

NEW MILITANT

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

VOL. 1, NO. 41

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1935

PRICE 3 CENTS

WAR FLAMES SWEEP ETHIOPIA

Imperialist Robbers Bomb Helpless Natives As Second And Third Internationals Betray Proletariat Into New Slaughter

Bureaucrats Form Toledo Labor Party

Radicals Barred From All Influence in County Congress

TOLEDO, Ohio, Sept. 30.—Hiding behind the innocuous non-deplume of the Lucas County Congress for Political Action, the Toledo Central Labor Union and the Toledo locals of the Railroad Brotherhoods have blossomed forth into independent political action. With a conglomerate slate of politicians, supposedly friendly to labor, conservative union officials, and a couple of Socialists to provide a radical face, the Congress, which is completely dominated by the craft union officialdom, is attempting to gain control of the local city government in the next election as a "labor" ticket.

Boasting a program of various municipal reforms, the Congress is attempting to rally the support of organized labor, liberals and reformers.

The local union leadership is taking no chance that genuine radical influences will have any voice in the Congress, and is seeing to it that control remains solely in the hands of the local A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhood officialdom. Organizations like the Lucas County Unemployed League, and independent organizations like the M.E.S.A. and the Toledo Newspaper Guild were specifically excluded from representation in the Congress. The local Workers Alliance is included in the Congress as a "safe" organization.

Union bureaucrats, such as Otto Brach, secretary of the Toledo C.L.U., are backing the move, as they believe it will not compromise them with the old-time political machines with which they have been cooperating for years. Since the elections permit only "non-partisan" candidates, they feel safe in endorsing

(Continued on Page 4)

'Militant Socialist' Program Hedges on the Question of War

(By the Editorial Board)

A revolutionary program on which to unite: this for years has been, and still continues to be, the basic need of the left wing currents in the Socialist Party. This fundamental task has been constantly avoided by the "Militant" Socialist leaders, who are a heterogeneous combination which must break up once faced with the fundamental questions of working class theory and strategy. The first "Militant" program, hurriedly gotten up within a few days of the June, 1934 convention, was the work of a few individuals; it was quietly scrapped at the convention for the sake of an unprincipled alliance with Hoan and Thomas, and was never heard of again.

Now that their 1934 alliance has come to grief (which was a foregone conclusion, predicted by us a year ago, and did damage only to the potential left wing which was never built because of the alliance), the "Militants" are again under pressure to produce a program. Characteristically, the new program, again the work of one or two individuals, was presented at the recent "Socialist Call" Institute without any decisive action being taken on it; it was referred back to an editorial committee together with all comments and criticisms. Equally characteristic, the draft program has been distributed only to a select few; it has been published nowhere; the rank and file in the Socialist Party are in no way involved in a broad discussion of what the finished program should contain.

Yet only a very few months remain before the election of delegates to the next biennial convention of the Socialist Party! The "Militants" vacillate, while the Old Guard, having re-established its prestige by the capitulation to it of the N.E.C. majority, prepare to complete their victory at the convention. There is very little time left for the genuine left wing forces to gather strength for the struggle

Both Int'l's For League War Moves

Even as the first blood has been shed on the mountainous plateaus of Ethiopia, the two Internationals of the Third, hasten to conclude the last terms of their pact with the bourgeoisie . . . they seek to surpass even the capitalists in their anxiety to push the workers whom they pretend to represent, into a new and bloodier slaughter. Both the Socialist and Communist parties of Britain demand—that their government apply sanctions against Italy . . . they can hardly wait for the blood bath.

The British Labor Party, the hope and glory of the Second International now that the German Social Democracy has been led into the pit, has just voted for war, twenty to one! George Lansbury, the aged pacifist leader of the Labor Party rose at the congress and said: "I cannot believe—nay it is impossible to believe—that there should be anyone in this assembly who could uphold the opinion that there could be a pretext—even that of counter-attacking—to throw bombs and deadly gas on the women and children of another race."

"I cannot see any difference between mass murder organized by the League of Nations and mass murder organized by the nations individually."

A Song and a Vote
Says the New York Post: "Thunderous applause and spontaneous shouts of 'For he's a jolly good fellow' greeted the seventy-six year old leader." Immediately afterwards the assembly voted twenty to one to support League Sanctions against Italy—to support the present agent of British imperialism, the League of Nations, in any measures it may take . . . not pledging to support, but urging the League to "take action." Thus lightly these jolly

(Continued on Page 4)

Revolutionary Policy Alone Can Defeat Imperialist War

STATEMENT OF THE THIRD PLENUM OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S., NEW YORK, OCT. 4.

1. The armies of Italian Fascism, after months of deliberate preparation, have now launched their attack upon the Ethiopian peoples. Driven by the intolerable strains of internal social and economic contradictions, Mussolini and the Italian bourgeoisie seek a solution in open imperialist aggression against the last of the independent nations of Africa.

2. The outbreak of war in Africa demonstrates that the conflicts of world imperialism have reached the stage of armed struggle for a re-making of boundaries, and a re-division of territories and colonial possessions. Though the Italian campaign in Ethiopia may not lead immediately and directly to a world struggle of the imperialist powers, this delay can prove no more than temporary. The war in Ethiopia must be understood as the prelude to the new imperialist world war.

Expose the Bandit League

3. In the preparation for the Italian seizure of Ethiopia, the League of Nations has once more demonstrated beyond any possible doubt its true role. The League is not in any sense whatever "the defender of peace." It is the legal and hypocritical cover for the maneuvering of the dominant imperialist powers. Since Ethiopia first invoked League assistance on December, 1934, the negotiations have served to permit uninterrupted preparation for the war by Italy, and to deter defensive preparation by Ethiopia. The League has been utilized above all to serve the ends of British imperialism. Behind its cover, the agents of Great Britain, France and Italy have hagled over the price in terms of treaties, guarantees, protection, and territories, which each was willing to pay to preserve its own interests. The threat of League sanctions has been made not to save Ethiopia—which the League report itself offered to sacrifice—but to safeguard British colonial possessions and lines of communication, and to try to close the opening for Germany in Central Europe. The League of Nations is the agency, not of peace, but of imperialist aggression.

The struggle against imperialist war demands the unremitting exposure of the role of the League of Nations.

4. No less than the European powers is U. S. imperialism bound by the iron chain of cause and effect to the events in Africa and to the new world conflict which they herald. The sentimental dream of U. S. isolation, Roosevelt's promises that the U. S. will remain "free and untangled," have no more force than the unctuous phrases of Wilson in 1916. The U. S. will, on the contrary, play the dominant and decisive role in the new imperialist struggle. Behind its pacifist covering, the Roosevelt government is pouring more funds into its war machine than any other nation in the world. Both navy and army are constructed on a purely offensive strategic basis. The U. S. bourgeoisie, waiting and preparing, expects to intervene in the later stages of the world struggle, when the other powers are mutually exhausted, to achieve the world domination of U. S. finance-capital.

The struggle against imperialist war is above all the struggle against U. S. imperialism.

Against Stalinist Betrayal

5. The U.S.S.R. cannot avoid implication in the world conflict. The very life of the workers' state is threatened by the approach of war. A central task of the struggle against imperialist war is the defense of the U.S.S.R. But, in the last analysis, this defense can be based only upon the revolutionary advance of the international proletariat. Stalinist diplomacy, on the contrary, to an ever increasing degree, serves solely to disorient the international proletariat, break up the struggle against imperialist war, and thus undermine the real defense of the U.S.S.R. Basing itself not upon the international working class, but upon military pacts with bourgeois states, upon diplomatic deals, appeals to pacifist and liberal anti-war sentiment, and the maneuvers of the League, Soviet foreign policy promotes the most disastrous illusions in the minds of the workers, and acts in effect to further the interests of French and British imperialism.

The struggle against imperialist war requires the constant exposure of the foreign policy of Stalinism.

6. One of the most dangerous illusions fostered by the diplomacy of the Soviet Union, in company with demoralized liberals, reformists, and pacifists of all shades, is the notion that the world is now divided between "peace-loving democratic" nations and "war-loving fascist" nations. This notion is part of the preparation for support of the "peace-loving nations" in the coming war. Marxism rejects and dispels this illusion or any form of it. The idea that there are peace-loving as opposed to war-loving capitalist nations, like the idea that one or another nation is "guilty" in an imperialist war, is at best formalistic ethical sentimentality, not political realism. The causes of war are to be found in the internal structure of world capitalism, operating within all nations. The national state of every capitalist nation, without

exception, is the political instrument of the class enemy, the first and implacable enemy of that nation's proletariat. The revolutionary party can make no distinction between "good" and "bad" capitalist states. It is the enemy of every capitalist state, to the death.

7. At the outbreak of the last imperialist war, the Second International revealed its internal degeneration by betraying the working class to the class enemy, by espousing the cause of national defense and patriotism, by a truce with the bourgeoisie in the interests of "national unity," by going over to social-patriotism and social-chauvinism. Already, before the outbreak of the new war, the leaders of the Socialist and Labour International have announced a repetition of the betrayal, are already preparing to turn over their following to the war-makers. In England, the British Labour Party, by calling for government applied sanctions and the closing of the Suez Canal, once again takes the position of national unity—that is, solidarity with the class enemy—before the war danger, and of fully developed social-patriotism. In France, the leaders of the S.F.I.O. have taken the same position—to defend the interests of the bourgeoisie against "Hitler aggression," and now to "implement the League Covenant" by government sanctions. In August, the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labour International adopted a program of full-blooded social-patriotism.

The struggle against imperialist war means the struggle against the Second International.

Combat Social Patriotism

8. During the past year, the Communist International has passed from a policy which weakened and disoriented the revolutionary struggle against war to an active espousal of the policies of class truce and social-patriotism. By the Franco-Soviet Pact, the Stalin-Laval communique, the conduct of the Soviet Union in the League during the development of the Ethiopian crisis, and above all by the Seventh Congress of the C. I., the Communist International stands unmasked as the heir of social-democracy's betrayal on the issue of war, announcing itself as ready to do the hangman's job of turning over the proletariat of England, France and the U. S. to their national bourgeoisie in the coming war, in return for paper promises of protection for the borders of the Soviet Union. In England, the Communist party applauds the position of the Labour Party; in France, the Communist party supports enthusiastically the worst betrayals of Blum and Herriot; and throughout the world the Communist International prepares the sacrifice of the working class on the altar of imperialism.

The struggle against imperialist war means every where the relentless struggle against Stalinism.

9. Throughout the world the only organized forces conducting and advocating the revolutionary struggle against imperialist war are the parties and groupings of the Fourth Internationalists. The Workers Party of the U. S. carries on this struggle in the closest solidarity with its comrades in all countries.

Against the betrayers, the Workers Party rejects every form of social-patriotism and social-chauvinism; it rejects every conception of national unity and national defense; it rejects all ideas of truce with the bourgeois state, democratic or fascist; it exposes the role of the League of Nations as the pawn of the imperialist member states; it rejects the sentimental illusions of pacifists and petty bourgeois liberals; above all it directs its attacks against the enemy at home, against U. S. imperialism.

The Workers Party places no reliance on the "peaceful" intentions of bourgeois-democratic nations, nor upon spineless "united fronts" of liberals, ministers, bourgeois women's clubs and "anti-war" professionals.

Defend Ethiopian People

The Workers Party calls for the defense of the Ethiopian peoples against Italian aggression, for the defense of the U.S.S.R., for unremitting struggle against the coming imperialist war. But for this defense and this struggle, the Workers Party calls at the same time for the sole means by which they can be, in fact, conducted: for the independent and autonomous action of the working class. It is the international working class, especially the Italian working class, together with the oppressed colonial peoples, who are the true allies of the Ethiopian peoples—not "peace-loving" Britain, nor the League of Nations, nor Stalin-Laval, nor Roosevelt, nor their own Christian Emperor and semi-feudal chieftains. It is the independent sanctions of the working class, its own boycotts, strikes, defense funds, mass demonstrations that can aid the battles of the Ethiopian peoples, not the sanctions of finance-capital and its puppet states. And likewise for the defense of the U.S.S.R. and the struggle against the approaching world war, it is only the independent action of the working class together with its allies under its leadership which gives hope to the working and exploited masses—a struggle not in collaboration with the bourgeoisie through the

(Continued on Page 4)

Bombs Rain On African Mud Hovels

The Ethiopian butchery begins with the corpses of hundreds of native men, women and children torn to pieces by bombs rained down on the helpless and poverty stricken hovels of Adigiat and Adowa. The great civilizing mission of the modern Caesar begins with his Italian son-in-law dropping T.N.T. from planes on the uncivilized natives to give them a first lesson in the amenities of capitalist culture. And the torn and broken bodies of the first victims in this senseless war, killed in cold blood without chance of reply, are the first lessons in civilization.

With machine guns, artillery, tanks, and airplanes the "courageous" Italian generals advance against a practically unarmed horde of natives swarming to the defense of those rights for which thousands of Chinese, thousands of Indians, of Mohammedans, of Boers, of Africans, have given up their lives in the last century—the right of national peoples to live outside the crushing yoke of British, French, Italian, and American imperialism.

The first reports indicate that the Ethiopians are retreating before the Italian advance, concentrating around the town of Adowa, scene of one of the only successful stands against an all-embracing imperialist civilization in the history of the last century, in 1898—to make another attempt to beat off the Italian Fascist vampires.

The outcome of the war does not depend upon the fortune of individual battles but upon the staying power of the Ethiopians. If they can keep the field, constantly harass the Italian army, retreat without engaging in hopeless battles, split the Italian army and fight it in pieces, they can exhaust not only the army, but more important the Italian nation and the Fascist regime, which embarked on this war, in the first place, as a last resort to bolster a tottering economy and an explosive political situation.

N.P.L.D. Aids Cuban Workers In Struggle against Terror Rule

A terrible picture of the terror waged against the Cuban masses by the American-controlled dictatorship, and an appeal to American trade unions for solidarity against their common oppressors, is contained in a letter just received by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense from the Committee Pro-Amnesty for Social and Political Prisoners, on which is represented every important political and trade union organization of Cuba, including the Havana and National Federations of Labor, the Communist party, the Bolshevik-Leninist party, and the National Revolutionary party of former President Grau San Martin.

In response to this letter, the N.P.L.D. has appointed a special Committee on Cuba, of which Anita Brenner, well-known writer on Latin-America, is chairman. A campaign to aid to the struggle for amnesty has been launched.

The letter gives a graphic picture of the Cuban terror:

"After the strike last March, the entire police-system of the Government plunged into systematic persecution of all revolutionary parties and trades-unions. Not a single workers' headquarters was left open. Every labor party and trade union was outlawed. Arrests and sentences by emergency tribunals marked the conclusive blow of this bloody Thermidor. Thousands of workers, students and intellectuals were given sketchy trials, and monstrous sentences. The mere suspicion of having taken any part what-

Iron Workers Victorious in Minneapolis

74 Day Battle in Which Two Were Killed Comes to End

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The 74-day strike seige of the Minneapolis metal workers centering around the Flour City Ornamental Iron Works has come to a victorious conclusion. During this memorable battle the bosses and the Farmer-Labor city administration tried every single trick known to labor haters, everything from "conciliation" to the outright murder of union men. The union has stood firm through a barrage of paid advertisements in the yellow press, injunctions from the lackey courts, strikebreaker thugs and gunmen, police in armored cars, "impartial boards," red scares, etc.

Several weeks ago two workers were killed and many wounded when the Farmer-Labor mayor ordered his lawless police to attack the pickets, after many unsuccessful attempts to open the factory with scabs had been defeated by their vigilance. But this provocation, like all others, only reinforced the strikers' determination to win and enlisted the sympathy of the whole working class of Minneapolis. Then Mayor Latimer tried another attack, setting up what became his Employer-Employee board, a pale attempt to mask reactionaries and labor fakers as impartial arbitrators.

Terms of Agreement

Cutting through all red tape the strikers negotiated with the real forces, the Citizens Alliance in the person Mac Aloon. The agreement concluded provides for the return of all strikers to their former positions; for wages close to the unions original demand varying from 45 to 67 cents per hour; for the forty hour week; time and a half for over time, etc. The agreement may be reopened anytime during the next thirty days—men discharged before the strike for union activity are to bakers' union, Crescencio Freire, be reinstated. The settlement covers

Continued on Page 3

soever in the strike was punished by jail terms of years. Any accusation, proved or unproved, made by any police agent anxious to gain rewards and credits, was enough, before the Emergency Tribunals, to condemn the accused. In Santiago de Cuba young Jaime Greinstein (tried under the name of Angelo Terry) was condemned, with no concrete proofs against him, and ordered shot. This was done in order to terrorize and silence the protests of a people not satisfied to be the eternal sacrificial lamb. The simplest, most rudimentary civil rights—free speech, free assembly, and so on—were destroyed with machine guns, machetes, and inquisitorial trial-and-sentence methods.

Savage Persecutions
These methods are functioning still. The Reaction follows an ascending curve of refinement in the savagery of its persecution. Recently our comrade Georgina Gutierrez, member of a workers' party, died in prison after weeks of agony. She died a victim of the sentence imposed on her by an Emergency Tribunal, with no concrete proofs against her. Our brave militant Francisco Mateo Escalona was virtually murdered, dying from the beatings and tortures inflicted by the police. Comrade Naftali Pernas, of the Directory of the University, was savagely tortured after his arrest. Comrades Ramirez Cossio and Pablo Cano are ill in their cells, victims too of mistreatment and torture. A devoted leader of the

Continued on Page 3

Comments

On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

MEN OF GOD . . .

President Roosevelt appeals to the clergy for advice in solving the nation's social and economic problems and for its opinion regarding his Social Security legislation. Among the replies were: Rev. G. Philipps Payson, Westchester, N. Y., "I don't approve of the thing." . . . Rabbi Stephen Goldstein, New York, "The President recognizes that the churches and synagogues are deeply concerned over social conditions. The ministers of America are in close touch with the people who suffer most." . . . Rev. E. A. Falmquist, Philadelphia, "If the President really wants advice, the clergy would tell him, by and large, to work for the restoration of the Eighteenth Amendment, to balance the budget and to forget the alphabet." . . . Rev. Dr. John Timothy Stone, Chicago, "What I am going to do for the President is to pray for him because he needs it." . . . Rabbi Dr. Louis Mann, Chicago, "I shall express the hope that the administration should speak in no uncertain terms of its loyalty to the constitution and its reverence for the Supreme Court." . . . Dr. Cullen, President of Coigate University, "Nothing could threaten the race as seriously as social legislation. It is begging the unit to be more unit and inviting the fit to join the ranks of the unfit. Old age insurance removes one of the points of pressure which has kept many persons up to the strife and struggle." . . . Rev. Julian McPheeters, San Francisco, "I would like to have the President call a day of prayer of all religious groups to seek the hand of God in guiding men. I would suggest that the President remain true to the constitution." . . .

DOLLAR DIPLOMACY . . .

"Dollar diplomacy is no longer recognized by the United States government," piously proclaims President Roosevelt. . . . The Batista regime in Cuba could not last a month without the backing of the U. S. . . . Liberal Senators Wheeler and Nye journey to Havana to make arrangements for collecting the interest on a \$40,000,000 Cuban loan of the Chase National Bank. . . . American gunboats patrol the Yangtze River as far as the Standard Oil concessions in central China. . . . American capital controls more than two-thirds of Mexican industry. . . . The Gulf Oil Co. literally dictates the policies of the Venezuelan government. . . . U. S. Marines stand ready to intervene in the affairs of any Central American nation at a moment's notice. . . .

PREVAILING WAGES . . .

Bitter strikes of relief workers in New York, Pennsylvania, Alabama and elsewhere were necessary to establish prevailing wage rates on WPA projects in opposition to the President's "security" wage scale. . . . In Puerto Rico the "security" wage of \$19 a month is higher than prevailing rates. Heeding the protests of plantation owners, Hopkins and Ickes, famous liberals, issue an order withdrawing the monthly security wage from U. S. territories in favor of prevailing rates. . . .

JURISPRUDENCE . . .

Fifty-six patriotic lawyers, handsomely paid by the Liberty League, have prepared a \$100,000 brief which has been sent to 4,500 corporations and which will enable any third-rate local lawyer to obstruct the operation of New Deal labor legislation. . . . E. F. Reed, Liberty League lawyer and counsel for Wierton Steel, announces a new legal practice: "When a lawyer tells a client that a law is unconstitutional, it is then a nullity and he need no longer obey that law." . . . Thirteen Missouri farmers were sentenced to one to three years in prison for opposing a federal farm foreclosure sale and preventing the eviction of a destitute family. . . . In pronouncing sentence, Judge Albert Reeves stated, "Your action is dangerously near to treason and certainly rebellion and insurrection." . . . With the sanction of bishops and priests, Al Smith at the Eucharistic Congress establishes the divine right of property: "The right to hold property is a God-given right and the Constitution of the United States declares it is a God-given right." . . .

Brownsville Lecture
"The Seventh Congress of the Communist International"

Speaker:
James P. Cannon
Friday, Oct. 11th, 1935—at 8 P.M.
1776 Pitkin Avenue—near Stone

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.
5 Washington Square North
1-2 and 4-8 Except Sundays and Holidays

WAR AND THE "MILITANT" SOCIALISTS

Purposely Vague Program Sows Many Dangerous Illusions Among Workers Ranks

(Continued from Page 1)

cialist masses into the imperialist camp—this lays a special responsibility upon a group claiming to be revolutionary Socialists to break, in the fullest and most concrete terms, with the perfidious war problems of the Socialist parties. There is another and equally important reason why left wing Socialists are under obligation to treat fully and adequately the war question: that is, that since the World War various Socialist groups, while remaining essentially in the same camp with the patriots, have developed a multitudinous variety of confusing formulations which obscure their real position. A left wing program worthy of the name would have to distinguish itself from these and break with them. We shall deal with these below.

The abstractness of the "Militant" program is particularly repellent. Let us recall the first program of scientific socialism, the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels. It was written with an immediate eye to the coming revolutions of 1848; it concretely settled accounts with all other claimants to socialist strategy. The "Militant" program is written when the question of war is the most important question of the epoch; when the most important immediate task is utmost clarity in preparation for the war. Those are pundits, indeed, who can settle the question so summarily!

But it is precisely in order not to settle the question, that it is dealt with so summarily. Brevity is employed here only to obscure the fact that the "Militants" include anti-revolutionary elements—pacifists of all shades, not to mention a few social-patriots. Let us list some of the fallacies of the "Militant" program.

PACIFISM

1. No mention of pacifism. No hint of the yeoman's work for imperialism contributed by the pacifists in the last war, and undoubtedly to be repeated again. We refer not only to the fact, so clearly established by the last war, that pacifists go over to the war-makers and put their past prestige at the service of war. We refer also to the fact that "social-pacifism," as exemplified by Adler and Kautsky, renders impotent sections of the masses who would be untouched by the outright patriotism of the Vanderveldes and Scheidemanns. Not a word of this in the "Militant" program. Who among yourselves are you shielding, "Militant" leaders?

PROGRESSIVE WARS

2. No mention of progressive wars. Revolutionaries are not only not pacifists because pacifism is impotent before imperialist war; there is also the positive fact that a revolutionary war is just as much a means of proletarian policy as an uprising. We support unreservedly the wars of workingclass states against capitalist states; we support the wars of colonial and semi-colonial peoples against their imperialist oppressors. Especially is it important for left wing Socialists to enunciate this doctrine, in the face of the myriad forms by which Socialist parties in the imperialist

countries either actually participate in oppressing colonies (British Labor Party, German Socialism, French Socialists of the coalition cabinets, etc.), or make freedom of the colonies contingent on socialism in the home country. The colonial question is closely bound up with the theory of the state; whoever does not declare his support of colonial wars has scarcely approached the Marxian theory of the nature of the state.

REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM
3. No hint of the policy of "revolutionary defeatism." One of the greatest theoretical contributions of the October Revolution was the policy of preparing for it by working through disintegration of the army, sabotage, etc. Defeat in war undermines the prestige of the capitalist class and facilitates its overthrow; by that token, "revolutionary defeatism" becomes a necessary working class policy in war. "If a war breaks out," says the "Militant" program, the Socialists "will continue to fight it." These are radical words; but any bourgeois pacifist can and does use them. One of the chief distinguishing marks between pacifists and revolutionaries is the declaration for revolutionary defeatism.

WAR AND REVOLUTION

4. No hint that the workers' revolution is the answer to imperialist war. We do not refer here to the general doctrine that only socialism will put an end to war; that doctrine is perfectly acceptable to the most pernicious pacifists who infest the working class. We refer here to the doctrine that, as Lenin declared, the slogan of revolution by turning the imperialist war into civil war, becomes the chief slogan of the revolutionary party once war begins; that the war, creating the immediate possibilities of the defeat of the given nation, puts the revolution on the order of the day; that, above all in the midst of war, the revolution must obviously take the form of stark civil war. Not a hint of all this from the "Militants." All we get from them is the very abstract statement that they "will take advantage of the mass opposition to war to work for Socialism," etc. Since presumably they also take advantage of mass opposition to the various forms of capitalist oppression in peacetime, "to work for Socialism," there is here no hint of the uniqueness of the opportunity created by war which, when combined with defeatism, actually puts the revolution on the order of the day.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

5. No clarification of the question of "national defense." The program declares its opposition to it, and this, taken in conjunction with the previous sentence, which finds no reason for supporting a capitalist government in war under any conditions, undoubtedly takes the "Militants" out of the class of the masked chauvinists like Otto Bauer, Dan and Zyromski. But since these latter also declare themselves against national defense and simultaneously support French imperialism against Germany; since the Stalinists do likewise and yet disclaim the doctrine of national defense, it has become impossible to

use the term, "against national defense," without explicitly and by name differentiating oneself from the Bauers and Zyromskis on the one hand and the Stalinists on the other. The omission of this explicitness is not accidental; last year, the "Militants" (represented by Krueger) united with the Bauers and Zyromskis in a so-called international left wing; they still lean on these chauvinists internationally; they fear to break openly, fundamentally, with these treacherous pseudo-revolutionists. But those who will not break with chauvinists in peacetime, will scarcely do so in war. They might have included in their program a categorical statement that, in the event of a military alliance between America and the Soviet Union, they would expose the treacherous aims of the U. S. and seek to replace the capitalist state by a workers' regime which alone could make a loyal alliance with the Soviet Union. Why did the "Militant" leaders omit this? Why did they stick to the generality which also covers Zyromski and Bauer? Note that the "Militants" do not even include a specific denunciation of the doctrine of "defense of democracy against fascist countries" under which the pseudo-lefts of European social democracy hide their chauvinism. In this connection, note that the "Militants" description of the present war danger, where it becomes concrete, lists only the activities of Germany, Japan, Italy, precisely the "bad" capitalist powers singled out by Socialist and Stalinist chauvinists, and does not mention the equally war-like activities of France and Great Britain, to say nothing of the most rapacious of all the imperialist powers, the United States.

SILENCE ON OTHER SOCIALIST BETRAYERS

6. No exposure of other Socialist opponents of a revolutionary policy on war. Especially with the rise of fascism, and the consequent crisis within the social democracy, there have arisen numerous centrist shadings: Henri de Man's followers put forward economic "plans" which, if the bourgeoisie will support, they will repay by defending the fatherland from fascist countries. Swiss, Czechoslovak and other Socialists talk about the "special case"—as do the Stalinists too since the Seventh Congress—of "small countries" which Socialists should defend—as if there were a small country in Europe which is not part of one or another imperialist war machine! There is the religious pacifism of Lansbury in England—which is so unobjectionable to the outright chauvinists that they insist he remain chairman of the Labor Party!—and which so pervades the Socialist Party here. None of these, allies of the imperialists, are criticized by the "Militant" program.

THE "GENERAL STRIKE" MYTH

7. We have dealt with six major aspects of the war program as if they were sins of omission. Actually they constitute a program on war which is false in its essential aspects. The failure to mention pacifism and progressive wars, the omission of the doctrines of revolutionary defeatism and civil war, the avoidance of criticism of the various false Socialist war programs—all this necessarily flows from the utter falsity of the slogan enunciated by the "Militants" of working "for a general strike to paralyze

Program of the "Militants"

(Extracts from the new program presented at the Socialist Call Institute at Bound Brook, N. J.)

"The World War was not an accidental occurrence, but was a logical, an inevitable outcome of imperialist rivalries. The imperialist world aligned itself into two camps, with Great Britain and Germany heading them. The war was not fought for 'democracy', for the 'rights of small nations,' or for 'civilization.' It was fought for territory, for markets, for sources of raw materials, and for fields for investments—in short, to determine which group of imperialists was to dominate and exploit the world and its toilers.

"The defeat of Germany and the adoption of the Versailles Treaty did not end imperialist rivalry. On the contrary, a new and more intense rivalry was born, which could not be hidden by the setting up of the League of Nations. The loot which fell to the victorious nations was insufficient to restore their super-profits. The slow but steady fall in the rate of profit compels the imperialist groups to seek new and less exploited markets, thus constantly coming into conflict, not only with their 'emies,' but also with their 'allies.' So long as the capitalist system remains, it will give birth to more and more devastating wars. Since the close of the World War, there has been an uninterrupted series of small wars. The rearming of Germany, the Italian aggression against Ethiopia, Japan's seizure of Manchuria and Northern China, and her activities against the Soviet Union, the endeavor of the fascist rulers of Germany to provoke an attack upon the Soviet Union, indicate that a new World War is more imminent and dangerous than ever.

"Only the overthrow of Capitalism can put an end to the constant threat of war forever." (Page 2)

"The Socialist Party is opposed to all imperialist wars, and will do all in its power to prevent them. It can find no reason why the workers of a capitalist nation should support their government in a war under any circumstances. It is opposed to social-chauvinism, communo-chauvinism, or the theory of national defense. It will fight against militarism, armaments, military appropriations and military alliances and treaties. If a war breaks out it will continue to fight it. It will work for a general strike to paralyze the conduct of the war. It will urge solidarity with the workers in the 'enemy' country, and will take advantage of the mass opposition to war to work for Socialism and a workers and farmers government." (Page 8)

the conduct of the war."

This slogan is alien to Lenin's teachings on war. It is quite in the spirit of Devere Allen's pacifism, which was embodied in the Detroit Declaration of Principles; it is not complementary to, but a substitute for the Leninist program of defeatism and civil war.

MYTH VERSUS REALITY

It is part of the very definition of a war situation that proletarian resistance has been broken by propaganda, betrayal by leaders, passivity etc. Part of the preparation for war is the destruction of potential resistance by the workers. That there is a war danger today means that the German and Austrian labor organizations have been smashed, and that with the aid of Stalinism and the Socialist chauvinists the workers of England and France have been made ready to support "their" democratic governments. No imperialist nation would dream of war until this necessary precondition of disintegrating proletarian opposition had been fulfilled. Hence pacifist talk of a general strike to "paralyze the conduct of the war" is sheer poppycock.

At the beginning and in the first period of the war, the capitalist state is strong enough to smash such scattered proletarian opposition as exists. Later in the war, especially if the army meets with serious difficulties, there arises again the possibility of sharpening the class struggle, by economic strikes, fights for economic rights, etc. By these means the working class morale is built up again. But no capitalist nation would submit to a general strike "to paralyze the conduct of the war." For in a war, the fate of the capitalist interests of the nation are at stake, as much as in a revolution; and any threat of a general strike would be answered with systematic civil war against the strikers. Hence the general strike to paralyze war is a myth; a vicious myth, for it sows the worst kind of illusions since it gives no hint of the fact that such a "general strike" can only have meaning if it is in reality, preparatory to an armed insurrection.

The revolution which comes in the midst of war will undoubtedly, as in the last war, be accompanied in its earlier phases by mass strikes. Such strikes are however, merely one of the tactics employed in mobilizing the workers for the revolutionary and civil war. They are not a substitute for revolution.

THE ROLE OF ZAM

Let no one be under the illusion that the "Militant" program at this point merely suffers from unclarity, and that when they write "general strike" they really mean revolution. The fact that Zam, the ex-Love-stoneite, had a hand in writing the program, alone precludes such a possibility; Zam knows better; but he has adapted himself to the non-revolutionary views of the "Militant" centrists who are, largely, still no further advanced than the pacifist Devere Allen on the war question. In thus adapting himself, Zam rendered a disservice to those "Militants" who honestly seek the right road, and produced a program which is a mockery of the name "revolutionary."

Let the honest Socialists, however, ponder on the lessons of the October Revolution and read Lenin on war. They will find our criticism of the "Militant" program, sharp as it may seem, justified to the hilt.

NOTE: Next week we shall discuss the trade union section of the new program of the Socialist "Militants."

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

LEFT JABS

CHAMPION OF TWO WORLDS . .

Joe Louis' jabbing left and powerful right not only left Max Baer kneeling on the canvas last Tuesday but incidentally knocked out "God." Yes Sir, Father Divine, "God" to thousands of his dupes and leading C. P. United Fronters, has been knocked clean out of his position as chief Stalinist hope for gaining a foothold in Harlem and replaced by Joe Louis himself. The Daily Worker is ready to make a "people's front" broad enough to include Mrs. Hearst's Milk Fund in support of the fight racket if only they can bask for a moment in the reflected glory of Louis' powerful mitts.

Just listen to this from the Daily Worker, Sept. 26:

"To them (Harlem fight celebrants) Joe Louis' volley of powerful right hand drives and left jabs to Baer's jaw and body were as so many blows against an oppressing nationality, against Jim Crow suppression and persecution of the Negro people in their struggle for unconditional equality, for national liberation. . . . The Jewish boxer, Baer, himself a member of an oppressed minority, had become, by virtue of the hopes placed in his flaccid ability by white chauvinist elements, the symbol of Negro oppression."

Apparently behind the fight on that historic Tuesday evening at the Yankee Stadium lurked a diabolical plot. The Bosses put up "Jewish Oppressed Minority" Baer to battle against "Self Determination for the Negroes" Louis. It was heads I win and tails you lose with the Bosses. If Baer won—down went "self determination." If Baer bit the dust, as he did, went the "oppressed Jewish minority." Palestine, Biro-Bidjan, to say nothing of the Freilicht and the Forwards.

Gallico, Runyon and Pegler may write racy accounts of sports events but for the "people's angle" gimme the Daily Worker.

PEOPLE'S FRONTS . . .

Since the French Stalinists have formed the People's Front and enrolled as comrades in arms no less than two former French Premiers, Herriot and Daladier, there has been keen competition among the Stalinists in the U. S. to see who would be first to organize a similar "People's Front" in the U. S. Olgin, not content with small game, sent up a trial balloon for a united people's front with Hoover. Considering the scarcity of ex-Presidents in the U.S. as compared with ex-premiers in France, that was a bold step by Olgin. Its failure should not be held against him. It was a good try but, as they say in baseball, the breaks were against him. Next came Browder in his famous interview to the World-Telegram where he issued a cautious bid to Roosevelt. Spurred to action by these attempts of the leaders, the lesser bureaucrats were on their toes and it was not long before a real "People's Front" was in the bag.

That Long Island would bring home the bacon might have been foretold. Was it not here that the Daily Worker proudly announced that a Red baiting Daughter of the Revolution—a lady prominent in the Catholic church—had agreed that the C. P. program was also hers and had joined the C. P.? Yes—Long Island took the lead and before me lies the fruit of their toil. It is a leaflet announcing a meeting: "In support of the 'People's Candidate for Alderman in the 58th Assembly District—Mrs. Geraldine Chaney." The lady is the candidate of the "Independent Citizens' Party" and, according to the leaflet, stands committed to the highly original and profoundly revolutionary principle of "equal rights for all citizens." The speakers list represents a truly broad people's front freed from all remnants of sectarianism: J. Dalms Steele, District Deputy I.B.P.O. of Elks (ol' ol'!); Thomas A. Baker, Chairman Corona Progressive Republican Club; Paul Crosby, Communist candidate for County Judge in Queens; Mrs. Geraldine Chaney, Independent Candidate for Alderman; Dr. Wm. Lefkowitz, Secretary of Committee for Equal Opportunities; Austin A. Mills, Pres. Mills Citizens League; Chairman, Rev. Richard A. McCarthy (it couldn't go on without benefit of clergy).

That's the set-up. The leaflet adds: "Read it and judge for yourself."

To that we say, Amen! and judge the "Communist" Party that supports it.

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CELIA KASS.

[Seal.]
(My commission expires March 30, 1936)

Shachtman on National Tour

Comrade Max Shachtman, editor of The New Internationalist, begins a coast to coast tour on October 15, which will last until December 13 and cover almost every branch city in the country. He will speak on various current topics, the Seventh Congress of the C. I., the War Danger, the Road to the Fourth International, etc., etc. With him will go Comrade Wasserman of the Pioneer Press, who will aid in drawing up plans for literature

WORKERS

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Shachtman on National Tour

The following is the schedule of the tour:

Schedule of Tour
Philadelphia—Tuesday, October 15.
Pittsburgh—Wednesday, October 16.
New Castle—Thursday, October 17.
Youngstown—Friday, October 18.
Cleveland—Saturday, October 19.
Toledo—Sunday, October 20.
Detroit—Monday, October 21.
Chicago—Tuesday to Sunday, Oct. 22-27.
Davenport—Monday, October 28.
Austin—Tuesday, October 29.
Albert Lea—Wednesday, October 30.
Minneapolis—Thursday to Saturday, Oct. 31-Nov. 2.
Fargo—Sunday, November 3.
Williston—Tuesday, November 5.
Plentywood—Wednesday, Nov. 6.
Salt Lake City—Saturday, Nov. 9.
San Francisco—Monday to Wednesday, Nov. 11-13.
Los Angeles—Friday to Monday, Nov. 15-18.
Kansas City—Tuesday, December 3.
St. Louis—Wednesday, December 4.
Springfield—Thursday, December 5.
Columbus—Saturday, December 7.
Akron—Sunday, December 8.
Pittsburgh—Monday, December 9.
Charleston—Tuesday, December 10.
Washington—Thursday, Dec. 12.
Allentown—Friday, December 13.

A. F. L. CONVENTION REPORT

IN NEXT NEW MILITANT
For a complete report of the A. F. of L. convention, shortly to begin in Atlantic City, N. J., get a copy of the next issue of the NEW MILITANT. We expect to have a reporter present at the sessions, who will give the NEW MILITANT readers a first-hand account of the convention.

A CASE FOR A LABOR JURY

Against All Types of Gangsterism in the Working Class Movement; On the Murder of the Italian Stalinist Montanari

By L. TROTSKY

On August 9, according to a news item in l'Humanite, the Italian communist Montanari was murdered in the Metro Belleville. On August 12, l'Humanite printed an altogether monstrous, but, of course, in no way unusual explanation for the murder. The anonymous article appeared under the title, "Laval and the Fascists Swell the Provocations." This headline which is part of the official campaign against the Laval ministry and the Fascists was accompanied by a sub-head, "Montanari Murdered by a Trotskyist Provocateur." Fundamentally, the juxtaposition of these two headlines is quite characteristic of the article, the author, and the newspaper itself. But the text contains not only vile but innumerable assertions which are downright contradictory. "The murderer is Guido Beiso, the well-known Italian Trotskyist who has been carrying on provocateur activities for a long time among the Italian emigres." What is implied by "provocateur activities" in this connection? Has he been making speeches against social-patriotism or is he in the employ of Mussolini? We are kept uninformed on this score. Further on we are told that Montanari "had become the target for the hatred of the Trotskyist elements who had been expelled from the party, and who subsequently (that is, after their expulsion—L.T.) resorted to open and criminal provocateur activities."

Jig-Sawing the Facts

The case becomes more and more involved. It seems that not only Guido Beiso, but an entire group of expelled Italian "Trotskyists" was engaged in "open (!) provocation." In the service of the Fascist police? Again no direct statement. But in order not to leave the reader in doubt as to the meaning of the word "provocation," the article adds that Beiso has been living "like a lord." Finally we discover that in Nice Beiso had been "exposed as a provocateur (by whom?) who was bound up (??) with the entire Fascist work of penetrating the anti-Fascist masses." This confused statement contains already a direct charge of a connection with the Fascists. Let us bear this in mind. From Nice, Beiso arrived in Paris and murdered Montanari. It is well known that the Fascists murder communists and particularly revolutionists. It is quite in the nature of things for a Fascist provocateur to pose as a "socialist" or a "communist" or a "Trotskyist." But we have been told beforehand that the murderer was a "well known Italian Trotskyist." Does this mean to say that he turned from a Trotskyist to a Fascist, i.e. changed his revolutionary position? Such cases are not unknown. But l'Humanite does not raise this question. In harmony with the two headlines, it proceeds to develop the dual version: simultaneously both a "Trotskyist" and a Fascist. This amalgam is the pivot point for the entire indictment.

Further down we read not without surprise, "His explanation that he wanted to avenge himself for unjust charges is only a screen intended to hide the truth." We are not clearly and expressly informed as to what this "truth" is. Instead we shortly and incidentally discover that the murderer felt himself to be maliciously slandered, had protested, and in revenge used the revolver. At any rate that is the murderer's own version. Let us keep this in mind as well.

The anonymous article proceeds to state further that the Italian C. P. had long since issued a warning to be on guard against the "dubious actions of this individual." Why dubious? Only dubious? Hadn't we been just told that Beiso was "exposed" as a Fascist provocateur in Nice? Exposed! The work of a provocateur has never yet been assumed to be dubious. A provocateur is a mercenary scoundrel, nothing more. If one maintains that another's activities are dubious, then it means that one has only suspicions but no proof. In such cases, genuine revolutionary organizations gather the necessary evidence before proceeding with open indictments. That has been the revolutionary tradition from time immemorial. And yet from the words of l'Humanite itself we have to draw the conclusion that Beiso was not exposed as a provocateur, but only suspected of being one (by whom? for what? when?), and that besides he himself angrily objected to these charges. And on top of this we are also told that "Beiso decided to come to Paris where he did not conceal his murderous intentions." At this point we become entirely perplexed. Had Beiso really been in the employ of the Fascists, had he "lived like a lord," had he really been exposed as a provocateur and arrived in Paris in order to perpetrate a Fascist murder how could he have failed to hide his murderous intentions? Here the version provided by l'Humanite contains a fresh and

a patent absurdity. The author is unable to present his own version consistently.

As Clear As the Kirov Case

As the anonymous article proceeds it becomes more and more entangled. We read that the "provocateur" was never a member of the C. P. (yet we had just been told that he belonged to a group of expelled "Trotskyists"—L.T.), this agent of Fascism among the Italian emigres naturally found sympathy and shelter among the Trotskyist groups. . . . And in this manner we get a new version: he was not a "well known Italian Trotskyist," as was originally stated, who became a Fascist provocateur after his expulsion from the party; so! he was a Fascist provocateur, never a member of the party, who "naturally" (of course! of course!) found sympathy among the Trotskyists. And to leave no further doubt as to the source of the information nor as to its purpose the anonymous author appends to this the following "it was almost (!) in the same way that our comrade Kirov was murdered." Almost! But Kirov was indeed murdered by a party member as was established by the official documents, no one had placed the blame on Fascist provocation.

After several more new zigzags, the article concludes with an utterly amazing political moral: "The French workers made more cautious and wiser by the lessons of Austria and Spain, will not be led into this criminal trap." A remarkable revelation! The defensive uprising of Austria and Spain which even the social-patriotic and pro-coalition Congress of the Communist International was compelled to recognize as heroic actions on the part of the proletariat—these in the judgment of l'Humanite were in reality the product of the activities of Fascist provocateurs, the very same ones who had killed Kirov in Leningrad and Montanari in Paris. This abysmally profound moral of the Marxists from l'Humanite is obviously especially intended for the workers of Toulon and Brest.

The Diary of a Lunatic

The reader will agree with us if we say that this article resembles a page from the diary of a lunatic. Only, there is method in this madness, and it has not yet said its last word. So let us pursue the further developments of this case. The Italian Bolshevik-Leninists against whom the anonymous author had leveled his anonymous charges, declared on August 14, through comrade Jean Rous, a leading member of the French Socialist party, that "Beiso was never a member of our organization, nor did we have any sort of relations with him, and we never even heard his name before." Isn't that clear enough? On August 15, l'Humanite which had flung a political denunciation full of lies, finds itself com-

pelled to state that "We are taking under consideration the declaration of the Italian Trotskyist group." But l'Humanite would have remained true neither to itself nor to its lord and master had it simply bit its tongue and kept quiet. No. This rag immediately adds that it has in its possession certain letters of the murderer which clearly indicate that Beiso "was imbued with the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist ideology." On the heels of all they had said previously, this rings a trifle over-strained. "Ideology"! We are well aware what can be done with this subtle substance in the chemical laboratory of Messrs. Duclos and Co.

After several new and this time entirely amorphous and elusive situations, in which impotence is mixed with malice, l'Humanite concludes, "Naturally, the tie up between the murderer and the Trotskyists (who have been just categorically denied it—L.T.) does not exclude an understanding between Beiso and the Fascist provocation. It all ties together." "Naturally"! But why do these bold words now say that "it does not exclude"? Is it only a question of something not being excluded? On August 12 they did indeed proclaim that Beiso, this "well known Trotskyist," had been exposed as a Fascist provocateur, who "lived like a lord," obviously on Mussolini's gold. Now it appears only that the large and nice ears of l'Humanite are able to distinguish notes of a Trotskyist ideology (ideology!) in the letters of the murderer, which circumstance "does not exclude" (that is all: does not exclude) the tie up between Beiso and the Fascists. "It all ties together" . . . with stitches of white thread.

New Criminals Found

Finally, on August 18, l'Humanite published a proclamation of the Central Committee of the Italian C. P.: Montanari was the victim of a "murder which the agents of the Fascist reaction had prepared for their counter-revolutionary mission in the circles of the Trotskyist and Bordighist emigre groups." No more, no less! This information is all the more interesting because in it the Bordighists appear on the scene for the first time, a group which is neither ideologically nor organizationally connected with the so-called "Trotskyists," but who—and we have not the slightest doubt about it,—had as little to do with the murder as the Bolshevik-Leninists. The Bordighists are dragged in so as only to widen the radius of the calumny: the Italian Stalinists have to reap a little additional profit on their own account. But what is most remarkable about the communication of the Italian C.P. is that it does not at all mention in any way Beiso's connection with the Fascists. No, the matter is much more involved, or, if you will, much simpler: the Trotskyists and

the Bordighists are "in general" the agents of Fascist reaction and Beiso prepared himself for his mission in these "circles," i.e. within both these circles which are fighting one another. Now, at last, we can grasp the meaning of the words, "It was almost in the same way that our comrade Kirov was murdered." That is to say: it was almost in the same way that scores of people were indicted in the Kirov assassination who were in no way implicated in the murder.

Out of this entire snarl of inter-linking calumnies and insinuations that crumble into dust, one thing stands out each time, namely that Guido Beiso came into some sort of a sharp conflict with the organization of the Italian C. P., or some of its members. If one were to leave aside the all-embracing and therefore in no way illuminating "ideology," then any normal thinking individual would ask the question: What was it that really drove Beiso to commit murder? If we do not proceed from the assumption that he was mentally unbalanced (there is no evidence for this as yet), we can only arrive at the conclusion that he must have been subjected to an extraordinary painful personal experience which he found insufferable, which finally threw him off balance and drove him to a senseless and criminal act. But who drove him through this insufferable experience? Was it the "Trotskyist" organization with whom Beiso had had no relation whatsoever, or the organization in whose name l'Humanite speaks? Thus, and only thus does the question stand. Doesn't there follow from this the supposition that the Italian Stalinists accuse Beiso whom they despise, of provocation without any real evidence, perhaps without any evidence at all, i.e. utilize those poisonous weapons which serve these people as political arguments for the most part? As is evident from l'Humanite itself, Beiso had himself protested most violently against the accusations, and threatened the authors with death. No provocateur who had undertaken the murder of a revolutionist would act that way; but an unknown and a hotheaded emigre could act in this manner, finding no other means of defense against the slander campaign. By these hypothetical considerations (and it is only a question of hypothesis) we do not mean to cast the slightest shadow on the murdered Montanari. It is entirely possible that he fell an accidental victim, or—if he did participate in hounding the alleged "provocateur"—he did so in good faith because he trusted his party and its thoroughly demoralized leadership. But Montanari's personality does not solve the question of Beiso's motives.

Let the Workers Judge!

Scoundrels will say that we advocate or justify murder as a method for solving conflicts within revolutionary circles. But we are not writing for scoundrels. The Montanari-Beiso case is important precisely because a conflict on the political plane has led to a supremely senseless act of murder of one emigre by another. In this there lies an ominously serious warning, and it is necessary to grasp its significance in time!

The matter is now in the hands of the bourgeois law courts. The official investigation is obviously not intended to cast light on the bloody tragedy from the standpoint of revolutionary morals of the proletariat. The prosecution will probably try only to compromise the proletarian emigres and the revolutionary organizations in particular. But the agents of the Comintern will also try to exploit the trial for every vile purpose, as they are obliged to do. The duty of workers' organizations, without any regard for political banners lies in one thing: in shedding the greatest light possible on this case, and thereby, insofar as it is possible, to prevent the repetition of gunplay in revolutionary circles.

In our opinion the labor organizations must establish, without any further delay, an authoritative and non-partisan Committee which would go over the entire material, including Beiso's letters mentioned in l'Humanite, to examine all the witnesses and representatives of the parties and groups who are concerned or interested in the case, so that the political, moral and personal circumstances in the case be clearly established. This is necessary not only in memory of Montanari, not only to reveal Beiso's real motives but also to purge the atmosphere of all working class organizations of treachery, calumny, hounding and gun play. Naturally the interests of the case would be best served if the representatives of l'Humanite and of the Central Committee of the Italian C.P. were to take part in this Committee. But we may safely predict that they will most certainly refuse: these politicians stand only to lose from an impartial investigation, and much more than would appear on the surface. But the investigation ought not to be wrecked by their refusal to participate. Every honest participant in the labor movement is deeply interested in seeing to it that this abyss is opened which can otherwise develop into gangrene. The tragic case of Montanari-Beiso must be brought before a labor jury.

August 29, 1935

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August 29, 1935

NPLD Cooperates to Defend Cuban Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

was arrested during the March strike and murdered by the police. His body was discovered with thirty bullets in it and the reactionary press called it a suicide. In the Guanabacoa jail there are more than twenty women imprisoned for social and political "crimes."

"Torture goes on systematically in all the jails of Cuba. Among the methods there is, for example, the favorite of Caraveo, the Supervisor of the city of Camaguey. This petty official is very proud of his invention, which he calls 'tortoise-fishing.' The prisoner is thrown into a tank containing two tortoises, and ordered to bring up one of them, specially the male, or female. As soon as his head shows above the water he is beaten down again, and is not pulled out until he is dead or near it.

"In Oriente, Lieutenant Pino likes to start off by shaving the prisoners' heads, and then tarring their backs. After this 'preparation' a large quantity of palmacristi oil is poured down their throats. The Machadista parties, and the bourgeois press, support the official policy of brutal repression with silence.

Mistreatment of Prisoners

"In the Isle of Pines the prisoners, both in the jails and in the Presidio Nacional, are living under the most frightful conditions. They are jammed into narrow galleys, lacking the simplest hygienic conveniences. Their rations are messes made most frequently of decayed food. Any protest about it, is punished by hard labor on the rockpile. This happened at the Castillo del Principe a short time ago to a large number of political prisoners, among them several widely known intellectuals. In the Presidio at the Isle of Pines the political prisoners, intellectuals included, are obliged to work in the marble quarries and in the stinking mosquito-ridden La Yana swamp.

"Aware of the intolerable situation, a number of trades unions and labor organizations joined in July to struggle actively for the freedom of the social and political victims of the Terror. The National Committee Pro-Amnesty for Social and Political Prisoners was built for that purpose. Its object is, therefore, concrete enough. It does not fight under the banner of any one party or organization; but is guided by the united effort of the thirty-one workers' groups that came together to form it.

Aims of Pro-Amnesty Committee

"This Committee struggles furthermore, to insure the safe return to Cuba, of political exiles—again we do not extend our protection to Machado butchers—and against the expulsion of foreigners for political

or social reasons. This is part of our daily task, for we believe that each of our three objectives: For the freedom of social and political prisoners; for the return of the exiles; against the expulsion of foreigners, are closely connected parts of the same urgent question of workers' defense.

"This is, broadly, the present situation. Nevertheless on the margin of it an apparent change of methods has occurred. The Government, preparing for the elections, has changed its tone. Attempting to create an apparent "legal" basis to guarantee its electoral aims, it has proclaimed a Constitution and "re-established" civil rights, which of course, has been no obstacle to the arbitrary arrest of three of our comrades, members of this Committee, carried out during a lecture—given with a permit of the Secretariat of the Interior—in the Barrio de Luyano. The government has furthermore talked of forthcoming amnesty for the political prisoners. These maneuvers always arouse certain democratic illusions among some of our people. It is not our object to analyze here the perspectives and the true position of the government, nor can we in one word describe its aims with regard to the coming elections. We have answered its talk with the organization of the Committee Pro-Amnesty.

We have stated that the problem can be solved only through the immediate and COMPLETE amnesty of all social and political prisoners, excepting the Machadistas. But nevertheless there are some things we want to emphasize.

Demand Complete Amnesty

"The Mendieta government is preparing to extend a certain kind of amnesty to some of the prisoners, but it will leave out those who fall under the so-called 'Gangsterism Law.' This is so defined as to keep under arrest, hundreds of revolutionary militants and labor leaders. The governmental formula we shall oppose with all our might, for our object is decisively: **Not an inch less than complete amnesty.**

"Engaged in this tremendous task, we can only repeat the words that began this letter-report. We hope from your best efforts to wards popularizing these matters among all the political and trades union organizations of your country, as well as a campaign to bring out responsibilities and realities by crusading with letters, telegrams, and all other possible methods. Our agitational work in this sense is being carried out on a larger and larger scale. We assume you will take part in this movement, with all your powers.

Our best greetings,
The National Committee
General Secretariat"

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

THE VOTING IN MEMEL . . .

Hitler is taking full advantage of the Italian imperialist threat against Ethiopia as well as the "moral" weapon made to order for rabid nationalism by the actions of the Lithuanian government. It is not hard to understand that the Lithuanian bourgeoisie, seizing Memel by force in a desperate effort to break through the strangling grip on economy of its own national boundaries, would hardly scruple to maintain that conquest by suppression of the Germans opposed to the seizure. Since the balloting for the Memel Diet to take place on Sept. 29th will be interpreted, particularly by Hitler, as a form of plebiscite, the Lithuanian ruling class tried to prevent a "German" victory, or at least to minimize it, by means of a new electoral law passed August 27th. The purpose of the law was to disenfranchise the pro-German majority which prevented "cooperation" between the Memel Diet and the government. The Nazis have encouraged Germans to become Lithuanian citizens in order to vote Nazi, with the express promise that they would recover their German nationality without difficulty once Memel had been recaptured by Hitler. Hence the new law denies the right to vote to those naturalized Lithuanian citizens who hold a promise from a foreign nation that their original citizenship may be reassumed at a later time. The vote is also denied to members of organizations which have been condemned for working against Lithuanian independence or which call for the alienation of a part of the Lithuanian state. All of which is quite obviously aimed at the "treasonable" Nazi elements.

THE REAT OF WAR . . .

Hitler, with that twisted sense of justice typical of reactionary capitalist defenders, at the same time that he disenfranchises the Jews violates the conditions laid down by the League of Nations for the Saarland, raises a great outcry against the Lithuanian oppressors. The Nazis have massed troops at the Lithuanian border to take advantage of any eventuality. Should a world war break out immediately, the German Army will have an initial objective in the taking of Memel. Even without the outbreak of war elsewhere, the threat of war exists in this struggle over national boundaries. For the workers the struggle over national boundaries, even where a small state like Lithuania is involved, can be viewed only as part of the general clash of different imperialists. Each ruling class is trying to extend its sphere of exploitation of the working proletariat lies not in defending the national boundaries of the capitalist state, which can only mean support of the national bourgeoisie, but the revolutionary overthrow of the national bourgeoisie, German or Lithuanian, by the workers and the setting up of a proletarian state. Extension of the rule of the workers would mean the wiping out of national boundaries, themselves one of the symbols of class rule. The problem of the Memel workers will not be solved by aiding Hitler to regain Memel for Germany but can only be solved by the proletarian revolution striving to bring about the Soviet United States of Europe.

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Question Box

—By A. WEAVER—

M. Z., NEW YORK—

Question: Does not the recent statement by the Soviet government that the Roosevelt-Litvinov pact did not refer to the Comintern refute the contentions of the "Trotskyists" that Litvinov had signed away the rights of the C. I. in the Soviet Union in return for recognition of that country by the United States?

Answer: The fact of the matter is that the Soviet government did not break the pledge given by Litvinov to Roosevelt. It is true that a "congress" was held in Moscow which was attended by leaders of the American C. P., but there was no meeting in that city of individuals, or groups of individuals, who had as their aim the overthrow of, or the preparation for the overthrow of, American capitalism.

The Seventh Congress of the C.I. came out for defending the "democratic remnants" of capitalism and for harnessing the workers to the imperialist aims of the capitalists of those countries which are the temporary ally of the Soviet Union. Stripped of its protective coloring, therefore, the Seventh Congress, in the final analysis, came out, not to overthrow capitalism, but for perpetuating capitalist slavery outside the Soviet Union.

The Stalinists, however, require a formula for their deeds; and because the Soviet Union is a Workers' State, it is necessary that the formula for a crass betrayal of the workers be a C.I. congress which has the form, if not the substance, of the Comintern of Lenin. When Litvinov signed the Roosevelt pact, he was quite ready, as the wording of the agreement shows, to give up this formula. At that time, however, he expected economic concessions, particularly credits, in return. The credits did not materialize.

For reasons of imperialist and personal policy, however, Roosevelt-Hull still wanted the Stalinists to surrender the formula. Having received nothing in return, the Stalinists refused.

L. N., NEW BEDFORD—

Question: What is meant by the "antagonism between city and country?"

Answer: In general this term implies the antagonisms arising out of the technical, and flowing from this, the cultural backwardness of the rural as compared to the urban regions.

The basis for any well developed social division of labor is the division between the city and the country; the latter producing and exchanging raw materials, food, etc. in return for the manufactured products of the city. Economically, therefore, the antagonism is that between buyers and sellers and is reflected in the prices of commodities.

The technical development of agriculture is subject to natural obstacles which are not present in the factory. If the economic incentive had existed for the ruling classes, however, there would have been a tendency to overcome this handicap. Under capitalism, the tendency on the part of industry to outstrip agriculture in its development is accentuated by the necessity of paying ground rent to the landowner. A capitalist farmer, who rents land, will refrain from putting any sort of permanent improvements into it because eventually the extra profits thus made will go to the landlord who raises the rent as soon as the "earning power" of his land has been increased. Where agriculture is carried on under modes of production which are less advanced historically than capitalism, e.g., forms of chattel slavery or serfdom, it is self-evident why its technical development is outstripped by capitalist industry, even in the latter's infancy. In the final analysis, therefore, the relative technical backwardness of agriculture is due to social and not to natural causes.

In class society the more advanced exploits the backward. Under capitalism the advanced city exploits the country. This is accomplished through the disparity of prices resulting from the tendency towards an average rate of profit for all capitals; the products of the technically advanced industries selling above, those of the backward industries selling below, their values. Monopoly further increases this price disparity.

The antagonism could be removed only by raising the technical and correspondingly the cultural level of the countryside. Under capitalism this could have been partly accomplished through the nationalization of the land (theoretically possible under capitalism) so that ground rent, and with it the obstacle to the technical advancement of agriculture, would have been removed. Such nationalization would thus have been a progressive step. Capitalism, however, has proceeded too far into its decay stage to be capable of such a step, and it remains the task of the proletarian revolution to complete this unfinished work of the bourgeois revolution.

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged
THE MILITANTPublished weekly by the New Militant Publishing Co.,
55 East 11th Street, New York City
Phone. ALgonquin 4-9058Entered as second class mail matter at the Post Office
at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

JAMES P. CANNONEditor

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

In the United States \$1.00 per year; 65c six months.
Canada and Foreign \$1.50 per year; \$1.00 six months.
Single issues: Two cents per copy.

Vol. 1 SATURDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1935 No. 41

Statement of the W.P. on War

(Continued from Page 1)

national state, but in ever sharper attack against the bourgeoisie and the national state.

The struggle against war is not and cannot be conceived as an "independent" struggle, having a special status above class conflicts. It is an integral part of the revolutionary struggle for workers' power. The struggle against imperialist war means the day by day building of working-class strength, means—not suspension of the class conflict until the war crisis passes—but the intensification of class conflict and the preparation to turn the imperialist war into a civil war for the overthrow of the bourgeois state and the victory of the workers.

More clearly than any other phase of revolutionary activity does the struggle against war attest the international character of the revolutionary movement. It is an international struggle and must be conducted in terms of an international strategy, through an integrated international organization. Thus the struggle against war poses, in the most intense form, the central task of the present period: the building of the Fourth International, the dynamic generator to drive forward the revolutionary advance of the working class. Threatening as is the oncoming of the new war, relatively weak numerically as are the forces now ranged against it, there is no reason to despair. Out of the last world war came the first great step of the world revolution. Yet, in 1914, the internationalists were an organized force in only one nation, and the betrayal of social-democracy came to the great mass of the workers as a shock that was unexpected and not prepared for. Today, organized groups of revolutionary internationalists exist in nearly every nation, and are actively forging the parties of the Fourth International; today the Second and Third Internationals have announced their betrayal beforehand, and we will thus not be trapped by surprise; and today we have the rich experience and lessons of the past generation to draw from.

The struggle against imperialist war is the struggle for socialism; the struggle for socialism is the struggle for the Fourth International, for the world revolution.

■ ■ ■

Support French Bolshevik - Leninists

FRANCE today is the most important battle ground of the classes, the key to the fate of Europe and perhaps of the world. Should Fascism add this country to its list of conquests it will hurl the proletarian cause back for decades and mortally injure the existence of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the signal of the French working class revolution would arouse the oppressed of Germany, Austria, Spain and Italy and forever destroy the fabric of Versailles and Hitler's vision of Mittel-Europa. At the same time it would ensure the existence of the Soviet Union by extending its base.

The Bolshevik-Leninists constitute the spearhead of the revolutionary forces in France today (of active resistance to Fascism and the revolutionary assault on capitalism). They have raised in the French labor movement the demands for workers' militia, the general strike, workers' and peasants' government, socialization and workers' control. They have challenged and are challenging the social patriotism of the People's Front and its agents, the reformist bureaucracies of the Communist and Socialist parties. These bureaucracies are making the sharpest attack upon the Bolshevik-Leninists who advocate a complete break with the bourgeoisie, a slogan of revolutionary defeatism as against trust with the bourgeoisie in the imperialist war, the need for the struggle for power as the only means to defeat Fascism as against the betraying policy of unity with the bourgeoisie to uphold bourgeois democracy and capitalism. The Workers Party is pledged to give its fullest support to the French Bolshevik-Leninists in this struggle.

Consequently the Workers Party is responding immediately to the appeal of our French comrades for financial support for La Verite, organ of the Bolshevik-Leninists and their most important single weapon in the struggle in which they are now engaged. Additional funds to maintain La Verite and to enable it to greatly increase its circulation are particularly necessary according to an appeal just received from our French comrades "because the formation of the new revolutionary party in France has now become an immediate task."

We call upon all our branches and members to make the utmost sacrifices in order that a preliminary installment of our contribution may be sent to France immediately. Collection lists are being sent to the branches and should be widely circulated among the workers and all our sympathizers. We do not hesitate also to call upon those who are not members of the party but who realize that in the present tense international situation nothing is more important than the defeat of social patriotism in France, to

Two Int'l's For League Moves

(Continued from Page 1)

good fellows of socialism cheer the sentiments of pacifism in their ranks and then vote to send their workers off to the slaughter in the defense of British robber imperialism. Incredible hypocrisy, worse than capitalist, socialist hypocrisy. The moldy Second International rises out of its grave to grasp another million mass of workers and carry them down into blood and mire... a vampire international.

And the Third International? Its efforts are just as energetic in the service of the British bourgeoisie—but more ludicrous, if there can be anything ludicrous in this monster betrayal.

We take the line from the Daily Worker question box for October 2: "The aim of the communists in the present situation in Africa is

to preserve peace [...] the communists urge the working class parties and organizations to FORCE their capitalist governments to act collectively through the League against Italy, even to the point of applying sanctions, closing the Suez Canal, etc. [Etc.] In that little etc. is contained the word war... no more than an etc. to the degenerates of Stalinism [...] the capitalist governments are not anxious to use sanctions. The British government has repeatedly offered to carve up Ethiopia with Mussolini... but the pressure of the English workers has driven the English government to the point where they may apply sanctions. ... [!!!]"

The Stalinists are not even willing to vouchsafe Lansbury a "jolly good fellow" before they order the workers out to the butchery. "The pressure of the English workers has driven the British government to the point where it may" ... defend its colonial loot against Italy's in-

forward their contributions in response to the appeal from La Verite. For convenience in transmission remittances should be made out in the name of A. J. Muste and sent to 55 E. 11th St., New York. Please designate clearly the purpose for which the contribution is sent.

For prompt and enthusiastic support of our French comrades!
For the building of the Fourth International!

■ ■ ■

What the Miners Did Not Get

LAST week the NEW MILITANT prophesied that the bituminous coal strike called by John L. Lewis would soon be over, that it was a shadow-boxing act to give the operators a chance to get rid of some of their surplus coal, Lewis to bluster and show that he was "not to be trifled with" and Roosevelt-McGrady to put on their act and save the country once more from "bitter industrial strife." Our prophecy and analysis were quickly and completely vindicated for the paper was hardly off the press before the settlement was announced.

Despite the magnificent demonstration of solidarity by 400,000 miners who came out 100 percent in the union fields and nearly as solidly, it would appear, in the partly unionized fields of Tennessee, Virginia and Kentucky, despite the prompt settlement on the basis of a union contract in most of the fields and the concessions won, the strike was not a real victory for the miners. On Lewis's part it represents a fresh betrayal of the workers.

1. THE MINERS FAILED TO GET THE SIX HOUR DAY AND FIVE DAY WEEK, FAILED, IN FACT, TO GET ANY REDUCTION IN HOURS. Almost before the negotiations began Lewis gave up this demand. He kept the miners from striking for the 30-hour week. But a reduction in hours represented the one really important gain which they might have won. Without that, further reductions in the working force are bound to come, an increase in unemployment, and with it wage-slashing and incalculable misery at the first let-down in the industry.

Had the miners led a real fight for the 30-hour week, which the A. F. of L. has put forth as the major plank in its platform against unemployment, other workers would have followed. At once reality and vigor would have been given to the whole 30 hour week movement. But this the employers, once again piling up profits during a temporary and spotty upturn in business, did not want. The Roosevelt administration did not want it, being bent upon giving the employers a "breathing spell." Once again the A. F. of L. bureaucrats yielded to these interests, surrendered before the battle had begun, betrayed the interests of the workers. The miners' strike thus signals the end of the movement to reduce hours for the time being at least. In many industries employers are already increasing them. Soon this will happen in other fields as well.

2. THE MINERS DID NOT WIN ANY REAL INCREASE IN WAGES. It is true that there is a nominal increase of 50 cents a day for day workers providing a \$5.50 basic rate in the Appalachian area. A similar nominal increase of about 01 percent was given in other rates. But this will not even cover the increase in the cost of living since the last contract was made. The miners have thus barely held their own. The operators, especially the bigger ones, can go on unmolested, making profits out of the sweat of the miners while the mines are running and throwing them on the scrap-heap whenever it suits them to shut the mines down.

3. THE CHANCE TO FORCE THE OPERATORS IN THE NON-UNIONIZED FIELDS OF TENNESSEE, VIRGINIA AND KENTUCKY TO SIGN A UNION CONTRACT AND THUS TO EFFECT A NATION-WIDE 100 PERCENT ORGANIZATION OF THE BITUMINOUS MINERS, LEWIS SURRENDERED WITHOUT PUTTING UP EVEN THE SEMBLANCE OF A FIGHT. This was done in spite of the fact that the union today is so strong and the operators themselves are so averse to a real battle that the union scale may be paid in these fields even if no contract is signed. Had Lewis delivered an ultimatum: Recognize the right of the miners to bargain collectively, sign a union contract in every field, or we will strike until hell freezes over, it is well nigh inconceivable that the operators would have held out. As it is, the threat to the union and to the miners' standard of living involved in the existence of even a relatively small unorganized sector remains, and the unorganized miners can point to another instance of failure on the part of Lewis to back them up effectively in their struggle against the brutality and terrorism of the Bourbons of the mining industry. No, this is not a victory for the miners but for the labor fakers, the operators and the Roosevelt administration.

Once again we say to the miners: Awake! Build a single united miners' union and a left-wing to make that union clean, militant, progressive. Once again we say to the progressives throughout the trade union movement: Expose the fake progressivism and "industrial unionism" of Lewis and Company! Build the left-wing in every union and every section of the country in order that the native militancy and growing solidarity of the American workers may not be prostituted as it was in the recent miners' strike, but may be organized and directed to victory!

"LA VERITE"

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fringements by sanctions, etc! The degenerates of Stalinism boast that they are forcing the British government into imperialist war!

Before the last war the Second International at least kept up appearances and spoke against war until the very last moment. But in these times the two Internationals don't wait for war to betray the workers, they urge the capitalists on. They can't wait for the debacle, they can't wait to send their workers out to die, they can't wait to reveal in the blood of millions of "women and children of all races"

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STRUGGLE RAGES ON WEST COAST
Cal. State Fed Union Militant Murdered Showdown Is
Is Dominated In L.A. Vigilante Terror Close on Cal.
by Fakerdom Waterfront

By EARL LANE

LOS ANGELES, Cal., Sept. 23.—The cause of progressive unionism suffered a number of severe defeats at the thirty-sixth annual convention of the California State Federation of Labor held at San Diego last week.

Despite a bitter fight on the part of militants to oust them, two arch foes of progressive unionism, Edwin D. Vandeleur and Paul Scharrenberg, were re-elected to the offices of president and secretary-treasurer respectively.

Vandeleur was re-elected without opposition, the progressives deciding to concentrate their fire on Scharrenberg. The vote for the office of secretary-treasurer was: Scharrenberg 54,178, A. C. Rodgers 17,605.

In the Ninth (San Francisco) District, where four vice-presidents were elected, three incumbents were re-elected and Harry Bridges was defeated for the seat vacated by B. F. Dodge.

A "red hunt" of major proportions that will have as its goal the ousting of every militant from the labor movement of the state, is forecast by the adoption of a resolution asking local unions to expel Communists and members of allied organizations from their membership. That this move is aimed not only at members of radical parties but at all militants is made clear by the phrase, "members of allied organizations." Thus the way is made clear to brand all militants as allies of Communism.

The reactionary nature of the convention is further evidenced by the rejection of the idea of political action by labor and the adoption of a resolution endorsing collective bargaining as the sole means of obtaining economic security.

Resolutions "commending the efforts of President Roosevelt on behalf of the workers of the nation," demanding the freedom of Tom Mooney, repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism law, and condemning vigilante terror were adopted.

* * *

Investigation of the scab herding activities of Capt. William ("Red") Hynes, head of the infamous "red squad" of the Los Angeles police department was demanded in a resolution recently adopted by the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. The resolution, submitted to the mayor, chief of police, board of police commissioners, and the city council, cited the payment of \$7,393.60 by the Los Angeles Railway for Hynes' strike-breaking services during the street car strike last fall.

The resolution reads as follows: "It is the expressed opinion of this organization (Pacific Electric Lodge No. 912, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen) that public servants, either elected or appointed, are bound to serve the entire public and the action of a public official in lowering the dignity of his office by resorting to the activity of herding scabs is repugnant to every sense of decency of his employer, the general public."

The resolution further demanded an investigation of the activities of the "red squad" and demanded that the report be made public.

Every union in the Los Angeles area should pass similar resolutions and continue the fight until this scourge of labor is driven from the city.

* * *

Five members of Furniture Workers local No. 1561 were so severely beaten that they had to be taken to the hospital when strikebreakers attacked a picket line at the plant of the Morris Furniture Co. last Thursday evening.

The strike at the Morris plant has been in progress since April 20th, and has been characterized by the grim determination of the workers to stay out until better conditions have been won.

Determined to initiate a reign of terror in order to break the spirit of the strikers, a sudden attack was launched on the picket line by a gang of scabs armed with clubs, monkey wrenches, and screw drivers, as the day and night shifts were changing places. In addition to the men taken to the hospital over two dozen others were injured. Police rushed to the scene of the battle in several cars and took the most seriously injured men to the hospital. Of course none of the strikebreaking thugs who perpetrated the vicious attack were arrested.

MINNEAPOLIS N.P.L.D.

Having become a power in the labor movement through its great mass trial of mayor Scab Latimer, the Provisional N.P.L.D. Committee of Minneapolis has now been given a charter. Among those on the National Executive of the N.P.L.D. for the charter are Henry Schultz, secretary of the State Employees Assn.; Elmer Huset of the Farmer-Labor Veterans Assn.; Farrell Dobbs, secretary of Local 574; Mrs. Carlson of the F-L Woman's Auxiliary.

LOS ANGELES, Cal.—The continually mounting wave of California vigilante terror claimed another victim on September 4, when Arthur G. Ross, member of the I.W.W. and the International Longshoremen's Association and for fifteen years an outstanding militant fighter in the labor movement of Southern California died as the result of a beating received at the hands of Edgar Rueb, a fellow union member who had fought side by side with him during the maritime strike last summer.

The death of Ross is but one incident in the attack that the boss class has launched upon the progressive forces in the labor movement of California. Upon the conclusion of last summer's memorable marine strike the bosses determined to drive out of the maritime unions every militant worker who showed capacity for leadership, in order to strengthen the hands of their agents within the unions, "Pedro Pete" Peterson, Freidl, and Co. In the bitter warfare which ensued the bosses and their labor lieutenants of course had the co-operation of the "law enforcement" agencies. The police were always busy elsewhere while vigilante bands and Freidl's infamous "beef squad" roamed the streets of San Pedro terrorizing and slugging militant workers, raiding meetings, and kidnapping and beating workers' attorneys. Freidl himself became a victim of the wave of terrorism that he had helped to launch, being killed by the police. His death has never been satisfactorily explained, but in all probability was the result of some private feud.

Sometime during the course of this bitter campaign against the militants Rueb deserted his former friends and became a tool of the dark forces that had as their ultimate goal the smashing of the

maritime unions of the Pacific Coast. He conceived a bitter hatred for his former friend Ross, who was an outstanding progressive.

On Sunday, September 1, in front of the I.L.A. hall in San Pedro, he assaulted Ross, striking him twice and knocking him to the pavement. Fellow union members picked Ross up in an unconscious condition. After a cursory examination by the police he was turned out to wander the streets all night and half the next day in a semi-conscious condition. Later he was picked up by the police on a DRUNK CHARGE and thrown in the drunk tank. His fellow workers, having become alarmed at his absence, instituted a search which ended with their locating him in the jail. They offered to bail him out but the police would not accept bail and refused to allow them to see Ross. After a night spent lying on the stone floor of the drunk tank he was released to his wife and friends who rushed him to a hospital where he died on September 4, never having regained consciousness.

Rueb, placed under arrest, admitted having struck Ross, claiming that he was drunk and did not know what he was doing. He was held on suspicion of manslaughter. At the subsequent inquest the coroner's jury ordered that he be held.

This case is more than the isolated death of a militant worker. It is part of the campaign of the boss class to wipe out the more advanced workers in the ranks of the unions and thus to strike terror into the hearts of the rank and file. It is hoped that by the use of these methods that the workers will be terrorized into submitting to the domination of their unions by the labor lieutenants of the bosses. Every class conscious worker must consider well what these attacks on the vanguard mean to him and his union.

Labor Defense Front

THE SACRAMENTO APPEAL

In response to a call from the International Labor Defense, the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense has been set up by the I.L.D., League for Industrial Democracy, Non-Partisan Labor Defense, General Defense Committee, National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, and League of Struggle for Negro Rights. Mary Fox of the I.L.D. has been elected secretary.

The committee announces several immediate activities to aid the drive for 2,000,000 signatures to petitions calling on the governor of Georgia to release Herndon from the 20-year chain-gang sentence imposed by the Atlanta Jim Crow court. The new committee, in addition to publishing and circulating its own petition forms bearing the names of its constituent bodies, will during the coming week publish a new 16-page pamphlet on this important labor case. Already 20,000 copies have been ordered by various organizations. It will sell at 2 cents per copy. Send orders to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, 22 East 17th St., N. Y. C.

The new committee is calling a New York City Action Conference October 19 at Imperial Hall, Harlem. Angelo Herndon will participate and the new pamphlet will be on sale.

Through the sale of this pamphlet and circulation of petitions, W. P. members will be able to continue their agitation for Herndon's freedom in an organized way. Rush your orders for pamphlets and petitions to the N.P.L.D.

PHILLY WORKERS FREE

Five members of the Philadelphia Retail Fruit Clerks Union of Philadelphia, held on charges rigged against them by the bosses' association during the recent strike, have been freed.

Since the last report in these columns, a defense committee was organized by the union, with Lou Roberts, union secretary, in charge. Attorney Frank Nowwe of the N.P.L.D. of New York aided in organizing the defense. On a visit to New York Roberts, aided by the N.P.L.D., secured financial aid for the defense from brother unions.

HARLAN MINERS

Another drive is being made for the pardon of the six U.M.W.A. members railroaded to prison for life in Harlan, Ky., on charges of murder growing out of the historic "Battle of Evarts" between miners and deputies. A committee has been appointed by the N.P.L.D. to aid this defense; Adelaide Walker, who was a leading figure in the caravan of writers which went into Bloody Harlan four years ago and who was indicted for criminal syndicalism, is chairman.

Funds to aid the Harlan miners should be sent to Herbert Mahler, General Defense Committee, 94 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C.

HEISLER IN BISMARCK

Francis Heisler, attorney of the Chicago N.P.L.D., is now in Bismarck, N. D., to argue the appeal of the Fargo strikers to the State Supreme Court.

Form Labor Party in Ohio

(Continued from Page 1)

The Congress candidates as not committing them specifically to endorsement of a Labor, or third party.

Local Socialists, emboldened by the favorable glances of the union officials, are running up a temperature in the campaign and are all heated up about their inclusion in "big-time politics." The Communist Party is going through some amusing contortions trying to squirm into the picture.

Although the Congress has put forth a platform containing a preamble full of vaguely radical phrases, no particular fear is being evinced by the reactionary elements in the city. It is pretty generally understood, and the leaders of the Congress are making no efforts to dispel this understanding, that the bark of this movement is out of all proportion to its bite. Commenting in an editorialized news story on the formation of the Congress, the Toledo News-Bee, Scripps-Howard sheet, stated: "While the preamble of the platform on which the candidates are campaigning leads off with a Socialistic doctrine, it is likely that most of the candidates signed the platform as a matter of political expediency rather than a pledge of conversion to the doctrine of Socialism."

Clyde Kiker, free-lance politician, perennial office seeker and state secretary of the Ohio Federation of Teachers, is campaign manager for the Congress' slate. Kiker ran in the last congressional primaries for congressman on the Democratic Party ticket.

LOS ANGELES, Cal., Sept. 30.—The question of war or peace on the waterfronts of the Pacific coast will in all probability be decided within the next few days.

The battle over the question of whether or not the maritime unions will handle "hot cargo" is being fought out in San Francisco, with the I.L.A. bearing the brunt of the employers' attack. Because of the strength of the militants in this key port the bosses have chosen it as the battleground, feeling that if they are successful there, the fight in the other ports will be comparatively easy.

The dispute over the handling of hot cargo was placed in the hands of the labor relations board that was set up under the 1934 award. When this committee came to a deadlock last week, the matter was put into the hands of Federal arbitrator, M. C. Sloss. After a great show of considering the matter from all angles in order to be able to render an "impartial decision," that office boy of the bosses' government ruled that the longshoremen were breaking their agreement if they refused to handle hot cargo. The I.L.A., the union, immediately asked for a rehearing on the question. Sloss lost no time in denying this request.

On Sunday the bargemen's and warehousemen's unions lifted the ban on goods produced by the Santa Cruz Packing Co., and cargo transported by the River Lines, Inc., pending the outcome of negotiations with the employers and the labor relations board.

There the situation rests today, with the employers announcing through their spokesman, Thomas G. Plant, their determination to hire scab longshoremen to replace the union members refusing to scab. This morning it was announced that 1,440 longshoremen were on the blacklist and that 29 ships were tied up directly or indirectly because of the "hot cargo" dispute.

Ample proof that while they consider "impartial arbitration" an effective opiate with which to dull the fighting spirit of the workers, they do not intend to rely on it as their only weapon, but intend to launch a campaign of vigilante terrorism against the maritime workers if they consider it necessary, is contained in an article in a recent issue of the San Francisco "Shipping Register," organ of the waterfront employers.

Call for Vigilantes

Under a caption "Are All the Vigilantes Dead?" an editorial complained that maritime workers are "asking for abortive increases in wages."

"There are hundreds of thousands of red-blooded Americans here in San Francisco," the editorial declared. "What say we take a day off from our regular business and attend to the matter in a proper manner?"

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Preparations were made for a vigorous campaign to secure the freedom of the victims of the Sacramento conspiracy at a conference held in Los Angeles September 25.

As a result of this conference the Los Angeles section of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee was formed with the following organizations participating: the I.W.W., the Socialist Party, the Workers Party, Spartacus Youth League and the Young Peoples Socialist League. A steering committee consisting of the following members was elected: Chairman, Gardner Wells, Socialist Party; Secretary, Mark Knight, Workers Party; Treasurer, Claude Erwin, I.W.W.

An effort to draw every labor and liberal organization in the Los Angeles area into this fight for the rights of labor will be made. Each organization participating in the Los Angeles local of the N.S.A.C. has pledged itself to circulate collection lists and to widely circulate the pamphlet "Union Smashing in Sacramento." A mass meeting to bring this case to the attention of the public at large will be held in the near future.

Similar committees already exist in San Francisco and Oakland.

Sunday Night Lecture Series

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