

# NEW MILITANT

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## Zero Hour Sounds for New World War

### French Fascists in Rally Say 'Our Time Will Come'

By H. F. ROBERTS

Last week the Croix de Feu, the principal Fascist organization in France, gave another of those sudden demonstrations of its strength in a series of surprise rallies around Paris and in other sections of the country. Upwards of 30,000 men listened to their leader, Colonel Francois Casinier de la Rocque who assured them: "Our time will come."

The ability of the Croix de Feu to mobilize forces of this size with military precision and complete secrecy up to the very moment of the demonstration gives some idea of the latent forces of Fascism which are waiting their chance to take over power in France. Unlike some of the other, smaller Fascist organizations in the country, the Croix de Feu does not draw for its membership on declassed lumpen proletarians. Its ranks are made up principally of substantial petty bourgeois citizens drawn from the upper strata of the middle classes. Almost all its members are war veterans, and their sons, now in their early twenties, are organized in Les Volontaires Nationaux, the youth organization of the Croix de Feu.

Unlike the other Fascist groups, the Croix de Feu does not flaunt its armed bands but it is widely known that the Croix de Feu has not only built up large stocks of arms and ammunition but has also organized an air squadron credited with having nearly 100 planes. On one or two occasions arms caches of the Croix de Feu have been uncovered by police who have been drawn off the case as soon as the identity of the owners of the cache became known.

Supported by Finance Capital

De la Rocque enjoys the financial and political support of finance and heavy industrial capital. The Wendels and their Comité des Forges are the principal contributors to the Croix de Feu war chest. The organization is closely related to the French General Staff, a number of whose most prominent figures are actually in its ranks. The political power of de la Rocque represents is already formidable. During the last cabinet crisis which brought Laval into power, he was consulted in the inner governmental councils and was reported to have threatened to bring his forces out into the streets if any attempt was made to install a so-called left-wing government.

The Croix de Feu is the most serious Fascist movement in France. When the French bourgeoisie decides that the time has come to finish with the organizations of the working class, it will depend upon de la Rocque and his followers to do the job. He is equipped to do it not only by virtue of his connections with the General Staff but also through his close contact with the leading strata of the two great veterans' organizations, the Union Nationale des Danciens Combattants and the Union Federale des Anciens Combattants whose membership runs up to a million and whose leadership is thoroughly Fascist in tendency and in connections.

Other Fascist Groups

Among these are the Camelots du Roi, the youth group affiliated to the Action Francaise, the royalist organization. These young blades, mostly of the student type and drawing their support largely from the wealth of their families and the old ex-aristocracy, have had a long and active experience in street fighting against the workers. They have figured prominently in all street actions during the past ten years and they are well-armed with carbines and revolvers. They number now about 5,000. Another, slightly smaller organization is that of Les Jeunes Patriotes which used to have close connections with the army and which in years past has been utilized as a strike-breaking agency. It is now organized in the so-called "Front National" together with a new and powerful organization known as La Solidarite Francaise. The latter maintains regularly trained armed bands, counts no less than 10,000 in its ranks and has a powerful weapon in the Paris daily, "Ami du Peuple," which is more or less its official mouthpiece.

Unlike the above-named groups, all of which would deny the appellation "Fascist," the Francaistes, who came into being about the time of the affair of February 6, 1934, openly and violently claim the honor of

being the Fascists of France. They number some 5,000, most of whom are enrolled in armed bands which conduct a regular course of training in the art of civil war. They enjoy subsidies from a number of big capitalists and are generally credited with accepting subsidies from the propaganda agencies of both Hitler and Mussolini for carrying on pro-Fascist propaganda in France. Its organ, "Le Francaiste," uses exceedingly radical language.

Fight for Workers' Militia

All of these groups constitute sources of well-trained civil war cadres from which the Croix de Feu and the General Staff will draw when the time comes to settle the question of France's future, arms in hand. It is to reply to the threat represented by these various organizations that the French Bolshevik-Leninists are agitating for the organization of an armed workers militia trained to defend itself effectively against the inevitable Fascist attack. This demand is stamped as a "provocation" by the Stalinist and Socialist bureaucracies who confine their "fight against Fascism" to demanding formally that the government disarm the Fascist bands!

There is no fixed or rigid formula for the development of Fascism. People who fail to see any spectacular movement similar to that of the Nazis before they came to power delude themselves if they think that there is therefore no serious Fascist threat. Fascism may come to power in France by nothing more complicated than a military coup d'etat engineered by the General Staff and the Croix de Feu. If the workers are not mobilized for a general strike and the struggle for their own power, if they are not armed and organized to repel the attacks of the growing Fascist bands, we will have in France a repetition of the events in Austria and in Spain—a heroic but futile last-minute resistance. NOW is the time to prepare, and the deliberate refusal of the Stalinist and Socialist bureaucracies to put the French workers on the alert is a gross betrayal, heavy even now with possible future catastrophes.

### Packed Hall Hears Cannon Lecture in First of Series of 4

Over 400 workers packed the Irving Plaza Hall last Sunday evening to hear the lecture on "From Lenin to Stalin" by James P. Cannon. The audience, including dozens of Stalinists and Socialists listened with great interest to the glaring contrast between the Third International under Lenin's leadership and the Third International under Stalin.

The speaker presented a scathing criticism of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. Each period of working class history is symbolized by two people, he stated: Marx and Engels were the scientific founders of the modern revolutionary movement; Noske and Scheideman symbolized social democratic betrayal and treachery; Lenin and Trotsky were the organizers and leaders of the Russian Revolution and the Communist International; and now for the Seventh Congress Stalin-Laval are the symbols of Stalinist social patriotism. The pre-Congress document of the Seventh Congress was the Stalin-Laval communique in which Stalin recognizes the need for maintaining and strengthening the army of French imperialism.

The need for a Fourth International "which has no fatherland" but aims to lead the workers for the conquering of the entire world was the conclusion of comrade Cannon.

The lecture on "From Lenin to Stalin" was the first of a series of four entitled "On the Road to the Fourth International." The subjects for the remainder of the series are: Sunday, September 29, "Working Class Policy in the Impending War"; Sunday, October 6, "The Struggle Against Fascism"; Sunday, October 12, "The Road to the Fourth International."

Comrades who wish to attend these lectures will have to come early. Doors open at 7:30. Lectures will begin at 8:15. All lectures are being held at Irving Plaza Hall, Irving Place and 15th Street.

### Reaction Rules Ill. Federation Of Labor Meet

By GERRY ALLARD

BELLEVIEW, Ill., Sept. 20.—The State Federation of Labor which completed its sessions here last week voted to outlaw the Illinois Workers Alliance and the Progressive Miners of America, and also voted to support the state imposed three cent sales tax.

The machine-gear convention also voted to taboo any strikes against scab WPA wages. Resolutions forwarded by local unions for a labor party were also defeated. The convention failed to record itself progressively on any burning labor issue; instead it threw overboard any pretensions to liberalism and adopted a definite class collaboration, right wing attitude.

The condemnation of the Illinois Workers Alliance was no surprise. Last Spring while the Illinois jobless were fighting for their very right to exist, holding large demonstrations against shutting down of relief stations and against the sales tax, Rueben Soderstrom and Victor Olander, president and secretary, respectively, of the Federation, issued public statements condemning the Alliance for leading the fight and endorsing the sales tax. Olander is a member of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission while Soderstrom is a Republican member of the legislature.

The recent convention of the Illinois Workers Alliance mapped out an energetic program to carry forth the demands of the jobless. Officers of the Alliance state that the position of the Federation of Labor will have little or no bearing in the future relations between the unemployed and the rank and file in the various trade unions.

Edward C. Morgan, state secretary of the I.W.A., stated that "the Federation officials have fought the Alliance from the beginning. We built the Alliance despite them. In cooperation with the rank and file of the Federation of Labor we shall continue our fight against the sales tax, against the scab WPA wage and for a clean, progressive and militant labor movement. The position of the Federation officials doesn't amount to a hill of beans."

Charles Rossie of Du Quoin, a militant miner, and Simon Trojer of Chicago, a Socialist leader, were recently elected chairman and vice-chairman of the state unemployed body.

### Militants Held In Chinese Jails Appeal For Aid

By LO SEN

Comrade Niel Sih, one of the leaders of the Communist League of China, and his young wife are suffering the tortures of hell in a Kuomintang prison in Nanking. Word seeped out of the prison walls to our comrades in Shanghai with a desperate appeal for aid. Of our four other comrades, Sze Chao-seng, Wang Yao-hua, Hu Hwang-chang and Liu Chia-liang, there has been no news since they were shifted from Shanghai to Nanking in April this year. Some idea of what they are going through can be gained from the story of another comrade of ours who only recently gained his liberty after four years incarceration.

He was periodically hung up by his thumbs and suspended from a beam so that his feet came just short of the floor. "He was kept chained by the ankles for the whole time he was in and was quite unable to walk when finally given his liberty." The ordeal shattered his nerves and his health. "As he conversed with me," writes one of our comrades from Shanghai, "violent trembling fits kept seizing him, especially when describing some of the tortures to which he was subjected. Many of our comrades died in that hell hole, he told me. There were few captulators. He did not capitulate. That alone speaks volumes. In addition to everything else, he contracted tuberculosis. His body is broken but the spirit flames as brightly as ever."

The same fate, or death, is now faced by Niel Sih and our other comrades. The Communist League of China has appealed for demonstrations of international solidarity and protest against the bestial terror waged by the Kuomintang against all revolutionaries. We cannot let that appeal go unanswered. We must make that sympathy manifest in demonstrations, in active protests. We must make our voices heard. We must reach across the sea and stretch the hand of firm solidarity to our imprisoned comrades.

Act now! Our comrades in China are appealing to us and awaiting our reply. That reply must be made—now and at once!

### Chaining the Workers to Imperialist War Machine

By J. P. MARTIN

The Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labor International met at Brussels on August 16-18. In the course of the session a resolution and appeal to the workers of the world against Mussolini's African adventure was passed unanimously, with one abstention by Alter, the representative of the Polish "Bund." "The L.S.I. could not in any case resign itself to war," said the appeal, "Not even as a means of deliverance for the Italian people." Stupidity number 1; for imperialist war can never prove a means of "deliverance" for a people, unless that people is prepared to transform such a war into civil war for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie (Not war, but revolution will deliver the people . . . from Fascism). More: it is not enough to say that "one should not in any case resign oneself to war." One must give specific directives for making war impossible. This is what the L.S.I. proposes:

L. S. I. Program

1. Organize great demonstrations of public opinion "to (a) force the League to take the measures, as it is obliged under Article 11 of the Covenant (!), necessary to safeguard peace, the closing of the Suez canal to Italian military traffic; (b) force Italy to accept arbitration."

2. The Socialist and Communist parties of Italy are organizing a congress of emigrant Italians to protest the Abyssinian war for the end of September, at which the L.S.I. will be represented.

3. If war breaks out all the same "the L.S.I. expresses the hope that the working masses of Italy will be able to utilize the war in overthrowing the real enemy of the Italian people, which is not at Addis Ababa, but in Rome."

Leon Blum in commenting on these decisions in Populaire for August 21 writes: "On the governmental plane, the war can no longer be stopped except by a close coordination of effort between France and England on one hand, and between France and Russia on the other." According to Populaire only the coordinated efforts of France, Britain and the U.S.S.R. can stop the Italian war. Without awaiting the Council of the League the three aforementioned powers should "offer a realistic, sincere and complete arbitration to Italy." "If Italy ac-

cepts," Blum continues, "we may hope for peace; if she refuses Italy is forever branded the aggressor."

Game of "Peace"

To us all this seems a game with "peace" and the "workers" as pawns. The illusion of arbitration plunged the world into the conflagration of 1914. And after that conflagration the League has proved itself incapable of arbitrating even so minor an affair as the Chaco war. It will do no better with Mussolini, whom the three powers, France, Britain and the U.S.S.R. are even now courting for his support in the international race. Besides why go through all this rigmarole to prove Mussolini the aggressor? Is there anyone who does not clearly understand that Italian imperialism is for new territory in Africa? And why wait so long to intervene? Is there any hope of accomplishing now, in extremis, what was not done earlier, that is when Mussolini first started sending troops to Africa? Didn't the Negus of Abyssinia appeal to the League on January 14, that is eight months ago?

But let us suppose for a minute that the U.S.S.R., France and Britain do really take the proposed step. What will it lead to? It will prove what everybody already knows; that Italy is the aggressor; as it is certain that Mussolini will accept no arbitration that he is not sure of in advance.

France and Britain, although jealous rivals of Italian imperialism, are not anxious to offend their compeers at Rome. Recent negotiations have shown that in the matter of concessions, both France and England are willing to make them to Mussolini—at the expense of Abyssinia. There will be no change in Mussolini's attitude, unless by such a change he stands to gain even greater loot. Would this preserve peace? Not at all, it will only show that the road is open to brigands, that all that is needed to win spoils is audacity.

"Sanctions"

It is pretty clear that there will be no change in the preparations which have been going on for eight months now, with the complicity of the League. And then what? Then we will invoke sanctions, they tell us, and from that pass on to a boycott, which the League is obliged, by its statutes, to institute. The

(Continued on Page 4)

### League Votes Application Of Sanctions

#### Traitor Internationals Paralyze Independent Action of Workers

As the League of Nations Council decides to invoke sanctions against Italy should the negotiations between Great Britain, France and Mussolini fail to reach a solution on Ethiopia mutually satisfactory to the imperialist robbers, the traitorous Socialist and Stalinist internationalists are mobilizing the workers for support of the anti-Italian imperialists.

Even more boldly than the official diplomats, these internationalists which speak in the name of the working class, demand sanctions against Italy, that is, call upon the imperialist governments of France and England to declare war against imperialist Italy.

Great Britain and France have not yet given up attempts to come to an agreement with Mussolini. Their interest is not the independence of Ethiopia, for not only are they oppressing millions of colonial people throughout the world, including Africa, but they have already offered Italy control of Ethiopia. They are interested in defending their own imperialist possessions in Africa.

France hesitates over the prospect of withdrawing its troops from the continent and leaving itself open to an attack from Hitler. English diplomats are already speaking of sanctions as a threat against Italian aggression in Ethiopia only if it is a prelude to an attack on its own colonies in Africa. In a word, not only are England and France motivated on purely imperialist grounds but any action which they may take, including war against Italy would be an imperialist action.

New Social-Patriotic Betrayal

In the midst of this dispute among the imperialist powers, the joint conference of the Second International and its trade union adjunct, the International Federation of Trade Unions, held early this month, decided to put pressure on the League of Nations so "that the Covenant, the whole Covenant, be now applied, including the sanctions provided for in the Covenant."

And if this policy is accepted by the League of imperialist powers, the social-patriotic betrayal of 1914 will be repeated—this time the working class is informed of the plan even before the war breaks out:

"The two Internationals, conscious of their duties towards peace, are ready to fulfill them in their entirety, and confidently assure the League of the wholehearted support of the workers, both women and men, they represent, in any measures it may take for the effective application of whatever sanctions may be necessary against the aggressor."

Nothing could be clearer than this open pledge of social-patriotism!

Comintern "Welcomes" Decision

"The Communist International welcomes this decision," brazenly states the letter of that organization to the Second International. (Daily Worker, Sept. 26, 1935). What is needed according to the new comrades-in-arms of the Vandeveldes, Blums and Bauers is "an international movement against war of such power that the League of Nations would be compelled to undertake really effective action against the aggressor of Italian fascism and German fascism under its pressure."

"Pressure" on the imperialist League of Nations to declare war against Italy and Germany! Acclaiming the decision of the Socialist International to support the League "in any measures it may take for effective application" of sanctions! Could social-patriotism be more open and brazen!

What is needed is the complete independence of the working class from their imperialist masters. The boycott of shipments of goods and munitions to Fascist Italy and the supplying of material aid to the Ethiopian people must be the action of the working class itself.

## THE INTERNATIONALISTS NEED OUR HELP!

By L. TROTSKY

The recently published letter of the Bolshevik-Leninist who had made his escape from the U.S.S.R. depicts a horrible scene of persecutions and reprisals on the part of the bureaucracy, and a no less horrible picture of the physical straits in which hundreds and thousands of devoted, unselfish and self-sacrificing revolutionists find themselves. Recently their terms of exile and imprisonment have been extended two, three, and even five years, without any new charges whatsoever. A considerable number of them have been in prison and exile since the beginning of 1925, i.e. for a period of almost eight years. It is apparent even from the official Soviet press that additional hundreds, if not thousands of old and young revolutionists have been subjected to arrests, exile, and incarceration during the current year, for not sharing the international policy of Stalin, or for merely disapproving his brutality with regard to Zinoviev, Kamenev, and others. Letters from exile received by relatives, as rare exceptions, depict a situation that is hopeless and that gives no sign of improvement. For instance, an old revolutionist writes from exile, "There is no sense in sending money here, it cannot be used here. . . . Nothing is to be obtained here, not even vegetables." Another exile, cut off from his friends for years, deprived of the opportunity to correspond with his family, even with his children, writes on a postcard which came through accidentally: "We are on the road of the old Lafargues," thus hinting at an attempt at collective suicide, most probably through a hunger strike. News from prisons arrive much more rarely than from exile, and they depict new horrors, which leave far behind everything that Stalin perpetrated during the first

years of his struggle against the Left Opposition. That is how matters stand.

Moral and Material Aid

Moral and material assistance must be given, and it is needed immediately. The moral aid should consist in the exposure on the widest scale possible of the Bonapartist bestialities to which the captive revolutionists are being subjected. Any scrap of information that arrives must be given the widest possible circulation, the attention and sympathy of the workers must be aroused in those true heroes who have remained faithful to the banner of revolutionary internationalism over a period of several years under conditions of complete isolation, cut off from all information, and subjected to unheard of privations. It is necessary to protest openly and with all our might and main against the Stalinist terror which is directed not in the defense of the revolution against the class enemies but in the defense of the autocratic rule of the bureaucracy against the vanguard workers.

The material assistance must come in the form of collections of funds for the transmission to addresses in our possession: the men in exile and in prison, wherever they are able, share the remitted sums fraternally between themselves.

But agitation, protests and collection of funds do not suffice. It is necessary to provide constant and correct organizational assistance to those revolutionist-internationalists about whom the Second and Third Internationals remain unconcerned, who are ignored by the reformist trade unions, and whom the bourgeoisie of the entire world rightly consider to be their bitterest enemies.

Prisoners in China

The question, of course, is not restricted to the U.S.S.R. In China, the prisons of Chiang Kai-Shek, the

former ally of Stalin, hold numerous Bolshevik-Leninists, with Chen Du Siu at their head, the old revolutionist, founder of the Communist party, who is serving an eleven year prison term. The leaders of the so-called "united front" painstakingly avoid all reference to the very name of Chen Du Siu, a name, however, that should become known to every revolutionary worker. In Germany, Italy, Spain, Poland, Greece, Indo-China, and a number of other countries the fighters for the Fourth International fill in increasing numbers the jails and concentration camps of the reactionary dictatorship. Even in Holland, the classic land of "democracy," revolutionist-internationalists like Sneevliet and Schmidt have paid severe tribute to the jails of capitalism during the recent years.

However, concerned here are not only the Bolshevik-Leninists and the fighters for the Fourth International. In the countries of the Old and New Worlds, the numerous revolutionary organizations and groups that stand outside both old Internationals and that have not taken their place under the banner of the New International count no few victims in their own ranks. The same applies to colonies. Suffice to name, for instance, the Hindoo revolutionist Roy, now serving a 14-year jail sentence, who was shamefully betrayed by the Comintern in whose ranks he had fought.

Severe Trials Ahead

The still closer drawing together of the Second and Third Internationals as well as the trade union bureaucracies on a common platform of social-patriotism—the ground for which was laid by the Moscow Congress—holds in store especially severe trials for the proletarian fighters, who stand under the banner of internationalism and revolutionary defeatism. Screening

themselves by patriotic necessity, and even perhaps by concern for the "defense of the U.S.S.R.," the police and the prosecuting attorneys of capital will henceforth deal the internationalists redoubled blows, in order thus to remove the obstacles in the path of the "united front" of Stalin-Laval-Cachin-Blum-Jouhaux, and also in the path of . . . the new imperialist war. He is blind, or at any rate near-sighted, who fails to see this perspective. Revolutionists must prepare themselves beforehand for supreme trials and sacrifices.

The working class is divided into different political camps; between those organizations which enter neither into the Second or the Third Internationals there are also serious disagreements. These cannot be eliminated artificially. But if there is a sphere in which honest revolutionary workers can and should combine their efforts, it is in the organization of assistance to the fighters who are captives of the bourgeoisie and who have been betrayed by the social-patriots. It is necessary to set immediately to the creation of a joint-party and an international association to give aid to the revolutionists persecuted for their fidelity to the principles of internationalism.

All the parties and groups standing under the banner of the Fourth International would of course readily join such an organization. But this is not enough. It is necessary to come to an agreement with all the other independent revolutionary parties, as well as the left wing minorities within the old Internationals and the trade unions. The question is of a burning political character. Great battles are ahead. It is necessary to build not only the army, but also at the same time to prepare the Red Cross and the sanitary corps.

Sept. 7, 1935



## Comments

### On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH  
PEACE ON EARTH . . .

In recent army maneuvers officers were given red and white flags to wave over soldiers who were supposed to be "dead" . . . The press agreed that "serious and startling deficiencies have been revealed by the maneuvers. The army is badly equipped and poorly trained. Bigger appropriations are necessary for an efficient fighting force" . . . The 1935 Army and Navy appropriation is larger than any in peace time history. . . . R.O.T.C. enrollment in Chicago high schools will be doubled. Uniforms and rifles have been purchased by business men. James McCahey, school board member, in advocating the increase said, "We have less difficulty with communistic and subversive influences in schools with R.O.T.C. groups" . . . Paris modistes have designed gas masks to match the latest gowns. . . . London school children are provided gas masks and practice "air attack" drills. . . . When Italy showed a momentary conciliatory attitude toward Ethiopia, munitions shares dropped 10 percent. . . . Thirty thousand British troops marched north from Peshawar on the Afghan border to "punish" a Moslem tribe. . . . Britain warned Italy to respect the League of Nations' covenant. Upon hearing the news Haile Selassie exclaimed, "God, Justice, and the Great Powers seem to be on our side." . . .

#### RELIEF . . .

A crushing, fainting mob of 1,000 aged persons stormed the Kansas City courthouse on the opening day for applications for old age pensions. The maximum payment is \$30 a month. . . . Nebraska's four million dollar relief and old age pension law was declared unconstitutional by the state supreme court. . . . State WPA administrators receive almost twice as much per week as WPA laborers receive per month. . . . WPA money has been allotted to teach children of the unemployed to play the piano. . . . Palermo, N.D., desired PWA funds to rebuild a burned schoolhouse. It received WPA funds for a golf course and bird sanctuary. . . . Following a drowning during a river baptism, members of the Second Colored Baptist Church of New Haven requested President Roosevelt to allot WPA funds for life preservers for future converts. . . . 4470 students in Illinois will receive \$6 monthly from the National Youth Administration. . . . Failure to spend relief money caused the government deficit for July and August to be one third less than estimated. . . .

#### DIETETICS . . .

A world wide "Eat More Food" campaign was urged upon the League of Nations by Lord de la Warr, British Secretary of Agriculture, as a means of solving the world's economic problems. . . . A government public health survey showed that children of the unemployed averaged six pounds lighter than children of employed workers. . . . A Cornell University experiment proved that rats kept on a starvation diet lived longer than well fed ones. The underfed animals matured more slowly, were smaller and had less hair. . . . Columbia University professors found that rats with an improved diet lived longer than hungry ones. . . . The U.S. Department of Agriculture announces that turnip juice is rich in vitamins. Parents on relief and with small incomes are advised to substitute juice from crushed turnips for the more expensive orange juice in the diet for babies. . . .

#### EQUALITY . . .

"America should have a nobility built upon intelligence, morality, altruism, kindness, greatness and noble feelings," says Jean Pierre Reinach who sells titles for the following prices: Duke, \$1,000,000; Marquis, \$700,000; Count, \$500,000; Baron, \$200,000. "Only men who are energetic and courageous enough to at once dispose of a million, \$700,000, \$500,000 or \$200,000 will be worthy to enter this new nobility which is destined to a great future" . . . W. R. Hearst proclaims: "There is no proletariat in America. There are no 'lowest orders of society' without property and privilege in America. In America all men are equal in rights, in opportunities and in political privileges. In America there are working men and working women, and that term applies to every man and woman who works and is paid for his labor, from window cleaner to the president of the most powerful industrial organization." . . . One block of tenements in New York City houses 3,871 persons. . . . Hearst's San Simeon estate is larger than the entire metropolitan area of New York City. . . . The officers of nine important industries receive a larger weekly pay than the yearly average of wage earners in the same industries. For example, in the Tobacco industry, officers average

# THE A. F. OF L. AND THE TEACHERS UNION

By A. J. MUSTE

The rejection by the recent Cleveland convention of the American Federation of Teachers of William Green's demand that Local 5, New York, be "reorganized" in order to make it possible for the Linville-Lefkowitz faction in the Local to get rid of the opposition, must be considered as a part of the larger movement of insurgency within the A. F. of L. Recently there have been numerous and weighty instances of the insurgent spirit. In Minneapolis Local 574 of the Teamsters has had its charter lifted by Tobin, the czar of the Teamsters International, and one of the dominant figures in the A. F. of L. machine, and has to battle in addition a combination of local trade union bureaucrats, Farmer-Labor politicians and Chamber of Commerce. Nevertheless Local 574 has not only been able to stand up under this attack but has organized new groups of transportation employees, has been the leading factor in a series of militant strikes and the mainstay of a widespread progressive movement in Minnesota and adjoining states.

#### Forcing Dillon on Auto Workers

A few weeks ago the federal automobile locals met in convention in Detroit for the purpose of establishing an international union under an A. F. of L. charter. At the beginning of the convention Green in person laid down an ultimatum to the effect that the delegates must accept Francis J. Dillon, who as head of the A. F. of L. work in automobiles had consistently sabotaged an effective organization campaign and betrayed the General Motors strike last May, as the president of the organization at least for the first year. They were also informed that the jurisdiction of their international would not cover the skilled craftsmen in the industry; in other words, that their demand for a genuine industrial union could not be granted.

Although in the main the delegates to this convention had not come from the progressive slates in the federal unions, they promptly rejected by a decisive majority the demand that they accept Dillon as the first president of their union. Notably, the Toledo delegates, who had been elected as conservatives in their local union, voted unanimously against Dillon.

Despite this clear and to nearly everybody unexpected expression of rank and file revolt, Green felt strong enough in this case to impose Dillon in the teeth of the rejection of the delegates. Nevertheless, the action was a real blow to his prestige and a clear indication that among the members is profound distrust of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, a spirit of independence and a strong demand for trade union democracy.

#### Teacher's Convention

Somewhat later in the same week the struggle in the American Federation of Teachers convention came to a head. Doubtful of being able to put over their reorganization of Local 1 proposal on the delegates, Linville, Lefkowitz Borchard and other reactionaries appealed to Green. Having the habit of issuing decrees and on every occasion whacking "Communists" over the head, Green sent a strong message to the Teachers. They must get rid of "Communist" influence, and to reorganize Local 5 and kick out the opposition was the one way to make their union safe for Americanism and "true trade union principles."

There has been a reluctance, natural enough in a way, in the A. F. of L. as a small international, depending largely upon A. F. of L. support in state legislatures for advancing the interests of the teachers, to alienate the A. F. of L. leadership. But we are living in a new economic era and Bill Green is not Sam Gompers. The teachers by a decisive majority rejected Green's demand. Whereupon the reactionary minority walked out of the convention, clearly revealing themselves and all such bureaucrats as Green as splitters of the labor movement. There is this difference between the case of the Auto Workers and that of the Teachers, that so far, at any rate, Green has not been able to impose his will upon the latter. Local 5 has not been reorganized.

#### Green at Akron

During the past week the Rubber Workers have been in convention in Akron, the demand on the part of the federal locals in that industry having become so insistent that the A. F. of L. had to yield. In Akron Green was present in person as he had been in Detroit. Once again he undertook to lay down an ultimatum. The Rubber Workers must accept Coleman Claherty, the Francis Dillon of the industry, as their president for the first year. Again a howl of protest arose. A pungent two hour debate started in the course of which, according to a

\$1,067 a week, workers \$583 a year. . . . Wage earners today are receiving 52 percent of their 1920 income, property owners 61 percent and business men 65 percent. . . . "Americanism has unquestionably survived the New Deal," says Pat Hurley. . . .

press report, "the A. F. of L. officialdom was criticized strongly." When on the following morning the vote of 44 to 9 for rejecting the proposed appointment of Claherty was announced, Green, perhaps "softened up" by the blows received at the Automobile Workers' and the Teachers' conventions, capitulated completely and announced to the delegates: "I accept your judgment in the matter as final."

All this has an important bearing on the question of what is likely to happen in the case of the A. F. of L. at the approaching A. F. of L. convention and what should be the course of the progressive elements in Local 5 and in the Teachers Union throughout the country. It seems to me most unlikely that an attempt to take away the charter of the entire Teachers Union or to "reorganize" the Federation will be made. Such an action is without precedent in the A. F. of L. It is true that the A. F. of L. frequently steps in in support of the machine of an international union, in reorganizing a local, or an entire group of locals. In this case, however, the recognized international officials are opposing the reorganization of the local. It is true also that where two distinct organizations emerge as a result of an intra-union conflict, the A. F. of L. determines which has "jurisdiction," and, of course, almost invariably "recognizes" the conservative group. At yet, however, the locals which walked out of the A. F. of L. convention have not dared to organize a separate national union and to apply for an A. F. of L. charter which would invalidate the charter of the present A. F. of L. Even in normal times the A. F. of L. Executive Council tends to proceed slowly in such matters, since, after all, per-capita tax income is one of its first considerations. That the drastic action of outlawing the A. F. of L. at this convention will be taken seems most unlikely because these are far from normal times in the Federation.

#### Struggle for Leadership

There is, in the first place, a struggle for leadership in process and in consequence a division within the official family itself. It is not yet clear whether John L. Lewis will openly contest the presidency with Green in Atlantic City. The mere fact, however, that the contest is possible will tend to prevent extreme and precipitate action in the Teachers' case. Each side will be looking for votes and anxious to maintain the present organization intact though, of course, Lewis, no more than Green, entertains any affection for the progressives and militants, not to speak of the revolutionists, in the Teachers' union.

In the second place, with such evidences of insurgency in the

rank of the workers as I have already noted (and these instances could easily be multiplied) the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, no matter how much it may irritate them, will have to think twice before they run the risk of adding fuel to the flames of revolt by pulling off so raw a deal as would be involved in the reorganization of the entire Teachers' International or the setting up of a dual organization which certainly at the outset would represent a decidedly small minority of the organized teachers.

#### Conditions Favor Progressives

The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and the progressives throughout the union face on the whole, therefore, at this moment a favorable situation. There is no doubt that they can, for the present at any rate, have the upper hand, counting upon the general spirit of insurgency among the workers and in the A. F. of L. unions, provided that they stand their ground firmly and carefully avoid giving the bureaucrats any impression of fear or weakness—an attitude of which the bureaucrats know only too well from long experience how to take advantage. The proposition, for example, which the Stalinists made in Local 5 to conciliate Linville and Lefkowitz by dissolving all groups in the union is, even from the lowest tactical point of view, unsound. To run after a retreating enemy, so to speak, urging him to stop in order that you may give him concessions, in fact, turn over your sword to him, is more than a little ridiculous.

This is, however, not to say that the progressives in the A. F. of L. do not have a stiff fight now and will not have a stiffer one in the future. The reactionaries, both in the A. F. of L. and in the A. F. of L. generally, will fight back. The Teachers must utilize the present opportunity precisely in order to consolidate their positions, strengthen their forces, organize the progressive elements locally and nationally and equip themselves for effective resistance against counter-attack and for future advances and victories for progressive, militant unionism.

#### Groups in Unions

In this connection, insistence upon the right of groups to function in a responsible fashion within the union is of the greatest significance. Having such groups is not by any means without precedent in the American Federation of Labor. In the Typographical Union, for example, there have for years been two or more openly recognized "parties" putting forward their programs, putting up slates in the local and national elections, etc. The Printers find it as logical to have parties functioning in the trade union democracy as that there should be parties, for example, in

## The Party at Work

#### NEW YORK BANQUET

You can't afford to miss the banquet to greet the Third Plenary Session of the National Committee of the Workers Party. It will be held Thursday, October 3, 7:30 P.M. at Irving Plaza. Vincent Dunne will tell of the recent magnificent battles in Minneapolis. Arnold Johnson, secretary of the National Unemployed League, the largest and most stable organization of the unemployed in the country, will briefly review the recent struggles of that organization.

Germinal Allard—"Gerry" to thousands of miners who have fought side by side with him against coal barons and reactionary labor officials—will talk on the situation in Illinois.

Maurice Spector, chairman of the Workers Party of Canada and one of the best speakers that the Canadian revolutionary movement has produced, will trace recent political developments—"Social Credit," "OOCCF," and the coming elections in Canada.

In addition to the above, A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon will deal with the perspectives of the W. P. and the Fourth International. Max Shachtman will preside.

Good food and a short but excellent musical program will be provided. The limited capacity of the hall and the rush for tickets is a warning to the tardy. Get your tickets now!

The time: 7:30 P.M., Thursday, Oct. 3. The place: Irving Plaza, 15th St. and Irving Place. Tickets: 50 cents (can be secured at Party headquarters, 55 East 11th St.)

#### CALIFORNIA—

The San Francisco branch of the W. P. will conduct a write-in campaign in the forthcoming elections in San Francisco. An educational leaflet for use in the campaign is being drafted by the Pacific Coast District.

The Educational Committee of the West Coast District is calling upon all the branches to carry on an intensive campaign of meetings, leaflet distribution, etc. during the next few weeks on the war danger.

#### JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY

a political democracy. A similar situation has existed, though perhaps not so continuous or on so large a scale, in many other A. F. of L. unions.

There are bound to be varying points of view in any living organization. It is far better that they should function openly than that they should operate in an underground fashion.

Why is it that the reactionaries in a union always fight against the existence of "groups," insist that this means splitting up the union, etc.? Does this mean that there are then no groups in the union? Not at all. What it means is that there is only one group and that is the group which is dominated by the union machine. It is perfectly well known that in the unions those bossed there are always organizations, frequently known as "clubs," which constitute in effect the caucuses of the trade union machine. The cry of "no groups" means "no groups except our own" representing the union bureaucracy.

#### Bureaucracy is Organized

The bureaucracy always functions in an organized fashion and never relaxes its vigilance. Consequently, even if an occasional revolt breaks out, the machine presently rides roughshod again, because the opposition does not maintain a continuous organization. The Teachers must not only not give up the right of groups to function but must steadily and rapidly extend the organization of the progressives.

Nor must the teachers permit themselves to be intimidated by the cry of such elements as Linville and Lefkowitz, that these groups are "dominated by political parties and do not have the genuine interest of the union and of the Teachers at heart." To say that the politically most developed members of a union must not function as factions in an organized way is to say that precisely those elements which should know most about the problem and be most devoted to the cause of the working class must not make their maximum contribution to the solution of the union's problems.

To try to forbid members of a revolutionary party to function as factions in the union and in progressive groups does not mean to remove political influence. Anyone who has the slightest acquaintance with the union movement in this country knows that in proportion as the influence of working class parties is weak, the capitalist parties (Tammany Hall in the New York building trades and printing trades unions, etc.) dominate the union. Trade unions cannot possibly function in a non-political world, least of all unions of teachers.

#### "Politics" in the Union

The Stalinists have, of course, by the irresponsible and disruptionist fashion in which they have functioned or tried to function in the mass movement, put a weapon in the hands of the trade union bureaucrats and have alienated many honest but uninformed workers. But this does not mean that "politics" must be kept out of the union.

Political organizations, the same as progressive groups in the unions generally, must be tested first by the program for the union which they advance, and secondly by the way in which they seek to advance that program. The Workers Party stands for a progressive, militant Teachers Union in which trade union democracy obtains and believes that its membership should seek to advance what they regard as the sound program for the union openly, by educating the membership, trying to win them to this program, at no time seeking mechanical domination or resorting to cheap politics, alliances with reactionaries, etc. In order to advance their views, the members of the Workers Party, bound to act under the discipline of their party in the union, will, precisely because they are under that discipline, work harder for the union, fight more vigorously in all its battles, display a deeper and more consistent loyalty to the union.

#### Revolutionists Play Their Part

It is not an accident that in each of the situations mentioned earlier in the article the Workers Party and its members have played a part—in some instances as in Minneapolis and among the automobile workers in Toledo a leading and conspicuous one; in others as among the teachers and rubber workers a lesser role. We are not by any means seeking to make revolutionary political parties out of the unions. But even now, only with a core of revolutionists equipped with Marxist methods of analysis and disciplined and hardened for struggle, can progressive groups be built in the unions which can successfully challenge the entrenched and hardened bureaucracies; and in the end it is only under the leadership of the revolutionary party that the workers will be able really to solve the problems which the present age creates and to free themselves from poverty and insecurity and the frustration of spirit to which the masses under capitalism today are subjected.

## Manager's Corner

Responses to the financial needs of the NEW MILITANT have continued in a very excellent fashion during the last few weeks. Many party branches have sent in special contributions, not listed under the campaign for the eight-page weekly. Accounts for bundles received are being paid up and subscription renewals are taken care of more promptly than before. Due to this fact we have been able to pay up a number of bills and make a beginning toward putting the printshop in a better shape.

We are building up a solid economic foundation for our press. This is an essential prerequisite for the launching of the eight-page weekly. Now we are making real progress in this respect and, naturally, we can only urge the branches and the sympathizers to continue the good work.

Our proposal is to begin now a very active concentration to obtain new subscribers. It is the most effective and substantial way of extending the NEW MILITANT circulation and, of course, it brings in additional funds. Enlargement of its size would not have any real value unless also accompanied by a corresponding increase in circulation. This is the main aim. We ask the comrades in every city to get busy in a systematic manner, to get subscriptions from all contacts. Periodic distribution of free copies at certain selected neighborhoods, factories or workers' organizations will be a help when followed up thoroughly to obtain subs. But the important question is to make sure that all contacts established be asked to become regular readers of our press.

This is the kind of work in which all comrades and all sympathizers can participate. It does not hold out any special reward except the fulfilling of a very important task—to build up the revolutionary press. In this we feel sure, however, that all our supporters will

join wholeheartedly. But there are also some direct inducements. We need only remind you of the prizes for the best sub-getters that have already been announced. One comrade has almost reached the point of making prize number one, and as soon as he completes his record the prize is his.

Again we also remind you of the simple and effective method of securing four three-month club subscription cards at the price of \$1.50.

It is necessary to get to work with speed and dispatch. When subs come rolling in we gain new readers for our press, we help to build it up and we help to build the revolutionary movement. When subs come rolling in we will soon make the eight-page weekly a reality.

During the past few weeks the comrades of the Los Angeles branch have rolled up quite a record. They have made special contributions not listed here; they pay all their bundle accounts in advance, they send in regular subscriptions and additional funds for the eight-page weekly campaign.

Since our last report on this account we have received the following amounts:

#### Contributions

Flatbush branch, N.Y.C.	\$ 1.75
New Haven branch	2.00
Los Angeles branch	4.50
West Side branch, N.Y.C.	3.00
Center branch, N.Y.C.	11.25
San Francisco branch	6.00
Boro Park branch, N.Y.C.	5.50
Brownville branch, N.Y.C.	.50
East Side branch, N.Y.C.	1.05
Harlem branch, N.Y.C.	1.00

#### Advance Subscriptions

Los Angeles branch	1.00
Club Cards	
Chicago branch	2.00
Greetings	
Allentown branch	2.00
Previously Reported	\$861.56
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>\$703.11</b>

## The U. S. in the Philippines

By LO SEN

The Philippines have acquired Manuel Quezon for a president and General Douglas MacArthur of the United States Army as a "special military adviser." Thus auspiciously opens the 10-year period of the Philippines "Commonwealth" which is to culminate in the complete "independence" of the islands. The appointment of MacArthur "to supervise the organization of the national defense forces of the new commonwealth government" (New York Times) underlines the one fact about this Filipino independence affair of which little mention is made. American imperialism retains full control over the military and naval bases in the islands and full control over the future foreign policy of the islands. The change in the form of American control—and it is only a change—is designed primarily to assure the support of the Filipino bourgeoisie for America's war plans in the Pacific.

#### "Democracy" in the Philippines

"Enlightened" American imperialism has long known how to give its regime in the Philippines the semblance of "democracy" which assures to it the support of large native capitalist and landowning classes in the Filipino population. That these classes have been well tutored in the machinery of "democracy" is demonstrated by the presidential vote which totalled something in the neighborhood of 700,000—out of a population of nearly twelve millions! The semi-autonomous Filipino regime which had existed in the islands under the provision of the Jones Act of 1916 and the control of which has been concentrated for years in the hands of small political cliques headed by Quezon and the new vice-president, Sergio Osmena, has been corrupt and oppressive enough to measure up to the standards of our best democracies here in the West.

Under its rule vast holdings in land and other properties have been concentrated in the hands of a few families stemming from the old mestizo (mixed-blood) aristocracy and the millions of toilers have been reduced to conditions of helotry in nearby China. Under this regime the revolutionary movement and the trade unions have been greeted by a policy of implacable terror. The Philippines Constabulary has been called into action almost exclusively to smash peasant revolts, such as the recent Sakdalista uprising in Northern Luzon, and to keep in subjection the Moros and other minority tribes in the South and in other parts of the islands. The new "commonwealth" under Quezon-Osmena-McArthur guarantees the continuity of these conditions.

Illusions of "Independence" This arrangement is better suited to the war plans of American imperialism in the Pacific because it enables the Filipino bourgeoisie to develop the more easily illusions of "independence" under American protection in contrast to the prospect of subjugation by colony-greedy Japan. The "commonwealth" is to last

for ten years. Those ten years are likely to see a solution to the basic Imperialist antagonism in the Pacific—the Japanese-American fight for hegemony. Only the development of the revolutionary movement of the Filipino workers and peasants, along with the movement in China, Indochina, Japan, India and the United States will determine whether the Philippines will in reality decide and govern their own destiny or whether they will remain a pawn on the Imperialist chessboard of the Pacific.

## New Bolivian Party Formed

A new party of the Fourth International has been formed in Bolivia, called the Revolutionary Workers Party (P.O.R.). It was born in the midst of the greatest difficulties—difficulties engendered by years of strife between that country and Paraguay.

It cannot be said that the coming to "Trotzkism" of our Bolivian comrades was accomplished precipitately; nor that the organization lacks a real base. It has considerable influence among the masses.

It is necessary to point out that the "Grupo Tupac Amaru" (Bolivian revolutionary refugees in Argentina) which with the "Bolivian Left" formed the P.O.R., carried on an effective struggle in making contacts with the army. The international outlook of the forces that formed the new Bolivian party brought them to the camp of Bolshevik-Leninism and was crystallized at the congress of Cordoba, Argentina, in June, 1935 where they declared their adherence to the International Communist League.

The groups that make up the P.O.R. gained the right to be considered the only revolutionary working class organization by working valiantly in the struggle against the war. The nucleus that today makes up the Revolutionary Workers Party of Bolivia made contact with the soldiers at the front and had considerable success in the organization of Military Committees and in the distribution of its literature to the worker and peasant soldiers. One hundred of the prisoners in Asuncion (Paraguay) are militants of the party. In the rearward, where work was most difficult, its influence, established sporadically, is starting to be transformed into organized activity.

In Bolivia there never was much of a section of the Communist party. Despite objective conditions for revolutionary struggle and with the feudal bourgeoisie very weak, Stalinism was, however, unable to form any cadres before the war. The Workers Party of the United States sends its heartiest revolutionary greetings to the Revolutionary Workers Party of Bolivia, born in the fires of war, and pledges loyal and fraternal collaboration in the solution of its tasks which in essence are our tasks also.



## MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

### ARMY RULE IN THE PHILIPPINES . . .

In the modern world the crude methods of direct and brutal colonial oppression by the "advanced" imperialist nations are resorted to only as a final means when more subtle methods fail. It is far easier and no more costly for the foreign exploiters to strike a mutually helpful bargain with the native bourgeoisie and its representatives. In Cuba the puppets Mendietta and Battista take their orders from the American capitalists through the United States Minister. In the Philippines the figure-head Quezon will take his orders from the "military adviser" McArthur, whose appointment to that post has just been announced. In the very way in which the news is made public, there is revealed the "open secret" that the election of Quezon was a pre-determined, cut-and-dried affair. The elections have only just been completed and yet it is stated that Quezon, precisely Quezon, had called for the appointment of General McArthur last summer. This is obviously revealed only now, after the elections, since it might have embarrassed Quezon in his campaigning. The United States Army, with commendable courtesy and in a spirit of cooperation, has graciously consented to transfer the former Chief of Staff to this new service, to help supervise the organization of the national defense forces for the new 'commonwealth' government of the Philippine Islands. Under McArthur's rule the work of militarizing the Islands and the adjacent possessions will go forward to completion. The Philippines will be made a strong naval and air base for use in the coming war with Japan.

### Gentleman's Agreement

Not that the threat of this war has again reached the acute stage. On the contrary, it suits the aims of both countries at this time to cultivate each other's friendship. Thus Ambassador Saito has just arrived at a 'gentleman's agreement' with Washington to limit the volume of textiles to be exported by Japan to the Philippine market. This was done in order to avoid the imposing of an additional 50 to 75 per cent duty on Japanese goods entering the Philippines. The Japanese have even agreed to accept a smaller quota than the 52 per cent they had captured in 1934. This avoidance of a trade war in textiles may be extended to the general exports of the rapidly expanding Japanese capitalism to the United States and its possessions. But lest it be inferred that the threat of war in the Pacific area is abating, one has only to glance at the enormous imports of scrap steel and other forms of

steel from the United States to Japan. The latter has increased her average takings of these vital materials by 800 percent. This means that in the last thirty months Japan has imported more of this war material than in the previous eight years combined. Despite the rise in price that has resulted, the rate of import has, if anything, increased.

### ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

What is of greater importance to both the Soviet Union and to U. S. imperialism, there are rumors of a revival of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. Speculation concerning the mission of the English economist Leith-Ross in the Far East centers on this interpretation. With the naval race in full swing as the result of the scrapping of the Washington naval truce, the English find themselves more exposed than ever to attack in and from the Far East. The Italian threat to the Mediterranean line of communications that is like a sacred cow to British imperialism, only serves the more to emphasize England's weakness at the far end of these communications in Singapore. An alliance with Japan would serve to check the threat of the latter to build a canal through Siam that would "short-circuit" Singapore and shorten the route to India by two or three days. Japan would be given assurances against America and would police the Far East for the interests of both imperialists. Japan could then feel free to launch her attack finally against the Soviet Union. The resumption of this Far Eastern alliance would be in line with England's policy with respect to Germany; that is, of encouraging Hitler to expand eastwards at the expense of the Soviet Union.

### REVOLUTIONARY ACTION AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

All these machinations of the imperialist robbers are directly and violently opposed to the vital interests of the world proletariat. This is the manner in which the bourgeoisie propose to maintain the system of exploitation, against the physical and economic well-being of the working class. The organizer and leader of the British Labor Party, Herbert Morrison, defending his betrayal of the working class by the support of British imperialism, says: "We are not interested in the struggles of rival imperialists and we are not going to be drawn into them." Such an ostrich policy places the workers in chains and hands them over to imperialist slaughter. On the contrary, we are vitally interested to oppose by revolutionary means all the machinations of all imperialists.

## Side Lights on the "New Turn" of the Stalinists

By HENRY THURMAN

### Manuilsky

D. Z. Manuilsky, reporting on "The Results of Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union," began by pointing out that since the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, the complete victory of socialism in the Soviet Union as well as the second great victory over world capitalism since the October Revolution has been achieved." (Daily Worker, August 20.)

"We have realized," Manuilsky is quoted as saying, "what the best minds of mankind formerly dreamed of, socialism."

Here the Daily Worker resorts to a curious journalistic trick, unsurpassed in cunning, in order to confuse and mislead its readers. It outlines Manuilsky's characterization of the Stalinist struggle against the Left Opposition, and follows on the heels of this with:

"Then Manuilsky described how the party had repelled the attacks of the Opposition who expressed the interests of the rich peasants, opposed the high tempo of industrialization, and the development of Soviet collective farms."

Now obviously the spokesman must be here referring to the bloc of the Right, not the Left who fought for the struggle against the Kulak, urged a higher tempo of industrialization, and advocated collectivism for the peasantry. But the Daily Worker cleverly presents a juxtaposition of texts that will be sure to lead the uninformed astray.

The assembly of learned parrots permitted the crowning disgrace, the strangling of all discussion. Manuilsky ended his distorted report with a tribute to "our Stalin the great, wise, beloved leader of mankind," and the Daily Worker concludes smugly:

"Manuilsky's words at this point were greeted with a hurricane of applause lasting fifteen minutes. Andre Marty of the French Communist Party ascended the platform to read a statement in the name of special delegations enthusiastically approving Manuilsky's report and proposing that the Congress refrain

from discussion. Amidst loud applause, the Congress unanimously agreed."

But then, why not?

### Brown

One good turn deserves another. Heywood Brown gives the Stalinists a boost, and they in turn have made a comradely gesture to the Workers Party. It all happened like this. Brown wrote a column exonerating the Stalinists from all suspicion of intentions to undermine capitalism in the United States. He implies that Stalin just can't muzzle the movement for revolution in this country because of the Workers Party.

"As a matter of fact there exists in America a small but highly articulate group which contends that they are the real custodians of true Communism, since they follow the teachings of Trotsky and totally reject the leadership of Stalin. How could a Russian Ambassador promise to silence them? And our own Mr. A. J. Muste, who was once head of the federation's labor college, frankly advocates the overthrow of the government by armed force but without benefit of orders from Russia."

Brown then proceeds to give a reformist whitewash of the C. P., absolving it from the accusation of revolutionism.

"But what are the revolutionary things which Earl Browder, American citizen, said in Russia? . . . If those are subversive utterances please pick out my wall and firing squad."

Eager to show that they are really good reformists, not bad revolutionists, the Stalinists have accepted Brown's whitewash with glee. The Daily Worker has given its approval. And in Cleveland the grateful innocents have proudly pasted Brown's column up in the middle of the show-window in the Workers Bookshop!

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

## THE MASS TRIAL OF A "LABOR MAYOR"

"My wife said, 'Oh, Daddy, I'm hit.' Just then Mrs. Thompson turned around to help her and that tear gas bomb exploded right in her face alongside of my wife and she went down."

Just one quotation from the testimony of one witness of the police outrage at the Flour City Ornamental Iron Works in Minneapolis on September 11. Just a chance phrase from a mass of testimony on the conduct of the police department under the leadership of a Farmer-Labor city government. While the grand jury delivered a white-wash of the mayor and his police in the murder of two young workers and the wounding of many more men, women and children, a mass trial conducted by the N.P.L.D. before an audience of 700 on September 16 brought out the real facts.

Twelve witnesses testified before the court, where Wm. Brown of Local 574 sat as judge, Frances Heisler of the N.P.L.D. prosecuted, and Gilbert Carlson, also of the N.P.L.D., conducted the defense, on the failure of the defendants, who were invited, to appear. The stories told by the twelve witnesses of the fatal night of September 11 are almost incredible in the brutality and horror they reveal. Police gassing, shooting, stoning, beating, defenseless men and women. The trial was conducted before an audience of about seven hundred—a jury of twelve citizens, carefully selected from among those who had not been near the scene of the police riot brought in a verdict of guilty.

### Address of Heisler

The trial opened with an address for the prosecution by Attorney Heisler who said: "I have defended many cases many times before a jury where workers or farmers were charged with the commission of a certain crime, but this is the first time I have ever appeared in the role of the prosecution."

"However I believe, the prosecution is on the side of the people this time, and therefore I shall conduct the prosecution in a manner that is not very often done by City or State Attorneys. . . .

"We shall present your testimony by witnesses that shall not be prepared by the prosecution, because I met these witnesses for the first time four hours ago. Most of the witnesses were not known to the prosecution up to this afternoon. The only instructions which were given the witnesses were that they shall come here and tell their story, tell the truth irrespective of where the guilt may fall."

Gustave Beck was sworn in by Clerk of the Court Roseland. Mr. Heisler opened the direct examination:

Q. Your name is Gustave Beck?

A. Yes.

Q. What is your occupation, Mr. Beck?

A. Machinist.

Q. I call your attention to Wednesday last about 11 o'clock in the evening, were you present on or about 26th or 27th Street in the neighborhood of the Flour City Metal Works?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you tell the court and the jury in your own words what happened after you arrived and until you left the place?

A. Well, I came down to the corner of 26th Street and I saw some people parading up and down the place. They paraded three or four times and as far as any violence was concerned on the part of the people parading there, I didn't see anything that was wrong. . . . Then the cops started to shoot those gas bombs right into the mob and I got some of it right into my own face, so I got out of there. . . . I walked across the street and a cop pushed me in the ribs and says, "Go on, run, you son-of-a-bitch," and I says I couldn't because I have a sore leg and then one of them started to club me and I got across the street where I had my car parked and

then a few more cops came around toward the north side and started to beat me again.

### Testimony of Hendrickson

Mr. Hendrickson was sworn in, he testified that he was a machinist and draftsman, and had been at the Flour City plant "out of curiosity." Excerpts from his story:

"All of a sudden it seemed like everybody broke out and started throwing bombs. . . . the cops on the other side of the street ran across the street (toward us) and we broke up and ran. I ran toward 26th street and a policeman came around the corner just then and I ran squarely into him and he hit me on the head and we both fell down and I got away and I heard him say "Get that guy." I turned the corner and I heard a shot. I didn't pay any attention until I was running by a house over on 26th Avenue and a fellow says, "There is blood running down your leg." And then they took me to the hospital. . . .

Q. Will you please state where you were shot?

A. Well, it is a kind of difficult place to tell, right in back, you know.

Q. Eugene Benjamin being sworn in testified that he lived only three quarters of a block from the Flour City Plant.

Q. Will you tell the court and the jury and the larger jury here what happened on that Wednesday night?

A. Everything. I saw the worst thing I ever saw. The police started to crowd the people off the streets with the armored cars and then the shooting started and the crowd of course scattered. They started to run up the street. . . . An armored car came driving by and got past us, then it backed up and shot another bomb, and struck Mrs. Anderson (who was with Benjamin) in the leg and broke her leg.

Q. You saw Mrs. Thompson was hurt did you not. . . . ?

A. Mrs. Thompson and Mrs. Anderson were both hurt at the same time.

Q. Did you see whether Mrs. Thompson or Mrs. Anderson were attacking the armored car?

A. They attacked nothing, they were trying to get out of the road. Q. Did you see the police use the armored cars to go after the women?

A. Yes.

Q. Were they successful?

A. They were successful, they got both women.

Q. Did you see the police shoot at the workers when they were running away?

A. Shot them in the back, yes sir.

### Another Eye-witness

Mrs. Ebert, a householder who has lived in Minneapolis for twenty years, who is located just across from the Flour City plant, was sworn in.

Q. Did you have anything to do with the strike?

A. No.

Q. Were you on the picket line, Mrs. Ebert?

A. No, I don't know what that means; I didn't know what it means.

Q. You say before the police started to shoot the people were standing in the street in front of your house. . . . ?

A. Yes, I'll tell you how I saw it. I saw people standing there like in my church. I belong to the Pentecost Church. It was on the corner like it was in my church.

Q. The people were as quiet as they were inside your church?

A. Yes. . . . It was so quiet I didn't know a strike was there. Then I heard a shot, I thought it was something else and then it came a second time, several of the same kind of shots and then there came right there on the corner where I live, people standing all quiet, a rush and my heart almost stopped beating. The people around 26th

Street started to run up in my yard and I bet I had 100 people there. One of the cars then came close to the house, then I took the people inside so they could get away from this. Then comes the police with shot guns, running, I don't know how many, about fifteen or twenty of them, and then shots. I started back in my house and started to pray to God. . . . that no souls should be harmed in my house.

I want to be sure I'm telling you right now, I don't want to be confused. The police were shooting and I heard screams and swearing. . . . and an ambulance or some automobile was taking two people right from between my house and the house next to me. Right on the porch they were shot. Then after that it was so quiet I thought everything was over and I went to the window, I went up to the window and then I stepped to the side and then there was a pain in my arm. It was a shot from the window.

### Parade of Pickets

After some further examination in which Mrs. Ebert produced the bullet and several other slugs dug out of the furniture, the defense declined to cross examine. Eliza Blachir, who also lives near the plant was sworn in and told the usual harrowing tale, his wife also took the stand and related:

"There was no disturbance. . . . The pickets were parading and singing this "Solidarity Forever." . . . All of a sudden there was a shot, and more shots, tear gas. . . . About this time there was a young man, a man in the thirties I imagine, he tried to cross the railroad tracks and a policeman pushed him first and because he didn't fall kicked him, kicked him just as hard as he possibly could, and then hit him again and then hit him over the head with a club.

Then a lady, a lady also in the thirties, she was coming along, was going home and she was hit over the head and dropped right there; and then two men picked her up and carried her away. A few minutes after that. . . . there was an old lady, I presume to be about seventy years old. I believe she was with her husband and a young man. As they came up in front of our house they were approached by a number of policemen. . . . one of the policemen hit her over the head with a club with the result that

she fell against the policeman and then she was clubbed more by the others. The old man with her protested and was knocked down the same way. One of the policemen knocked the young man's hat off his head and when he bent over to pick it up he was severely beaten by four or five policemen. . . . the cars that passed by were stopped and the people were dragged out and searched for weapons. . . . We saw instances where police picked up rocks and threw them at the folks walking by in the street and then called to us and our neighbors and told us if we didn't quit throwing rocks they would come in and get us. There were no rocks thrown by the neighbors that we could see. They all came from the police themselves. . . . I have never seen the like of this in Minneapolis and I've lived here 43 years.

### Spectator Wounded

Mrs. Ray Thompson, who was wounded during the riot, was next sworn in. She testified that she had nothing to do with the strike, that she was just passing by a block away from the plant after twelve, more than an hour after the first police outbreak:

"I was with five others, my sister was one of them, and she met her son and stopped to tell him he had better go home. He said, 'Mother, here come the armored cars, you had better run.' So we left the street and went in between houses about 33 feet from the street and I happened to notice an armored car went by. I turned around and my sister was lying on the ground. She had been shot and then something hit me in the face."

Many other witnesses were called. All had the same story of absolute unprovoked attack by the police, of a regular police riot that went on for more than an hour with unrestrained brutality. . . .

While the jury was out a vote was taken among the assembled workers and a resolution condemning the police responsible for the massacre and demanding the removal of every officer who participated was adopted. The jury found the defendants guilty, the sole jury, incidentally, that could find anything but a white-wash for the mayor and his police, although the evidence against them was overwhelming. . . . but then, this was a working class jury.

## Japan's Advance in China

By LO SEN

Four years ago this week the armed forces of Japanese imperialism swept into Manchuria. As now with Ethiopia, the best the League of Nations could propose was a plan for imperialist collaboration in the control and exploitation of China's northeastern provinces (the Lytton Report). Like Italy, Japanese imperialism thumbed its nose at the League's proposals and proceeded with its plans for the extension of its empire on continental Asia.

Japan's advance into China was in its way as great a threat to British imperialism as Italy's projected attack on Ethiopia. But in the Far East two other factors intervened which led Britain to give Japan a free hand. The first was Britain's desire to support a Japanese offensive against the Soviet Union. The second was Britain's inability to meet with American imperialism on common ground against Japan. Dollar diplomacy, hopeful that Japan would break her neck in an attack on the USSR, contented itself for the time being with the Stimson doctrine and proceeded with its military and naval program for an eventual clash in the Pacific.

That is why Japan was able to proceed, virtually unhindered, in its continental conquests. Since Britain was content to lay low, the League of Nations patiently took it on the chin, staggered a little and carried on. Today, because Italy's plans for expansion in Africa far more directly affects the so-called lifelines of the British Empire and because they are more directly linked to a tense and complicated pattern of antagonisms in Europe itself, Britain is massing its might to fight it out if necessary and therefore the League is permitted to make or threaten to make use of its sanction powers.

### Japanese Offensive

Meanwhile Japan has proceeded methodically with the realization of its own "manifest destiny". Manchukuo was established. Pu Yi was put on a new Manchu throne. A further attack drove the Japanese line of penetration into North China itself. A whole network of political military and trade agents was spread over Inner Mongolia with a view to its eventual incorporation into the new Manchu "state". Most recently the remnants of Chinese control over the provinces north of the Yellow River were disposed of and new pressure brought to bear on the Nanking Government for compliance. Japanese demands for political, military and economic control are a hundred times more sweeping than the famous "Twenty-One Demands" of 1915.

In the face of this invasion the

Kuomintang, political instrument of the Chinese bourgeoisie, has consistently capitulated and begged only that the invaders leave it a scrap or a bone for itself. This capitulation has been accompanied by savage measures of repression against groups and individuals in the country who have tried to organize resistance to the imperialist invasion. The boycott in 1931-32, accompanied by considerable ferment among the petty bourgeoisie and among the workers, was smashed by the Nanking Government at the demand of Japanese imperialism. All fantastic propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding, the failure of revolutionary forces to grasp and develop this spontaneous burst of national revolutionary sentiment stands mute and terrible witness to the bankruptcy and failure of Stalinism in China. Only the absence of a strongly organized movement in the urban, industrial centers made it possible for the Kuomintang to give free entry to Japan and to turn its forces on the peasant Red Armies bottled up in the mountains of Central China. Only the continued absence of these proletarian forces made it possible for the Kuomintang to continue its relentless war against the peasants and eventually to drive their forces to the remote provinces of the West.

### Task of New Revolutionary Party

Try as they may, the Stalinists cannot stretch the position of the embattled Red Armies of the Szechwan—Kansu—Shensi borders to the decisive sectors of Central China. In the key urban, industrial centers the proletarian movement has been left to its fate. Without a resurgent movement of the working class the struggle of the peasants against the landlords and the nationalist sentiments of sections of the petty bourgeoisie remain without outlet. Here lies the task of the new revolutionary party that has to be built in China; to find its way once again to the workers, to help them raise their heads and to put themselves in the van of a revolutionary alliance capable of smashing the Kuomintang reaction and of offering resistance to the continued offensive of Japanese imperialism.

To this there is no short cut. The new turn of the Comintern (shouldn't we now begin calling it Comintern?) expresses itself in China in the readiness of the Stalinist Party to throw in its lot once more with any groups of politicians and militarists willing to use anti-imperialist phrases in their scramble for power. This promises new defeats and new disasters. To the youthful and struggling Communist League of China falls today the mighty task of rebuilding the cadres of the Chinese proletariat for tomorrow's revolutionary struggles.

## Question Box

By A. WEAVER

L.I.D., NEW YORK—  
Question: The Stalinist press (see the New Masses for Aug. 20) in order to support the Stalin-Laval pact, quotes Lenin to the effect that he would not hesitate a single second to come to the same kind of an 'agreement' with the German imperialist robbers as he had reached with the French against the Germans, etc. What is the source of this quotation?

Answer: The quotation was taken from Lenin's "A Letter to American Workers." (See the comment on this by Trotsky in his article in the NEW INTERNATIONALIST for August, entitled "An Open Letter to the French Workers.") Following its customary practice of deceiving the workers, the New Masses does not quote the entire section of Lenin's pamphlet dealing with his "agreement" with the French imperialists. Otherwise it would be clear that Stalin-Laval could get no encouragement from it.

Lenin first explains the exact nature of his "agreement": "When the German imperialist robbers in February, 1918, threw their armies against defenseless, demobilized Russia, which staked its hopes upon the international solidarity of the proletariat before the international revolution had completely ripened, I did not hesitate for a moment to come to a certain 'agreement' with the French monarchists. The French captain Sadoul, who sympathized in words with the Bolsheviks while in deeds a faithful servant of French imperialism, brought the French officer de Lubsarsac to me. 'I am a monarchist. My only purpose is the defeat of Germany,' le Lubsarsac declared to me. 'That goes without saying (cela va sans dire),' I replied. But this by no means prevented me from coming to an 'agreement' with de Lubsarsac concerning certain services that French officers, experts in explosives, were ready to render by blowing up railroad tracks in order to prevent the advance of German troops against us. This was an example of an 'agreement' of which every class-conscious worker will approve, an agreement in the interests of Socialism. We shook hands with the French monarchist although we knew that each of us would readily hang his 'partner'. But for a time our interests coincided. To throw back the rapacious advancing Germans we made use of the equally rapacious counter-interests of the other imperialists, thereby serving the interests of the Russian and the international Socialist revolution. In this way we served the interests of the working class of Russia and other countries, we strengthened the proletariat and weakened the bourgeoisie of the whole world, we used the justified practice of maneuvering, necessary in EVERY war, of shifting and waiting for the moment when the rapidly growing proletarian revolution in a number of advanced countries had ripened."

What was the nature of Lenin's "agreement" therefore? To blow up bridges. Did Lenin, as Stalin now does, tell the French workers that they should not fight against the capitalists of their own country, because the French were his "allies" against Germany? He did nothing of the sort, and no thoughtful worker will find any equality between his "agreement" and Stalin's. Immediately following the section of the article above quoted comes that part which is quoted by the New Masses: "And despite all the wrathful howling of the sharks of Anglo-French and American imperialism, despite all the calumnies they have showered upon us, despite all the millions spent for bribing the right Socialist-Revolutionary, Menshevik and other social-patriotic newspapers, I WOULD NOT HESITATE A SINGLE SECOND to come to the SAME KIND of an 'agreement' with the German imperialist robbers, should an attack upon Russia by Anglo-French troops demand it. . . ." (All quotations are from the International Publishers, 1934 edition. Emphasis in original.)

It is interesting to note that the miserable editors of the New Masses are crawling here in a double sense: First because of the difficulties in apologizing for Stalin before the workers, and secondly because, having, on the previous week been confused as to what was to be the new 'line', they used the wrong apology and had to make a correction. In order to avoid embarrassment the article was buried as an "editorial comment" in the "Correspondence" section, the apology being made by saying that the " . . . editorial last week—is wrong, since it is open to misinterpretation (!!!)"

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## The Coal Strike

AFTER repeated postponements by John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, the bituminous coal strike was finally called at midnight last Sunday. The one hundred percent walk-out is a magnificent exhibition of solidarity on the part of the 400,000 miners involved. It suggests the power that the American trade union movement would possess if these masses were under class-conscious leadership and could therefore express their native militancy and achieve real results for themselves.

The militancy of the miners is not, however, what Lewis depends upon. He fears it. He is engaged in shadow-boxing with the operators in order to impress the Roosevelt administration with his "influence," his power to keep the miners in check. Thus he believes that "favors" will be granted to him which he can pass on to the miners. Only on this basis of government favor and support can unions be built or maintained today, according to the Lewis philosophy.

The result of repeated postponements of the strike in order that the Guffey Act, "the little NRA" for the soft coal industry, might be passed is that on the eve of the strike thirty-three and a quarter million tons of coal were above ground, representing an almost two months' supply, nine million tons more than on the same date in 1934 and thirteen and a half million tons more than in 1933. Before Lewis finally called the strike, he had come to an agreement with the operators on all essential points and only a difference of a couple of pennies on the basic rate and some questions as to differentials between north and south remain. The operators and union leaders are in constant conference on these points and all the indications are that they will come to an agreement in a few days. Thus the magnificent solidarity of the miners is being prostituted for a fake battle which gives the operators a chance to get rid of some of their surplus coal, the demand for which is stepped up by the stoppage, and John L. Lewis a chance to show that he is "not to be trifled with."

Let this serve as another warning that the Lewis-Hillman-Dubinsky group in the A. F. of L. are not progressives and cannot be counted on to support progressive causes and groups. The left wing must be built against them, not as the Stalinists seek to do, by the favor of these bureaucrats.

As for the miners, though even under existing conditions, their united strength is compelling the operators to give some concessions, "the little NRA" will not save them. Soon an intensified crisis will grip the industry. Let them prepare for that day by building their union and developing an honest, fighting leadership.

## The N.P.L.D. and Sacramento

SOME 18 months ago, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, having initiated a protest against the deportation from Holland to Hitler Germany of four young revolutionaries, was told by National Secretary Patterson of the I.L.D. that the Stalinist defense arm would not collaborate in a movement including counter-revolutionaries and such "social fascists" as Mary Fox of the League for Industrial Democracy who had endorsed the protest.

Much water has since flowed under the bridge. One of the four exiled youths has been killed by the Nazis. The C.P. has now changed its mind about "social fascism"; according to Sam Darcy's Western Worker, Huey Long, not Mary Fox, was a "social fascist." As for the N.P.L.D., it has not fulfilled Patterson's diagnosis, made in rejecting the invitation to help the victims of Dutch "justice," that it had "died aborning."

The cases of Antonio Bellussi, Harold Robins and Andre Gras, all handled efficiently by the N.P.L.D. are history by now. The work of the N.P.L.D. in the Fargo riots, the Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial, the Hallett case, the Philadelphia Fruit Clerks cases, and in an auxiliary capacity in the cases of Ward Rodgers, Ferrero and Sallito, the struggles against Hitler and Mussolini in New York on May 17 and Columbus Day last year all made their mark.

The latest news from Minneapolis indicates that the Mill City branch of the N.P.L.D. is in a fair way toward duplicating the splendid record of the parent organization in New York. The mass trial held by the N.P.L.D., which convicted Thomas Latimer, Farmer-Labor Mayor, of shedding the blood of workers, was the authentic voice of the Minneapolis proletariat and allied progressive elements. Not even the capitalist press could escape the significance of the revolt against Latimer's bloody persecution of striking workers and sympathizers. Column-reports of the N.P.L.D.'s mass trial, at which Attorney Francis Heisler of the Chicago N.P.L.D. served as prosecuting attorney, testify to the principled and efficient fight of the Minneapolis N.P.L.D.

No, the N.P.L.D. did not die aborning. It did not die even of the attacks of the I.L.D., ranging from

slandorous backbiting to physical onslaughts. It has grown and increased its activity. Its name is known and respected in the radical and labor movements of New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Allentown, Fargo, San Francisco, Oakland and other cities where it has participated in important struggles.

True, the N.P.L.D. has not achieved its objective of uniting many political currents in a single defense organization based on class conceptions broader than any partisan viewpoint. But the fault is not the N.P.L.D.'s.

Its moral right to the adjective "non-partisan" is unassailable. That the Socialist Party, which a year ago this month agreed upon a plan for entering and building the N.P.L.D., has not done so, is the responsibility of the Socialist N.E.C. The N.P.L.D. has shown by its policy in aiding members of the Workers Party, anarchists, Socialists and—more than once—mistaken Stalinist workers called upon it when the I.L.D. was betraying them, that it has a genuinely non-partisan viewpoint. Even Stalinist functionaries are compelled to admit this truth in deeds when they turn to the N.P.L.D. for aid in a jam!

The Workers Party, consequently, continues its firm support of the N.P.L.D. And today this means, above all else, supporting the National Sacramento Appeal Committee of which the N.P.L.D. is one constituent and a driving force. The work of that committee can mean not only the freedom of our comrade, Norman Mini, but a step forward for labor throughout California, a blow to the Hearst-inspired reaction.

The N.S.A.C. has plenty of obstacles to overcome. During the Sacramento trial the Stalinists called Norman Mini a stool-pigeon. For a time, just after he rejected probation and went to San Quentin, they felt forced to tone down to the insulting remark that he was "an honest, misled class prisoner." Now, again, they have begun an undercover attack on Mini; while their press religiously avoids all mention of his name, one of their people has just sabotaged the work of the N.S.A.C. in a San Francisco workers' organization by a speech about "Mini's dubious conduct at the trial."

Despite the fact that the I.L.D. is glad to have the aid of the N.P.L.D. when it finds itself in a jam in one of its cases, this is the way Stalinism treats the sole defense of a class prisoner now in San Quentin!

Our members and sympathizers have a great task to perform in the Sacramento case. There is no greater obligation than the rescue of a comrade from a capitalist prison. New directives have just been sent to all branches and the party calls upon every member to put them into effect energetically and immediately.

## The Role of the P. M. A.

THE little bureaucrats at the head of the Progressive Miners of America (the independent union in Illinois) have a policy of keeping their members at work during the strike, though not all of them are following it out. These little bureaucrats play upon the resentment still felt by many of their members over the fact that in 1932 members of the U.M. W. worked under Lewis orders while they fought a bitter strike. There is no defense for Lewis's course in Illinois or anywhere else. The Illinois miners have often been in the lead in the fight against the Lewis bureaucracy and the Lewis sell-out policies in the miners' union. But today and for months past there has been no essential difference between the officialdom of the P.M.A. and Lewis, save that the former carry out feebly and on a small scale the autocracy, the cheap political trickery, the persecution of "reds," the class-collaborationism which Lewis carried out on a large scale and in an impressive manner.

Under these circumstances, it is heartening just now to learn that the left wing movement in the P. M. A. is on the up grade, that there is a split between Percy and Keck in the ranks of the little bureaucrats, and that a petition movement for a special constitutional convention of the P.M.A. will probably succeed.

The miners have nothing to gain from a separation which has no other basis any more than a private quarrel between big thieves and little thieves. A united union and a united left wing to make that union clean, militant, powerful, is the need of the hour.

## Help Our Chinese Comrades

ONE of our Chinese comrades, just released after four years in a Kuomintang prison, describes in a letter how he was hung up by the thumbs and suspended from a beam until he lost consciousness. During his whole four years in prison he was kept chained at the ankles so that when released he was unable to walk. This treatment, he writes, is the common fate of all the political prisoners who were in there with him.

This is the fate now faced by our comrades who were recently arrested in Peiping and Shanghai, Niel Sih, Sze Chao-sing, Wang Yao-hua, Hu Hwang-chang and Liu Chia-lang. The Communist League of China, an organization committed, like our own, to the fight for the Fourth International, has appealed to us to mobilize aid and protests on behalf of these comrades. We cannot let this appeal go unanswered. Organize demonstrations before your local Chinese consulates! Adopt resolutions of protest, send them directly to the Executive Yuan, Nanking, China, demanding the release of our comrades and send copies to party headquarters in New York. Call for the release of Chen Tu-hsin, of Niel Sih, Sze Chao-sing and the other imprisoned Bolshevik-Leninists, and for the release of all political prisoners!

## Progressives Win Rubber Workers Elections at Akron

AKRON, Ohio, Sept. 24.—After progressive forces made a virtual clean sweep of offices in the United Rubber Workers of America and the convention closed, attention was turned this week to the problem of obtaining financial support from the A. F. of L. and solving the status of the newly-formed international union.

The three executive officers went to Washington, D.C. to discuss with William Green his promise to aid the rubber workers and make plans for actual changing of the federal unions into affiliates with the international United Rubber Workers of America.

The officers, who represent the choice of the progressives, are Sherman H. Dalrymple, president, formerly Goodrich local president; Thomas F. Burns, vice-president, key anti-bureaucracy fighter at the convention; and Frank Grillo, secretary-treasurer, of Los Angeles.

Six delegates were chosen on the executive council. Only one of them could be termed a Green henchman. He is George B. Roberts, an organizer and assistant of Coleman Claherty, whose plans, following his repudiation by the rubber workers, are uncertain. The other members of the council were very prominent in the fight against Green.

When Green left Akron he claimed the convention had voted down financial support when they turned down a resolution asking him to appoint Claherty as president. This is purely a threat. To include a financial clause in a resolution on elections is illegal, progressives argued, and they expect to take this question before the national convention of the A. F. of L. in October, if Green doesn't give them any satisfaction.

## Dillon at Akron

AKRON, Ohio. — Although the Toledo Chevrolet strike was ended nearly four months ago, Francis D. Dillon, reactionary president of the auto workers international, still smarts strongly under the criticism given him by the Workers Party for his treacherous role in compromising the strike.

Dillon told rubber workers at the convention here that "the auto workers heeded the words of A. J. Muste and listened to direct action talk. They wouldn't follow me and the A. F. of L. leadership."

He implored the rubber workers not to listen to such talk in Akron. "They said the strike would have been won if I didn't come on the scene. They charged I was selling the boys out. They said I was reactionary," Dillon cried.

He didn't attempt refutation of the charges. All he could say was, "I challenge any man to prove those charges."

Dillon spoke on behalf of Green's leadership and urged the delegates to be satisfied with anything Green did. "It'll be for your own good." He was referring to the possible appointment of Claherty. His talk fell on deaf ears.

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## Mixing Quotations

By HANK RICE

Somebody once said that mixing quotations was worse than mixing drinks. In the one case you have only yourself to befuddle, in the other you befuddle and confuse an entire rank on a file. Here are a couple of mixed "drinks" that I rescued from that fountain of wisdom, the Daily Worker. I submit them without further comment.

The first one is from the copy of Nov. 10, 1934. John Little, District Organizer for the Y.C.L., explains in an Open Letter to the Y.P.S.L. why he can't engage in a united front with the "renegades." About three-quarters of the way down he says:

"The Y.P.S.L. cannot insist that the Y.C.L. shall abandon what we consider our correct policy of fighting against bourgeois democracy and for the proletarian dictatorship, a policy which the Y.P.S.L. erroneously considers to be the cause of the rise to power of Fascism. Neither do we insist that the Y.P.S.L. shall abandon what we consider its thoroughly false and dangerous theory that it is possible to fight against Fascism by supporting bourgeois democracy through the theory of the lesser evil and the way for the rise to power of Fascism as in Germany and Austria. This policy is what we call social Fascist! Our characterization of it flows from our basic principles. We will not and cannot change our position on this question."

Now get a load of this from A. B. Magill's article in the Daily Worker of August 16, 1935:

"Where parliamentarism and remnants of democratic freedom exist, there, in spite of the capitalist interference, where it is possible for open fighting organizations of the proletariat to exist, there we defend parliamentarism and democracy against Fascism and continue to struggle for the proletarian dictatorship."

## Latimer Greets Jobless

From the Minneapolis Tribune, Friday, Sept. 13, we quote the following report of the reception prepared by the Farmer-Labor administration of Minneapolis for a delegation of unemployed.

"Before the marchers made their appearance at the City Hall, extensive police precautions were taken. The 4th and 5th Street entrance doors were locked and policemen stationed at the 3rd and 4th Avenue entrances to question persons seeking to enter the City Hall. Sheriff Wall called in 70 deputies, who supplemented the police. He said machine guns were ready if 'anything breaks.'"

"About 75 policemen were thrown about the building, most of them carrying riot clubs that resembled short baseball bats. . . . Cordons of police and deputy sheriffs armed with machine guns and riot weapons stood by."

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## Chaining the Workers to Imperialist War Machine

(Continued from Page 1)

French C.G.T. is even warning its workers to be ready to put the boycott into effect the moment that Geneva acts. But in our opinion the League will not invoke against Italy the boycott that it failed to invoke against Japan and Germany, both of whom quit the League. More, neither France, nor Britain, nor even the U.S.S.R., want to estrange Mussolini; not with their present international policy.

But let us suppose that Geneva really does decide on a boycott of Italy. Is Germany going to observe the decisions of the League to which it does not belong? Will the United States and Japan, neither of them members of the League, observe them? In no case will the League boycott hinder the Italian march on Ethiopia. Even the closing of the Suez canal would not work, for in order to close it effectively the war front would have to be extended until it led into a new European conflagration. And France, Britain, and the U. S.S.R., the guardians of the status quo in Europe, have no desire to lose the collaboration of Italy.

## Arbitration Ineffective

From the preceding it follows that: arbitration is ineffective in as much as the aggressor is already known; it is useless to count on a boycott to stop the war. On the contrary, the war, now limited to Ethiopia, would become European and world-wide by action of the so-called "powers interested in the maintenance of peace."

Hitler, taking advantage of the diversion created by Mussolini in Ethiopia, might suddenly launch an attack toward the East or into Central Europe.

The powerlessness of Geneva is plain. Geneva is no more able to stop war than capitalism is able to stop war. What is then to be done? The appeal of the L.S.I. concludes: "In case of such a failure the international calls on the working class to avoid war." The appeal terminates by telling the working class that it is within its power to stop the war. To the failure of the League is added the failure of the L.S.I., which fails and has failed, by the admission at the end of its own appeal.

But, you say, the L.S.I. calls on its parties to organize protest demonstrations against Mussolini. That is clearly practical and worthwhile; but only on the condition that such demonstrations are not used to mask the class peace concluded by the Socialist parties and their auxiliary organizations with the bourgeoisie of their respective countries; as is the case with the British Laborites who are even now acting in concert with the leaders of their imperialist government. Demonstrations against Mussolini and for Ethiopia must be organized, of that there can be no doubt; but such demonstrations can only be effective and profitable if the working class demonstrates as an independent and autonomous class; not as an auxiliary in the service of this or that imperialism, satisfied (Britain) or unsatisfied (Italy) with its colonial loot. Only under such conditions can international protests be of assistance to the Italian people in their struggle against Fascism and aid in their deliverance. Any other conditions, which enable Mussolini to represent the workers of foreign nations as the allies of their imperialist governments, can only facilitate Rome's work instead of hindering it. This is what would happen if the example of the British Laborites, acting in accord with their imperialist government, were followed; and if the directions of the L.S.I. were followed and the actions of the pro-

letariat were subordinated to the League.

In order to preserve peace we must not rely on the intervention of Paris or London; we must coordinate action of the working class of every nation with action of the U.S.S.R. No other course is possible. And to do this we need not wait for the League, nor for the African war to actually break out. A boycott of Italian imperialism should be decided upon by proletarian organizations and applied internationally. But do not associate the action of the international proletariat with the interested maneuvers of this or that imperialism. To do this is to render the action of the international proletariat suspect in the eyes of the Italian workers, and consequently useless in the cause of peace and the overthrow of Italian Fascism.

There is little to be said for the Comintern. The Seventh Congress closed without one word, one whisper, on the war in Ethiopia. The Italian delegate, Ercoli, in making his closing speech on the discussion of the war question, called on the preceding speakers to "be concrete." In order to give them an example of concreteness, the Italian vanguard of Stalin ignored the war danger, and forgot to discuss any methods of combating Mussolini on an international scale, in the "concrete" case of an African war.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern simply confirmed for the thousandth time the death of this organization as an instrument of guidance and struggle for the international working class; and confirmed, on the other hand, its complete subservience to Soviet bureaucracy and diplomacy. The slogans of the Comintern are determined by Soviet foreign policy—and for the present the U.S.S.R. does not wish to alienate Mussolini in the international race. That is the truth of the matter.

## Another "Decorative" Conference

In the meanwhile the Italian Socialist and Communist parties, living in exile, have called a Congress of Italians in Foreign Lands. It is the latest style. Since Stalin has said that "we love our country" every Stalinist party, aping the master, has forgotten that outside of Russia, the first task of the workers is to conquer their country. This Congress of Italians in Foreign Lands, put off from month to month, is to meet the end of September, when Mussolini will in all probability already have started his African war. The Congress, if it ever does meet, will be nothing more than a congress of the Socialist and Communist parties. For the sake of decoration there will probably be a representative of the L.S.I. and a representative from France for the Comintern. But the whole affair will move in the language and in the spirit of the People's Front; one more demonstration, without any concrete goal and without results.

The duty of the international proletariat is not to limit itself to protest meetings. The ranks of the international proletariat must be reformed in action, in the boycott of Italian imperialism and its accomplices. To this end the coordinated efforts of the French, the British, and the American proletariats could do much. But it must be the coordinated efforts of the proletariat—not of their governments! War has become once more the touchstone of true proletarian internationalism. It is in the struggle against war that the true internationalists will come forward and that the idea of the Fourth International will take on concrete form.

## N.Y. District School to Open Oct. 21

The Winter 1934 term of the International Workers School in New York will open the week of October 21. The curriculum includes five regular classroom courses, several lecture series in political, philosophical and cultural subjects as well as symposia and debates.

Sidney Hook, James Burnham, James Rorty, Charles Malamuth and other prominent speakers will deliver lectures for the school. The schedule for the regular courses are:

Monday, 8:40-10:10 P.M., Fundamental Elements of Marxism—Ben Borkeson, instructor.

Monday, 7-8:30 P.M., Organization Principles, Structure and Methods of Party Work—Martin Abern, instructor.

Wednesday, 7-8:30 P.M., Programmatic Foundations of the Workers Party—J. G. Wright, instructor.

Thursday, 7-8:30 P.M., Theoretical System of Karl Marx—Rubin Grote, instructor.

Friday, 7-8:30 P.M., State and Revolution—Jack Weber, instructor. In addition to the five courses, a lecture series on Trends in the American Trade Union Movement, under the supervision of A. J. Muste will begin Wednesday, October 23.

## BANQUET

To Greet

## THE THIRD PLENARY MEETING

of the National Committee of the Workers Party

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 3, at 7:30 P.M.

Speakers to include:

VINCENT DUNNE, of Minneapolis, Minn.  
JERRY ALLARD, from Illinois coal fields.  
MAURICE SPECTOR, Chairman Workers Party of Canada.  
ARNOLD JOHNSON, National Secretary, N. U. L.  
JAMES P. CANNON, Editor of the New Militant.  
A. J. MUSTE, National Secretary of Workers Party.  
MAX SHACHTMAN, Toastmaster.

IRVING PLAZA HALL, Irving Place and 15th Street  
Tickets 50c at 55 E. 11th St., or Pioneer Publishers, 100 Fifth Ave.

## Push Fight For Sacramento Appeal

A San Francisco sub-committee of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, set up at a conference on Sept. 22, has begun functioning in the fight for liberation of the Sacramento workers now in San Quentin and Tehachapi prisons on 14-year sentences for organizing a union. An East Bay Committee and a Los Angeles Committee will be set up at conferences to be held in the near future.

The Workers Party, the Socialist Party, I.W.W., Y.P.S.L., and S.Y.L. constitute the San Francisco sub-committee of the national joint defense body, which includes nine organizations. Efforts will be made to widen the front in San Francisco. Tom Kerry, Pacific coast correspondent of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee as well as of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, is secretary of the new San Francisco committee.

The local committees will circu-

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late collection lists, sell the official pamphlet of the N.S.A.C., approach unions for moral and financial aid for the defense, and lay the basis for mass meetings to be held on the eve of the appeal hearing.

## Pressure on the Stalinists

As a result of the activities of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, the Communist party and I.L.D. have at last been forced into action on the Sacramento case.

Last January, when the N.P.L.D. was called into the Sacramento trial by Norman Mini, now Prisoner 57660 in San Quentin, the C. P. suddenly terminated its apathy (caused by the "deviations" of some of the prisoners), and became quite active, especially in attacking the N.P.L.D. and Mini. Ever since the convictions in April, the Stalinists have played the case down, as they did before January.

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RALLY SUPPORT FOR THE NIGHT PAGE NEW MILITANT!