon, editor if there is sufficient room. Order 'Cornboil' on the Grace Farm, turned down the request for a

Secondly, as a Federal union the local was given the "support" of properly organize the strike. It | Local 22. the officials of the Truckers Local was then the bounden duty of the By the overwhelming response to Furthermore, "justice" a la Del- that a scaffold gives a man about perienced organizers to the clerks. tancy on the picket lines, the shipto be hanged. The truck drivers Again, the failure of proper func- ping clerks could not be ignored. stricted to Delaware County — Al went on strike simultaneously with tioning of the strike machinery can- Financial support was generously Lichtman, one of the five fruit the shipping clerks, and settled not be placed on the young and in given by the I.L.G.W.U., and Pres-Now Messrs. Wiseacres, do you that is known, and not favorably, locals and particularly Local 22 "gentlemen" of the calibre of Mc the settlement by Local 102, can-Instead of "benevolent neutrality"

The Manager's Corner

Contributions this week in the Youngstown Branch campaign for the 8-page NEW MIL-ITANT again record a drop. The Brownsville Branch, N.Y.C... total brought in for the week is only \$33.50. These contributions were received as follows:

Contribitions West Side Branch \$ 5.50 Harlem Branch, N.Y.C..... 6.70 Anonymous, N. Y. C..... 1.00 Center Branch, N. Y. C..... 5.00 Harlem branch Flatbush Branch, N. Y. C.... 1.00 West Side branch 101.00 Astoria Branch. N. Y. C. 2.00 Center branch Charleston, W. Va. Branch. 1.00 Flatbush branch Cleveland Branch 1.00 Bronx branch

26.20 Advance Subscriptions Cherloff, Youngstown Br..... Club Cards

Greetings Previously recorded595.81 Grand Total..... The Harlem branch has now taken the lead not only in the New F. Martin, St. Paul 1.00 York District but over all the H. Smith, Hutchinson, Kans. 1.00 branches in the country. The con-Robert Merrill, N. Y. C...... 1.00 tributions from the New York branches stand to date as follows Quota Contributed

\$ 96.00 \$68.40 53.40 46,50 130.00 30.00 27.50 22.80 150.00 Newark branch 54.00 21.50 Boro Park branch 48.00 15.00 East Side branch 99.00 11.75 Astoria branch Brownsville branch Paterson branch

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

Why has the Communist Interna- Irving Place and 15th St. and backed by it in their organiza- are the forces and prospects for the Banner of Marx and Lenin).

> of the NEW MILITANT, beginning tickets in advance from district of-September 15, at Irving Plaza Hall, fice of Workers Party, 55 Rast 11th

manager of Local 102, has a record was given to the strike by some future victory. out the only real way of attaining see what Earle says about Dela- throughout the I.L.G.W.U. This through the calling of stoppages, gressive forces in the I.L.G.W.U. this goal; through the scientific ware County, the stronghold of the action was in line with that record. this support was sabotaged by the should now press for the unity of Although nearly a million Cali- method of Marxism-Leninism, the McClure gang? Do you think that President Dubinsky, who sanctioned reactionary leaders of other locals the local with the I.L.G.W.U. They Clure and his henchmen, who send not by later financial support and with unofficial support, the reac izational campaign. They should workers to jail for years when they statements wipe out his share of tionaries were officially silent and force recognition of the minimum unofficially sabotaging the strike wage in all shops—all as part of Thirdly, when the shipping clerks This was clearly seen by the stop- the preparation for a united strugresponded to the strike call in thou- pages. Such stoppages being main- gle with the dressmakers in the bes when they have conducted a sands,, the inexperienced and youth- by called in the dressmakers' shops general strike scheduled for next ful strike leaders were unable to and usually initiated by members of January.

The lecture titles are: Septem ism? What is the program of the national); September 29—Working of Workers Party for the impending Class Policy in the Impending War President Dubinsky and the I.L.G. war? How can the militant work- (Revolutionary Defeatism vs. So-W.U. to give the shipping clerks a ers prepare themselves against So-cial Patriotism); October 6-The charter as a local of the I.L.G.W.U. cial Democratic and Stalinist be Struggle Against Fascism (Historplaced, from the start, a great trayal? What are the lessons of ical Lessons for America); October handicap on the local. As a part the struggle against Fascism in 13-The Road to the Fourth Interof the I.L.G.W.U., with the pres- Germany and France for the work- national (Forces and Prospects for tige of the I.L.G.W.U. behind it, ers of the United States? What a New World Party Under the

Great interest in the series is These and other questions will expected. Tickets for the four

102. This support was of the kind I.L.G.W.U. to loan capable and ex- the strike call and by their milicould not save the strike. It did, however, gain the "settlement" and Again, though unofficial support by that may pave the way for a

The shipping clerks and all proshould carry on a vigorous organ-

Committee to Save the Union

A word must be said concerning

the United Committee to

raise less than \$2.75 per capita annually. . . In some states sales Conflict Continues Case. In Massillion, Ohio, the sulton Association, have been infrom the Federal relief funds. per capita. . . . Detailed Treasury figures show that in 1935, 61.3 percent of all Federal taxes will be In Teachers Union

(Continued from Page 1) ditions were reversed: consumers of concilliation, they were willing years. A number of union teachers paid 31.8 percent of the total tax to confer with the administration, have also been active in organizing under the supervision of the Coun-sharecroppers, a phenomenon which cil, in order to arrive at a working gives additional significance to the basis which would result in the effective functioning of the union.

Impressions of the Delegates It is interesting to note that the sented a good cross section of the tion, representatives of all teaching current social problems, factional sprinkling of Negro delegates from with organized labor, and finance. Arkansas, Georgia and Washington, The weakness of his report consistlabor movement by the present re- be dealt with. ployed on relief as being too ill to in organizing 2,500 of the 4,500 work, mostly from malnutrition, teachers and has secured recogni- but,

| been organized within less than two union movement. 3. Report of Officers of A.F.T.

The report of President Lowry was highly academic in character, delegates to the convention repre-containing the usual progressive platitudes. It did, however, conteachers of America. There were tain a summary dealing with the

backward and most difficult to or- better than anything else the im- slander.

endorsed by Local locals. In spite of this, however, Hanson.)

which the open-shop. labor-hating fascist tendencies.

and payless teachers, 42 locals have year. In Toledo where attempts the company unions, which take the kansas, no salaries have been paid 6. The Delegation of the United cialists.

trenched for a number of years un-

erous Role of Company Unions of National Education Assn.

locals already in existence by se-due largely to the activities of the out by the teacher union movement. of Teachers. They state that the curing the dismissal of teachers Teachers Union, are fortunate in increase as being due to a lowering of the standard of living. "The standard of living. "The living are rortunate in the convention was so repor the standard of fiving. The birth rate is well known to vary A III though the capitalist possessing permanent licenses. A in evidence at the convention was achieved by an unprincipled combination of the progressive state was progressive state was not the capitalist possessing permanent licenses. A in evidence at the convention was achieved by an unprincipled combination of the progressive state was not the capitalist possessing permanent licenses. A in evidence at the convention was achieved by an unprincipled combination of the progressive state was not the capitalist possessing permanent licenses. birth rate is well known to vary A.F.T., though still a small organ- that the organization received \$28, press and the Right wing Socialist few other states have also passed that of the fight against violations bination of left wing elements and inversely with the income class of the family and highest birth rates | ization compared to the total num- 003 in form of per capita dues and press, the New Leader and the For- such laws. However, in most states | of academic freedom expressed in of office-seeking reactionaries. It are found among the economically ber of teachers, had become a vital that Local 5, N. Y. supplied \$6,852 ward, are preparing the ground for this important right has not yet the dismissals of teachers for opin- is true that in the convention there are round among the economically force among the teaching body. It or approximately one fourth of the mass dismissal of teachers by their been secured. In such states teaching been secured. In such states teaching been secured in the class room, were two progressive caucuses: one reast ravored classes . . . It is all showed also that even the most certain that families on relief showed also that even the most certain that families on relief showed also that even the most certain that families on relief showed also that even the most certain that families on relief showed also that even the most certain that families on relief showed also that even the most certain that families on relief showed also that even the most certain that families on relief showed also that even the most certain that families on relief showed also that even the most certain that families on relief showed also that even the most campaign of union wrecking and ers are usually hired individually for activity in the labor movement, led by Maynard Krueger of Chicago on an annual contract basis, which and in the movement for loyalty and the other by Clyde Kiker of ganize of the white collar profes- portance of Local 5 in the national The second problem which Mrs. contracts contain clauses regulating oath legislation initiated by the Toledo. These caucuses negotiated sions, the teachers, are organizable organization. As to membership the Hanson's report raised are the their personal life and often violat- Hearst press. A number of victim- and achieved unity of action upon into trade unions; as an organic report shows that the national or- means to be employed to defeat the ing their most elementary right as ized teachers addressed the con- the principled basis of a program The Chicago Tribune reports the part and not merely as an ally of ganization consisted of 195 locals terroristic campaigns of the Boards citizens. In addition they can be vention, among them being Victor which called for: 1) rejection of number of "paupers" trebled by the labor movement. Reports pre of which 86 were locals organized of Education, the Chambers of dismissed for any reason and for B. Jewett of California, who was the revocation demand; 2) public the dole. Of Illinois 300,000 relief sented to the convention showed this year. The A.F.T. has now a Commerce and the professional pat- no reason whatsoever. Under this dismissed for expressing an opin- repudiation of the Green telegram; cases, 66,500 are classified as "un- that progress toward mass organ- total membership of approximately riots. In the Wagner Bill, the Fed- system of annual contracts, mass ion upon aspects of life in the So- 3) Active opposition by President employable" . . . In New York City, | ization has already been made in a | 15,000, a gain of 45½ percent in the | eral government was compelled to | dismissals have taken place under | viet Union; and Dr. Winslow N. | Lowry to the Lefkowitz-Green con-General Johnson reports 40,000 number of localities. In Cleveland number of locals and 12 percent in recognize at least on paper, the the policy of economy and retrench. Hallett, a teacher at Cedar Crest spiracy to intimidate the convenmembers. There was a loss of ten right of workers to organize in un-ment pursued by local boards of College in Pennsylvania, who was tion; and 4) Agreement upon a locals, which was unusually large, ions of their own choosing, and to education. Bids have been adver- dismissed as a result of his efforts common state for national officers bargain collectively with the bosses, tized for the vacancies thus creat- to organize teachers and the unem- and members of the Executive "in face of the attacks upon the This fundamental right, for teach-ed, which has resulted in pitting ployed in Allentown, Pa. In Tole-Council. This united front of all merce reports that the national in- Philadelphia, the local which was teacher union movement this is a ers, is not recognized by local and teacher against each other in an do, Columbus, and Massillon, Ohio progressive forces on a principled come increased 10 to 15 percent in organized about a year and a half remarkable record. Some of our state educational and governmental effort to secure these jobs. In a number of dismissals have taken basis is a symbol of the new spirit 1934. . . . Alexander Kotchevovsky, ago with a membership of seven, newest and smallest locals have authorities. This can only be ob- North Dakota, for example, as a place during the year because of of realism which has manifested Houston, Texaxs, dancing master, has grown to over a thousand due held their position in the face of tained by teachers through their result of this racket, teachers' sal-similar activities. The convention, itself recently in the struggle to has introduced a new dance char- to the activities of the progressive strong opposition. A barrage of own efforts and struggle and by the aries have been reduced to about voted, of course, to give active sup- overthrow the reactionary Green acterized by leaping, flying move leadership. In Arkansas, the land hostility was opened in Ohio last closest association with the labor an average of thirty dollars a port to these teachers in the effort machine and their allies Linville, ments and wide steps symbolizing of sharecroppers and closed schools year. It has been intensified this movement. In the teacher field, month. In some states, as in Ar- to secure their reinstatement.

have been made to dismiss the form of local and state associations for some time, and what salaries the activities of the delegation spon-Again and again the question of l sorea by 330, the president and vice-president der the guise of neutral profession- tenure was raised in the convention Save the Union, a delegation conof the local were not reappointed at and academic organizations. Ac- and the term company unionism sisting of about sixty teachers from after a vigorous contest. Please tually they are the agents of the was frequetly used. Evidence was Local 5, who came to Cleveland at note that Massillion 330 shows a Boards of Education and the em- presented which showed that the their own expense to oppose the

growth. Continuous press accounts ploying interests as has been at efforts of the union movement to wrecking of their local by machput out by the Ohio Chamber of tested time and time again by the secure tenure for all teachers were inations of the Lefkowitz outfit. The Commerce and the Society of Amer- position which they have taken on defeated by the opposition of the delegation conducted itself in such icaneers branding the American such questions as retrenchment in local and state affiliates of the Na- a dignified and impressive manner Federation of Teachers as radical education, salary cuts, tenure, aca- tional Education Association, con- that it served to refute the calumand communistic and its officers as demic freedom and loyalty oaths. trolled by the superintendents. The nies heaped upon these teachers by communists have increased the dif- The struggle for the unionization of company unions specifically men- the Lefkowitz-Linville crowd. In ficulties of holding and building teachers, a struggle which until tioned were the Pennsylvania Edu- their private discussions with innow has not received the attention cation Association, the Ohio Edu-dividuals and groups of delegates the Ohio membership has more it deserves from the progressive cation Association, and the Califor- they always received a fair and than held its own." (From the an- labor forces, has now become one nia Teachers Association. In cer- courteous hearing in presenting the nual report of Secretary-Treasurer of the important problems of the tain academic quarters (see for ex- minority's side of the case. The movement. The unionization move- ample The Social Frontier, edited members of the delegation, by their We have quoted from this report ment, as seen in this light, means by Prof. Counts who ought to know intelligent conduct. contributed in for various reasons. First it illu- not only the winning of the teach- better), the National Education As- no small measure to the victory minates the role which the Lefko- ers; it means the winning of the sociation has been treated as that was achieved. witz-Linville-Green combination is youth of America—the future gen-though it were merely a useful or 7. The Lefkowitz and Linville playing in branding hundreds of eration—for the labor movement. It at worst a harmless academic prolevels from elementary school to division, fear of dismissal or union members of Local 5 as communists means also the forging of powerful fessional society. The reports of In conclusion we are compelled it is exactly the kind of language forces that will aid in the defeat of the delegates concerning the activit to reply briefly to the statements ties of this organization left no which have recently appeared in Chamber of Commerce and the pro- 4. Teacher Tenure and the Treach- doubts as to its company union the New York press by Dr. Lincharacter. The problem of expos- ville and Dr. Lefkowitz, which are ing and defeating these company as false and unfounded as they are The teachers of New York State, union outfits has still to be worked disloyal to the American Federation

Freedom.

Standers in the N. Y. Press.

5. The Struggle for Academic | defeat of their proposal to revoke the charter of Local 5 and the elec-Another problem which was much tion of a progressive slate was Lefkowitz and the Right wing So-

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

MARCH OF EVENTS

Roosevelt has given warning 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 control of the movement have come from two widely different directions: from the teachers union and control of the movement have come from two widely different directions: from the teachers union and from the teachers Litvinov's signature to Article 4 of fairs know that Maxim Litvinov, the pledge was one institution and one institution only: the Cominating the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, obtained at least two years "The language of the abovequoted paragraph irrefutably covers activities of the Communist Instill is, the outstanding world communist organization, with headquarters at Moscow." Since Kres- Eastern dispute was settled. . . ." tinsky rejected the protest of the United States against the holding the American imperialists also set this rebuke the convention elected of the Seventh World Congress of the C.I. in Moscow, Hull warns that back for the same period of Japan's ficers and executive board. When the official relations between the two countries may be seriously impaired.

Meantime Walter Duranty expresses for the Stalinists their utter all other tasks to this major task: amazement that this Seventh Con- the defeat of Japanese imperialism. gress should in any way be con- The neutrality law-so-called-is a fused with the earlier congresses move subordinated to this same which really aimed at advancing aim. The United States wants to Green had his way by use of sheer the interests of the world proletar- have no entanglements in Europe. ian revolution. Duranty tells the Her interest in peace is the same bourgeoisie to look beneath the left profession in words and violation phrases at the political realities as in deeds as that of Mussolini who gave him an indication of what he expressed in the entire course of pours his troops into Africa, or Stalinism, and not to take too ser. Baldwin who rushes the British iously the mere echoes of the past navy into the Mediterranean. Simthat have no more real content so larly Roosevelt is setting the guns far as the C.I. is concerned. But in the Pacific and smoothing the in the matter of relations between path for the air and naval raiders the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., it is in the coming war. not so much any violations of a Sept. 2, 1935 pledge that counts, as does the main aim and objective of the Amture. These aims concern the period preceding the Second Imperial-

Aim of U.S. Capitalism ...

proving Roosevelt to be "radical": | crack for him. his attitude towards the Soviet Union. But it should be clear that while this is undoubtedly involved. this further step towards the break of relations with the Soviet Union if it had not been in line with the what Roosevelt actually does with major interests of the capitalist class. It follows on the heels of fond of. The Roosevelt Tax Prothe refusal to grant Russia credits, and on the heel of the withdrawal It does nothing whatever about eliof consuls and military attaches from the Soviet Union. It is thus a renewed guarantee to Japan that

ing 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 Union. This would weaken both 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 posses-

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F.D.R. Warns Soviets... sions and as near to Japan as pos-Through Secretary of State Hull, sible. Every move with respect to the Soviet Union thus has Japan of security on his Far Eastern the teachers union administered a border when he negotiated the serious rebuke to the "red scare" recognition of his government with campaign of Bill Green and Co.

> speed of this march. American diplomacy subordinates

Labor Movement Disturbs Officials reformist party or that they envis (Continued from Page 1) Their policy is challenged or at

Pres. Roosevelt. Russian relations and rejected by a firm majority took on a better aspect, the Chinese pulsion of its New York local which he charged to be under Communist What Hinton fails to add is that influence. Not content merely with cured by this means the holding the entire progressive slate for ofmarch into Asia, at least of the this happened Bill Green had not vet finished his personal supervision of the convention of the newly constituted antomobile workers' union. There also he suffered a re-

to his handpicked crew of officials. autocratic measures, but the attitude of the delegates constituted a challenge to his leadership and workers in the mass production industries.

Political Policy Challenged These, however, are not the only

are apparent as the A. F. of L. least subjected to serious questionfaces its fifty-fifth annual conven- ing, elsewhere. The Oregon State Federation is going leftward. Its ion of automobile workers. The policy of rewarding friends and first was, by far the most decisive. punishing enemies amongst the ag-At its recent national convention ents of privilege does not at all find cisely in this respect that the in- who so shrewdly put over again the the same favor as before in trade union ranks. That holds true also ership is the most glaring and brand new clothing. It backs up for the Connecticut State Federa- where its turn to greater perfidy Roosevelt's declaration that the tion of Labor. It has decided to and a more reactionary position is economic emergency is passed and conduct a referendum vote of all the most outstanding. The logic of supports his promise of a "breathlocal A. F. of L. unions in the state the opposition encountered in the ing spell" for business. It is preon the question of creating a labor living movement drives it inexor- paring to strengthen his political party. Likewise the New Jersey ably in this direction because, like tences for 1936. In the most con-State Federation of Labor, now in the capitalists, this leadership has convention, is giving serious con-vested interests to protect. sideration to the labor party ques-

> These latter manifestations become doubly signficant in view of

conscious aim of creating a large age 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 trade union movement. It ralwhole question of working class lies to the support of the capitalist economic standards. And it is pre-system and its present spokesman competence of the A. F. of L. lead-old capital and labor relations in a

quarters against the coolie wage dent payments in August exceeded Green's constant reiteration of fic tration on the WPA relief projects. Executive Council report preparing titious labor gains achieved by leg- Much active lobbying was conduct- to whoop it up at the coming conislation in the capitalist Congress ed in Congress and at its commit-vention; for are not these higher coming A. F. of L. convention may fused to give a vote of confidence and presented by him as real. These tee hearings. The scale of \$19 to officials all interested in dividend proceed in comparative calm and he hails as new progress in rela-\$94 repeated Green, and all his payments? What other feature is tions between capital and labor. cronies after him,—and they were "healthy" about this upswing? It coming to the fore. Nevertheless Undoubtedly the Executive Council correct—will tear down the whole cannot be the employment feature, the reactionary course of its corrupt report to the convention will at American standard of wages. But for in regard to this the Executive regime lays the trade union movetempt to bolster up its record with the coolie scale went into effect. Council states: "Employment this ment ever more open to new capithese fictitious gains. The trade And, out of sheer incompetence to Spring has been below last year's talist assaults. What direction the may expect in the future from the unionists may not understand so ward it off and downright sabotage level although production was high. workers will take when facing these well the lawyers language of the of the struggle against it by the er." In other words: with the uplaws that have been entered on the A. F. of L. officialdom, the Ameri-swing, proclaimed as healthy by That can be clearly ascertained statute books. Their attitude is can workers now face this scale as Green and company, unemployment much more likely motivated by a their basic standard. In this field is growing and the speed-up system realization of the effects of these things are much more real than are is growing with it. And the Council manifestations disturbing the tran- laws on their organizations and on the so-called favorable labor laws statement further makes clear that and leadership will be put to the quility of Green and company, their attempts to struggle for bet. on the statute books. And in this while the cost of living continues test.

Fear of Progressive Tendencies in ter conditions. It is hardly necessary to assume that they have a Bankrupt Union Leadership Must Be Challenged by Awakened Membership

tained 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 temptible fashion it hails the present upswing as the "healthiest thus

Many grandiose proclamations far," for it is "due chiefly to inwere issued from A. F. of L. head- herent economic strength. . . . Divilevel set by the Roosevelt adminis- last year by \$11,000,000," says the

field the miserable capitulation to to rise, recording in July this year the coolie wage scale sacrificed im- 52 percent above last year, the portant trade union principles and share of the workers in the total squandered many real gains at national income had dropped from its 21.9 percent in 1929 to 18.1 per cent in 1934. A "healthy upswing"

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 dom-

But the crucial issues still remain to be decided in the future. The without the serious conflicts yet from their attitude and their actions up to now.

In the coming battles both ideas

main aim and objective of the American bourgeoisie in the near full Roosevelt Assures Business ist World War for redivision of the It Will Get New "Breather"

(Continued from Page 1) Press comment stresses that get old-age pensions, go not to the least long enough to add up the Roosevelt was motivated in his ghost of Long or the dreams of profits. present move against the Soviet Townsend, but to the sane and Naturally, a few details are not Union by the exigencies of the sound original share-the-wealther yet taken care of. Unemployment coming Presidential elections. He and old-age-pensioner, Franklin D. seems to remain close to its low desired to rob his reactionary crit- Roosevelt. He is a past master at levels. Real wages have been deics of one of their main arguments stealing thunder; and making it clining during the present year. Roosevelt Program a Fraud The easiest way to expose the

Roosevelt would never have taken the wealth Tax Program as on old age pensions or any other presumably liberal reform, is to compare the high-sounding phrases he is so minating tax-exempt securities, the means whereby the majority of the the United States will not aid Russia when the Japanese start the attack.

Recognition of the Soviets came | Not and the state of the s very rich escape practically all inite device whereby the wealthy reat a time when Japan was threatening a rapid advance and deeper penetration into China. Involved in the domestic crisis and unpression the domestic crisis and unpression the domestic crisis and unpression the domestic crisis and unpressions worked as the constitution of the workers as a by-product. But now, in the decline of the immediate cause. To support the wealthy relative whereby the wealth whereby the wealth wher in the domestic crisis and unpreTreasury itself predicts, the whole capitalism, with the expansive and part imperialist "sanctions" against pared for a military conclusion, the American capitalist class found it necessary to impede the advance of Japanese imperialism by threaten-Japanese imperialism by threatening a military alliance with Rus-

himself gives. This does not mean, of course, last in the rise of Income and Inheritance Taxes. This will come. will have to come, but it will wait of intervention against the Soviet for the most part until after 1936. glaring and open. And at that time it will be not the and permit the United States to 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 New Era he promised. It is for the 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 com-

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

The Schechter Decision has given an impetus to a wide-spread increase in hours. The influence of WPA is rapidly lowering relief standards.

present partial revival of prosperthe "business men" about whom on the conflicts among the imper-Howard and Roosevelt so solicitous ialist powers themselves. Even this defense of the Ethiopian people and

And this is no accident. Capital- ened by Mussolini. ist prosperity was always of a kind always meant a prosperity for proof the burden" within a fraction of is, profits—can be rehabilitated only the percentages which Roosevelt by the impoverishment of the massadvance of capitalism - becomes

> stop, then, to taste the flavor of the iron heel of Wall Street. working class to make judgment.

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On September 14, 1935, page 1: "Laval Asks Concessions for Italy

and Military Rule Over Ethiopia."

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 nor that of de la Rocque; and the de Wendels, of the Comite des Forges, the war munitions makers and the pro-Fascist exploiters."

(Continued from Page 1)

And what of Ethiopia, the pawn Indeed, somehow or other, the in the imperialist game? The independence of this small country of tenuous independence is now threat- against imperialist war.

The genuine independence of Ethes. No possible business upturn iopia requires arousing the colonial can absorb any large section of the masses of Africa against their prethat the present Tax Program is the unemployed, and the contradictions datory masters, the French, English between wages and profits-always and Italian imperialists and an acworkers in the advanced countries. Such a movement will also have its Roosevelt's program is substant effect on the masses in the colonies tially complete—at least it is his and semi-colonies of imperialist Amown words that say so. We can erica who are oppressed under the

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 4, in the column conducted by Harry

"The last important bulwark of the League for a possible support

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 independ-

The slogan of "Boycott Goods for Fascist Italy" has been launched of the bankrupt leadership of Clahity seems to be leaving out the less than 11 million people, living by the International Communist erty and his assistants whose poliworking class altogether. It is a under semi-feudal conditions, has League. Everything in our power prosperity exclusively designed for in the last decades been dependent must be done to arouse the masses for the revolutionary struggle in

> This is possible only by an unand 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 ecutive council through Green can the delegates from the experience 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 to prevent Green from automatical delegates. present but often hidden during the tive movement of solidarity by the Comintern over which the Soviet ly appointing the officers. Government has no control?" We can see no objection to mak-

ing the proper reply to this question. The answer is: "No. The Russian wheat is be-

ing 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) words he will force into office his position to the bureaucracy lackevs despite any fight the rubber workers make against his dictatorship. This will be done under the guise

of "the rubberworkers need the advice and counsel of experienced leaders in the formative period of the international," so says Green. In practice it means a continuation cies have reduced the unions from over a 30,000 membership to a scant few thousand.

Another false argument to rationalize the dictatorship of the bureaucracy is the same one used in Decompromising struggle against troit. "The A. F of L. executive those in the ranks of the labor council will finance the convention Green's treacherous methods in Demovement who wittingly or unwit- and pay the officers," Green says. troit has been reflected among the tingly aid in the deception of the After he said that in Detroit the workers here who have seized eager-

Seek to Appoint Officials

An international charter carrying a provision that the A. F. of L. exappoint all officers "temporarily" will, no doubt, be presented by Green for adoption with the warning, "take this or nothing."

Against this provision will be centered all the strength of the proseems probable, a fight will ensue

Another move being watched for is that Green's henchmen will supto Claherty, for the presidency since he is a delegate from Goodrich local and his election would remove the unsavory stench caused by Green in Detroit through his flagrant methods. Such an action, al union. Then the United Rubberhowever, would not bind any of the rubber workers who expect it. Industrial Unionism

Industrial unionism is the second major issue before the delegates. trol. There are seven craft unions in the rubber industry. Since some of convention is to be held which all them are very weak and virtually nconsequential, it would not be troit affair."

above Green to assimilate one or nounced that the new rubber work- two of them in the international ers international will be set up un- union as a sop to the workers. der A. F. of L. control; in other This depends on how strong the opcomes.

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 convention and most of the delegates realize what sort of a convention they are facing.

The ample warning received by 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 orystallization of more anti-bureaugressives. If this fails, and it cracy forces will strengthen the small progressive bloc elected as

Feeling for an independent union has not been entirely allayed as rubberworkers recall vividly to port George Roberts, an assistant 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 internationworkers Council was formed at a national convention to head the unions but Claherty became president and again kept the reins of con-

Now after months of delay, a indications say will be another "De-

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Oneal Makes His Report

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

that they could not have acted dif-

tions, the trade union movement icy and the Party became isolated organized Communist movement in drawn into alliances with various ber of members, was the most cateits midst which led to the splitting types of bourgeois reformists. of the Party in 1919. Three Communist parties were organized by the Milwankee Convention was not the new Declaration of Principles. former members of the Socialist the personality of Morris Hillquit That is why the State of New York Party, while inside the Party there but the conception of Socialism was the center of the Party constill remained members influenced which he held. However, during flicts. by Moscow. The fight inside the the underground campaign which Party continued for a number of was conducted against him for sevyears, producing a serious loss of eral months, especially outside of membership; the morale of the New York City, his opponents spoke Party continued to decline and dis- of "Americanizing" the Party, youth (Y.P.S.L.). It was influ-

tries, the United States emerged submitting to the old traditions of it produced two Communist groupfrom the World War prosperous the European movement, and also ings, one of which joined the Trot-Generally speaking, the workers made use of the popular prejudice skyists en bloc. At its last Nawere content and Socialist propa- against New York which is intiganda made no progress among mately linked with American naslight depression in 1921-22, the dencies of the south and the west. period from 1916 to 1929 may be called the Golden Age of American

Communist organizations conducted gave them the upper hand. a violent war upon the trades unions and the Socialist Party. In stroyed the trade union organizations and exhausted the workers had contributed to increase further unions, for their part, declared war opinion. The defeat of the workupon the Communists. However, ing class in Germany and in Aus-Since its organization in 1901, the they did not yet establish with suf- tria, the seizure of power by the Party had been based upon the conficient clarity the distinction be Nazis, the danger of a new war, ception of "State autonomy." That tween the Communist and the So-jand the discouragement which reour Party was looked upon with crisis, had strong repercussions up- jurisdiction with regard to probtility by a large part of the organ- bership and above all, upon our youth, whom our position against old leaders." They argued that the of the National Executive Commitgood deal to provoke this hostility by their harsh criticism of the trade union movement. in the membership of the Commungles provoked expulsions and splits.

The Crisis

The great industrial crisis which even today the membership is only tributed to the conflict. about 18,000. Many of the new members were young people who by the membership in a referenthe Party who defended the powhad just quit high schools or coldum by a vote of 5,933 against ers of the State organizations. leges and there was a considerable 4,872, that is, by a majority of whereas the new members gave difference in age between the Party 1,061. Its opponents declared that their assent to the powers demandveterans and the new members, it was a step towards a Communist ed by the National Executive Com- and an agreement was worked out only arrangement for additional chairman of the Yipsels, was the which produced an abnormal situ- declaration and its supporters de- mittee. ation leading to conflicts and dis- nied it. The Oregon state organizharmony. Ignorant of the objective ation withdrew from the Party and conditions which led to the decline the Indiana state organization or the United States, it can be said movement and of the trade union drawal from the Party when its Party are due essentially to a new

At the same time, the trades unby the problems raised by the crisis. crisis, the trades unions little by tion of its work. cies. Up till then they had been of states or even more had adopted motes intelligent reflection. (3)

Socialist Party are disappearing withdrew from the Party because Defeats. The defeats of the worklittle by little. In the meantime, of a severe anti-syndicalist law exing class in Germany and in Austrigues within the trade unions and believed that by accepting the new our Spanish comrades foster the toward the end of 1934 the Ameri- Declaration the Party would be un- point of view that the blame for can Federation of Labor issued a able to continue its activities. new manifesto declaring war on the Communist movement.

Since 1932

struggles which were of a vital in- post as National Chairman. Hill- the united front offers which it re- from the colleges, the theological terest to the working class as a quit, while going to the extreme ceived from Communist organizalimit in his attempts to reconcile tions, and demanding the restorapersecutions of the war period movement in the political field un-laims." This also contributed to exthink that their position was right, less mutually friendly relations and tend the conflict existing in the collaboration between the Socialist Party. Party and the American trade un-The different positions of the ion movement were established. He was mortally opposed to the Comtrade unions and of the Socialist also considered that in view of the munist movement and the Socialist Party toward the war alienated very nature of American institu- veterans considered that to conthese two movements from each tions, it was an indispensable con-lude a united front with the Comother. This marked the end of the dition to all progress and all So- munists would be to conclude a collaboration between the two cialist success to base ourselves enmovements. With very few exceptirely upon democratic and constitution working class. It would be to abtutional methods of political action. slipped towards a conservative pol- And that is why, since 1922, he were developing between the Party had more and more violently con- and the trades unions in spite of from the organized working class. demned every attempt to flirt with the internal conflict in the Party. While we were thus isolated, the the Communists and their sympa- The Party organization of New war came to an end and the Party thizers and had just as vigorously York State, the oldest state organhad to fight against a powerfully opposed the Socialist Party being ization, counting the largest num-

The essence of the question at ited front and in its opposition to

couragement took hold everywhere. dwelt upon the fact that he was a Contrary to the European coun-foreigner by birth, accused him of With the exception of a tivism and with the agrarian ten-

Hillquit was reelected by a very small majority, but his opponents capitalism. There was relatively obtained a strong representation in flict with the Party organization, little unemployment, and wages and the new National Executive Comworking conditions were, on the mittee; he was then afflicted by this section, but as a result of the whole, satisfactory to the workers, his illness which ended with his In the course of this period, the death in October, 1933, and which

When the National Convention met in June 1934, the division incertain cases the Communists de-side the Party had become very serious and the events in Europe before the employers. The trades the fundamental differences of calist position, with the result that sulted from the continuation of the have always enjoyed the exclusive suspicion if not with a virtual hos- on the immature mind of the memized workers. It must be said that youth. They began to despise cyn-form of organization flowed from certain Socialists, notably among ically the whole European move the experience undergone with the the numerous so-called "intellectu- ment and argued that the defeat Socialist Labor Party, which had als" and among the inexperienced was due to the "old policies and the centralized all power in the hands the war had attracted into the program of the Party had to be tee, which abused arbitrarily this ised to obey their orders. Obviousadically revised "to the Left."

Communist faction was formed and sions of members, of sections and have been disorganized and would Meanwhile, there was also a decline various Communist groups blandly of State organizations. sent their members into the Party ist Party, and bitter internal strug- and into the youth organization in opted during the conflict between ical measure becoming more and order to "bore from within." The the local and State organizations more violent, it nevertheless ap-on the National Executive Commit- complicated for an attempt to dis- jorities of certain states and strong form speakers, leaving very little Most denounced Allen's paper as began in October, 1929, produced a tee during this convention, which cuss them here. The result of it minorities of others could not tolnew situation. The Socialist Party also adopted a new Declaration of was accusations and counter-accu- erate such an expulsion en masse which numbered more than 100,000 Principles which aroused controver- sations of bad faith and of illegal and the "reorganization" proposed sion was limited to five minutes war." Mary Fox expressed the genmembers in 1919, had fallen down sies the like of which had not been or arbitrary actions, the essential for New York would have produced per speaker. Thus little clarifications who will be the speaker of the "Militants," who to less than 10,000 members. With seen in so violent a form since the point of this form of controversy a split of the Party on a national tion could result from the "Insti- desire a Socialist "American League the sharpening of the crisis, new struggle with the Communists in being constituted by the power atelements joined the Party. The 1919. United front attempts with tributed to the State organizations growth was not very consistent and Communist organizations also con- and to the National Executive Com-

The United Front

to remove Morris Hillquit from his Soviet Russia, while rejecting all

The entire trade union movement united front against the organized andon the fraternal relations which gorical in its opposition to the un-

The Youth Movement

These various ideological solutions and tendencies in turn affected the organization of the Socialist enced by all the "Leftist" forms of ideology and politics. In two months tional 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 conwhich resulted in a split within 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. is to say, the state organizations lems concerning affiliation. propaganda, election campaigns, etc. This Inside the Party, a very distinct tion to its decisions by the expul- out the expelled majority would not

The new Declaration was adopted above all the veteran members of termined to vote for the expulsion the Labor party, and demanded that Fox. however, was very pessimismittee. Here, however, it was

Summary

In summarizing the situation in of the Party, of the Communist ganized a referendum for with- that the conflicts in the Socialist movement, the younger elements charter was suspended and later movement arising out of the world concluded that the veterans were revoked. The struggle between the crisis with all the abnormal phenresponsible for the weakness of the two groups continued. In Novem- omena which it involves. (1) The ber. 1934, the vote for the Party War. The youth are so obsessed declined in five or six states, and with fears of a new world war that ions were, at the outset, so absorbed in these states a strong decline in they want to put an end to the anmembership was recorded. Altoge- guish of these apprehensions. and which even threatened certain ther the Party lost 5,500 members, Thence, the attraction that any trades unions with disruption, that the activities of the Party were pseudo-revlutionary program holds it was difficult to recruit members paralyzed and the National Bureau for them. (2) The Crisis. For five for the Party among them. How- was incapable of gathering the years millions of young people ever, with the continuation of the funds necessary for the continua- have been unable to find employment and this has led to a morbid little abandoned a number of their Another argument against the psychology of vengeance against views and their conservative poli new Declaration was that a score capitalist society which hardly provery little interested in social legis- draconic anti-syndicalist laws which Russia. Premature reactions toward ation. But since 1929 they have endanger the very existence of any the Five Year Plan and the tremen rogressively changed their attitude party which alluded to the use of dous Communist propaganda on the nd they are now fighting for num- any form of violence or illegal "seizure of power" have influenced erous important measures of this methods for the accomplishment of the opinions of new members to a kind, and the prejudices against the its aims. The Oregon Socialists certain degree. (4) The European the Communists continue their in- isting in this state, because they tria and the reverses suffered by them devolves upon the organizations and the programs of the So-Since the Russian Revolution, cialist and Labor parties of the the Socialist Party had followed an world, and that they must be com-The conflict inside the Party unchanging policy with regard to pletely reorganized. They consider came out into the open at the Na- Soviet Russia. It demanded the that the veterans are incapable of tional Party Convention held in recognition of Russia and the estab- doing it and that this task falls to 1932, when the new elements sought | lishment of trade relations with | 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 leader-

Many of these new elements did

not come from proletarian families, but from the liberal professions and the petty-bourgeoisie, above all schools and the universities. They change. The imminence of imperconstitute a raw material which a But when the United States en- the diverse elements and to contrib- tion of democracy for the Russian workers party does not find it easy acute growth of internal contradictered the World War, the American ute to harmony inside the Party, working class. This was the Party to assimilate because they bring tions are hastening the convulsions Federation of Labor and the ma- had a clear and firm position on policy up to the 1932 convention with them the ideologies of their which will exert a decisive influjority of the unions supported the the fundamental questions of princ- when a tendency manifested it- class. The hope of the Socialist ence upon the march of events in war whereas the Socialist Party iples and tactics. He always con-self, changed this policy in favor of Party rests in bringing into the Europe and in Africa. The govbecame an anti-war party. The old sidered that it would be impossible a united front with various Com- movement an increasing number of ernment of Laval-Herriot is a stop-Socialist militants who survived the to build up a genuine Socialist munist organizations for "specific men and women coming from the gap. It cannot for much longer working class, above all workers maintain its precarious balance bewho have been educated by the tween class forces moving toward trades unions. They will have a decisive conflicts. It seems to be stabilizing influence on the Party generally expected that the Laval and will guarantee it a strong pro- cabinet will give way either to a letarian base

unity into its ranks.

I should like to insist strongly concurrently called the "Old guard" have not for a single moment projected or desired a split in the Party. We have openly exercised Fascism. 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 they are prepared to wage and win not abandon to the enemy the Tri- class. That organization is the carried we have, naturally, by the the struggle for power. But the color flag of the Revolution," said rgular Party methods, fought the Front Populaire desires not strug- Marcel Thorez in a speech before cialist party which alone in France tendencies which, in our opinion, gle but civil peace. Listen to the Seventh World Congress of the threatened to isolate us from the Jacques Duclos in an article headed Comintern, "We do not abandon the organized labor movement, to obscure the differences between Socalism and Communism, and to undermine the faith of the young gen erations in democratic and peaceful men at a time when we must con claimed for the Chinese revolution: methods of labor action. That has cern ourselves with giving work to "We will not abandon the blue will alone be capable of providing

National Executive Committee, de government of truce which will un- way, for the French workers, marmanded of this organ to "reorgan ite all Frenchmen in defense of shalled behind the Tricolor standize" the New York movement—that their bread against the two hun- ard of the French bourgeoisie. is, to expel all the members and to readmit only those who were in agreement with them or who promly, if this threat had been carried not have disappeared from political The jurisdictional decisions ad- life. The demand for this categor-Committee met on July 13-15, it appeared that among its members only three out of eleven were de-New York Committee.

We may hope that this agreement which have up to now caused needory and in tactics.

The American movement has always been a very weak link of the given over to a meandering speech International and we are fully by Norman Thomas on the "Pracconscious that it is our duty and tical Problems of the Party." Frank that upon us devolves the respons Trager also spoke on the agriculibility towards the comrades of all tural situation, taking an empirical countries to build up in the United approach with no hint of the prob-States a strong Party, a party lem of a proletarian strategy towhich will be able to contribute to ward the diverse elements who conthe struggles of the masses of all stitute "agriculture." countries and which will fulfill its duty in every crisis that may con- party, was occupied mainly with criticism. It is highly ambiguous front the working class here or speeches by Paul Porter and minor on the fundamental questions of the abroad.

Fraternally yours, (Signed) JAMES O'NEAL.

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

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 ialist war and the exceedingly cabinet of the extreme Right The agreement which I am en- which will base itself not on a parclosing to you is the first step ac- liamentary majority but directly complished towards this stabiliza- upon the Croix de Feu and other tion. The veteran comrades have Fascist groupings, or a Radical unity"! displayed tolerance and patience in government headed by Daladier and their efforts to avert a fatal split. supported by his allies in the Front However, they have not shown Populaire, the Socialist and Stalinthemselves inclined to conclude any ist parties. A government supportcompromises with certain ideas and ed by or including de la Rocque, certain programs which would be which may take power, if need be, just as fatal to the Socialist move- with the help of a coup d'etat enment of the United States. It is gineered by the General Staff, our duty, not only to the working would mean the launching of an class of the United States, but to immediate intensified offensive masses free from all utopian ideas of Daladier, loyally supported by and rejecting dangerous adventures, Blum, Cachin & Co., would be a a party based upon the interests of further step in the gross and stagthe proletarian class and not upon gering betrayal of the French Party has now accomplished a turn entrusts the direction of its govin the sense of such a movement ernment to a so-called "Left coaliand that our comrades will do all tion," it will be because it can sections in the parade as carriers Populaire promises not revolution but "civil peace." It stands comon the fact that all those who are mitted not to revolutionary defeatism in the event of war but to the support of the French bourgeoisie in the holy war against German

The events last month at Brest (L'Humanite, Aug. 23, 1935):

dred families which pillage the sis-R.)

"union of France," the unity of offended! "all Frenchmen"! Not the struggle for power, but "national recovery" and an end to "national dis-

would be good enough to provide the flags! And so it was done. On July 14 Paris was treated to

march, with the Tricolor side by structions to watch out for provoside with the Red flag at their head, cateurs who are trying to incite the singing the Marseillaise! And at workers to ontoward acts! the head of the parade was Dalaheading for battles between French- the Communist International prohalf of this year when the so-called not marshal the workers in uniform the Comintern behind the blue ban-

Another incident of the July 14 country. . . . But, to realize the demonstration reveals the extent to union of France working under the which the Stalinists have carried aegis of a government of truce, we their capitulation to the Radicalsmust have an end to the policy of i.e., to the French bourgeoisie. The the government of national disunity. socialist section of the 20th ward And the Communist party, declar- carried a banner which read: ing itself ready to support a gov- "Down with the Decrees of Lavalernment of the Left, demonstrates | Herriot!" The Stalinist leader of its concern for national recovery the same district rushed over in a and for a real truce." (My empha | rage just as the parade was starting and ripped away the name of This, today, is the language of Herriot! Herriot is in the govenrthe "revolutionary vanguard" of ment and stands responsible for the the French proletariat! Not "bat- starvation decrees of Laval-but he tles between Frenchmen" but the is a Radical and therefore not to be

The fierce clashes at Toulon and Brest the first week in Augustwhen workers trying to defend their livelihood came into bloody con-In the name of national unity, flict with the armed forces of the the French Stalinists have em- state-brought forth from the orbraced as their own the Tricolor gans of the Front Populaire—the standard of the French Republic, charge of provocation! It was to the flag of the French bourgeoisie, be expected that the organs of red with the blood of the workers French capitalism, like Le Petit of 1848, 1871, 1914-18 and of 1935. Parisien and Le Matin would refer When the preparations for the par- to the demonstrators as "rabble." ade of July 14 were being discussed But what could workers have by a joint Radical-Socialist-Stalin- thought who read in Populaire, the the International, to maintain a against the organizations of the state of the ist committee, the Radicals indications of the state of healthy party of the working French proletariat. A government ed their desire to carry the Tri- were responsible for the demonstracolor. The Stalinists readily as tions, and in l'Humanite that the sented. But, added the Radical Toulon and Brest events were due delegate, our party is weak here in to "persons living on the fringes Paris and our flag display will seem of labor" carrying out as "provocaemotional reactions and fears. We workers inherent in the Front Pophave good reason to hope that the ulaire. If French finance capital the Stalinist delegate voluntarily turier, the Stalinist No. 1 Publicist, of the S.P. and C.P.! Whereupon These scum, rages Vaillant-Couroffered the services of the C. P. "outraged the Tricolor flag which the workers put at the head of their that is possible to bring peace and count on that betrayal. The Front on July 14"!

And as a political conclusion from the Toulon events, the French the spectacle of communists on the Stalinist party issued special in-

In all France only one revolution dier, denounced not so long ago by ary organization is fighting hard and Toulon showed that the French | 1 Humanite as the murderer and and courageously to block the path workers want to fight for their assassin of February 6 and whom bread and that to carry it through now they call to power! "We do Populaire is leading the working Bolshevik-Leninist group of the Sotoday is upholding the banner of Lenin and Liebknecht for revolu-"A Government of Truce? Yes!" Marseillaise, song of the soldiers of tionary defeatism in the event of the Convention." (L'Humanite, Aug. war, which alone is calling for the "The (Laval) Government is 5, 1935). Was it so long ago that armed mobilization of the working class in the fight against Fascism and which when the crisis breaks been the case notably in New York. the unemployed and stimulating na- banner of the Kuomintang to the the revolutionary point of polariz-The danger of a split became gen. tional economy. We certainly want enemy!"? The tragic betrayal of ation to which the workers, beuinely imminent during the first a government of truce which will the Chinese workers marshalled by trayed by the Second and Third Internationals, will be able to turn. "militants," confident in the major- against the workers in the factories ner of Chiang Kai-shek will now be The Bolshevik-Leninists of France ity they believed they had in the and offices. We certainly want a repeated, if the Comintern has its are carrying on the struggle for the Fourth International against terrific odds but with incomparable

"Militant" Confab

(Continued from Page 1)

The little time there was for discuswhich was ratified by two-thirds of discussion; Paul Porter and J. N. the votes of the National Executive Thurber being authorized to hold Committee and unanimously by the a conference on this question preceding the A. F. of L. convention.

will lead to the reestablishment of Socialism," was given over to two and introduced a series of points, a spirit of good feeling in the ranks main speakers, David Berenberg, of the Party, to the dissolution of who is essentially a Right winger, organized groups and factions, will and David Felix, who is typical of ported by Francis Henson, secrepermit the elimination of practices the Right-Centrist contemptuous of tary of the Revolutionary Policy "theory." The short hour's discus- Publishing Association. David Felless friction, and will thus put us sion that followed saw a number_of ix, speaking on Goldman's proposal in a position to work together ac- Yipsels come out for the dictator- said: "Here is a man who comes tively to build the Party and to ship of the proletariat, while Zam, propagate its ideas while discussing ex-Lovestoneite, declared against as comrades the differences in the including this fundamental concept in the theoretical program.

The second session was largely

The third session, on the Labor

prevented discussion Pacifist Leads War Discussion

Allen, and to speeches by Amicus "sloppy thinking" but himself took the same pacifist line of "stopping Frank Trager of Baltimore, de- objecting to the present League benounced the arrangements of the cause it is Stalinist-controlled and conference, during the session on not because of its pacifist program. en masse of the New York Social- arrangements be made for a serious tic, describing the sabotaging by the ists. The New York Committee was discussion of this point. An extra Right wing and the labor fakers of then invited to confer with the rep- hour was given to the Labor party any attempt to build on the basis resentatives of the national organ, question, out of which resulted the of the unions. Erber, newly elected Leninist line on the war question.

Albert Goldman was the first speaker in the discussion, criticiz-The first session, "The Road to ing the pacifism of the "Militants," which were referred to an editorial committee. He was strongly supfrom a group (Trotskvists) who have long discussed this problem. We're children on this. It's like good whiskey. We want it once in while, but we're not really ready for it."

All proposals went back to the editorial committee, since the proposed "Militant" program was no officially adopted.

Program Ambiguous

The program, written by the ex Lovestoneites, Zam and Becker, on behalf of the top caucus of the "Militants," deserves the sharpest trade union functionaries, merely proletarian revolution, envisioning giving pictures of the various situ- a working class government arising ations in the trade union movement. only out of the defense against Fas-There was no time for discussion, cism rather than as an offensive Frank Trager at this point de- movement, giving no hint of the nanounced the arrangements which ture of the civil war attending the conquest of power, and slurring months: Canada and foreign \$1.50 over completely the proletarian dic- per year; \$1.00 six months. Bundle The fourth and final session on tatorship as the period of transition rates: Two cents per copy. "War and Fascism" was given over from capitalism to socialism. It

tion of industry without compensation to capitalists! It is thoroughly pacifist on the war question, saying 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 Lovestoneite 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 whit 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 reelected 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.

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged THE MILITANT

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to a paper by the pacifist, Devere does not even declare for socializa Vol. 1 SEPTEMBER 14, 1935 No. 38