

NEW MILITANT

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GENEVA GAMBLES WITH WAR

Green-Legion Join at AFL Conclave Against Militants

Rank and File Presses Bureaucracy Toward Showdown on Critical Problems of Labor Movement

The opening days of the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor reveal a tightening of the lines and a sharpening of the struggle between the bureaucrats and the various more or less progressive elements in the trade unions.

On the one hand, the forecast of the NEW MILITANT that a growth of progressive and militant sentiment would be shown is being borne out. The proponents of resolutions for industrial unionism claim support of powerful unions such as the U.M.W. of A. and the garment unions and assert, with a little too much optimism probably, that a clear-cut resolution on industrial unionism lacks only a few votes to carry. Gorman, the actual leader of the United Textile Workers, and other important figures are sponsoring Labor Party resolutions with considerable show of determination.

But it is in the aggressive mood of the conservatives that the clearest indication of the sharpening of the struggle within the Federation under the impact of the crisis is given. Last year the craft unionists were to some extent caught unaware by the onrush of the new Federal unions in the basic industries demanding international charters with industry-wide jurisdiction. As a result provision for granting charters for the production workers in automobiles, etc., though not on a complete industrial basis, was made. During the year the new unions constituted under this provision have proved somewhat contemptuous of the A. F. of L. potates and have voiced vigorous dissatisfaction with their limited charters. The craft unionists are genuinely alarmed and have taken the offensive against the industrialists. Under the lead of John P. Frey and the entire Metal Trades Department, they not only refuse to amalgamate or give up any of their members, but demand that many members in the new unions be turned over to the craft groups.

The "Anti-Red" Resolution In addition to this offensive on an issue of the structure of unionism, an even more vigorous offensive has been launched on the basic issue of the philosophy of the A. F. of L. The most serious and far-reaching proposal for driving "communists" out of the unions that has ever been made is now being advanced. If those who are back of this move triumph there will be a fight upon all insurgent elements which will be far more vicious than that of the war or post-war period.

It is proposed to amend the constitution of the A. F. of L. to provide that "No organization offered or controlled by Communists or any person espousing communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions, and no organization or person that has seceded from or has been suspended or expelled by the A. F. of L. or by any national or international organization connected with the federation shall, while under such relationship or under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this federation, or in any central body, State Federation of Labor, national or international union connected with the A. F. of L., under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section."

Thus the basis is laid not only for hounding a progressive out of any given union but barring him also from activity in any other. William Green openly proclaimed that the A. F. of L. was prepared to make an alliance with the American Legion in this campaign against all forms of "un-American" radicalism, the Legion in turn pledging that it would not engage in any "anti-union" activity. Such an alliance, giving a reactionary trade unionism the quasi-military backing of the Legion in the struggle against any progressive and militant unionism, has obviously the most sinister possibilities.

It is too early to predict the specific decisions that will be taken by this convention. The decisive showdown between the contending forces

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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 work in the various branches along the route. This tour will help pull together and advance the party work for the new season now opening.

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, Oct. 19: "The New World War," 3529 East 143rd Street.
Toledo—Sunday, October 20.
Detroit—Monday, October 21.
Chicago—Tuesday to Sunday, Oct. 22-27.
Davenport—Monday, October 28.
Albert Lea—Tuesday, October 29.
Austin—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.

ISAACS SPEAKS FOR N.P.L.D.
Harold R. Isaacs, newspaper correspondent in China for the last five years, editor of "China Forum," and leader of many struggles for the defense of Chinese political prisoners, will be the speaker at the open membership meeting of the New York branch of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, Wednesday, October 16, 8 P.M., at the headquarters of Local 48, L.L.G.W.U., 231 East 4th Street.

Isaacs will speak on "Political Prisoners in China." All interested workers are invited to attend.

Rubber Co's Prepare For Price War

Cost Will Fall on Workers Unions Face Battle For Life

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio, Oct. 8.—A titanic struggle by Wall Street interests for monopoly control of the rubber industry began openly this week, thus confronting the newly-formed United Rubber Workers of America with the severest challenge to protect the workers that the unions ever faced.

For the price of this war between the capitalists will be thrown on the workers through wage cuts unless the unions can muster sufficient strength to stop this move.

The battle which will take the main form of ruthless fire price slashes to drive other competitors into bankruptcy already began with a huge reduction by Goodyear in various sections of the country.

Rockefeller and General Motors interests have virtual control of Firestone (the Firestone family is no longer boss of its factories) through a huge loan they gave recently to the company and they intend to gain complete control of the industry, it was learned authoritatively.

Goodrich has been in the hands of J. P. Morgan subsidiaries for quite some time while Goodyear, closely connected with Sears and Roebuck, belongs to Dillon and Reed, New York financiers.

No sooner did reports of General Motors entry into Firestone reach Akron than Goodyear, foreseeing the plan behind that move, slashed prices to attempt to drive Firestone from business.

Wage Cuts Threatened
Firestone tried a wage cut in an important department but threat of a spontaneous strike stopped this quickly. The company was laying the foundation for tire price reductions in that move.

So the grim shadow of long hours of work, poorer wages, and lay-offs hangs over the workers as it did in the late '20s when the companies fought their first big battle.

These revelations explain the questions many workers have been asking themselves as they saw wage reductions, the return of the 8-hour day, and lay-offs creep silently into the factories. The companies were simply laying the ground-work for their fight!

How can the unions meet this challenge? What must be done to bring the thousands of exploited back into the unions so that they can successfully defeat these companies? (Continued on Page 2)

VOTE ON SANCTIONS LINES UP LEAGUE NATIONS TO DEFEND BRITISH COLONIAL THIEVERY

TREACHERY CASTS A SHADOW BEFORE

By DAN EASTMAN

Turn the imperialist war into civil war! That was the slogan of Lenin. Turn the Italo-Ethiopian war into a general imperialist war! That is the slogan of Stalin.

Consider the Daily Worker for the seven crucial days of the outbreak of the Ethiopian war:

On October 1, T. Repard writes an article on "Social Democratic Befuddlement on the Sanctions Question," from which we quote:

"Reformist theory never flounders about so helplessly as when it is confronted with a genuinely pressing immediate issue. Yesterday it was the Franco-Soviet pact. Today it is the question of sanctions against Mussolini."

South Africa 4th Int'n lists Back Ethiopia

Police Reply with Arrests and Repressions of Workers

Cape Town, August 2, 1935

To Editor of NEW MILITANT:

Dear Comrade, I am sending you a special report this week because the situation in South Africa is changing rapidly. A wave of reaction is sweeping over the country. The Fusion Government, agents of British imperialism and the Chamber of Mines, is determined to crush the left-wing movement.

A few weeks ago, comrades Roux and Nedelane of the Communist Party were arrested and sentenced to four months imprisonment in connection with a leaflet they issued on the occasion of the royal jubilee of King George V. The charge was "lese majeste." Last week, two more members of the Communist Party, comrades Gomas and Mina Gool were arrested on the same charge. Their case will come up on September 3, and there is no doubt that a salutary sentence will be imposed.

Now, the iron heel of the capitalist state is descending on the Fourth Internationalists. On Sunday, August 19, three members of the Communist League of S. A., comrades G. H. Gool, J. Pick, and C. van Gelderen addressed a meeting of over two hundred workers at Langa Native Location on the proposed Native Bills. They were accompanied by comrades J. Gool and L. Solomon, who distributed literature to the audience. At the back of the hall sat six plain clothes detectives, two police sergeants and two native policemen. The forces of reaction were quite evidently prepared for any emergency.

The three speakers dealt at length with the Native Bills. They pointed out that it was a deliberate attempt to deprive the Cape Native of his long cherished franchise, and urged the strongest resistance against the bills. All three speakers stressed that the fight should not only be against the present bills, but that it should go further and press for the extension of the franchise to all sections of the people. Comrade van Gelderen also dealt with the pending Italian attack on Abyssinia, and urged working class action to prevent the despatch of goods from South African ports to Italian troops.

Two resolutions were submitted to the meeting: 1. That this mass meeting of Langa workers unanimously rejects the proposed Native Bills, which aim to deprive the Cape natives of their franchise, almost the only privilege left to them, and further pledges itself by every means in its power to struggle for the extension of the franchise to the Northern Provinces. (Continued on Page 4)

Fate Of Ethiopia To Be Decided in European Arena

There have been no large battles in Ethiopia to date. The Africans are following a policy of watching and waiting, retiring before the Italians, to draw them on from Adowa into the more dangerous mountain country, and to postpone any decisive battles until the outcome of the international maneuvers centering around the war are known. It is in the latter sphere, the international, that the real battles are now being fought.

The League vote last week for sanctions against Mussolini was a great victory for England. Reluctant as some of the fifty odd nations may have been, nevertheless they were all driven into line, including the other great League power, France, which is torn between a desire to please England as an ally against Hitler and a desire not to outrage Mussolini who, more than any ally, is a market, especially for war supplies.

It is significant that the only three nations who did not support the League sanctions were Austria, Hungary and Albania, all more or less under Italian influence, the latter no more than a vassal state of Mussolini.

The New York Times has to say of sanctions: "With 'Proposal No. 1' the League of Nations began this afternoon applying sanctions against the Italian government. This sanction, number one in history, applies to Italy alone, precisely the same arms embargo the U. S. proclaimed against both Italy and Ethiopia. . . ."

The full meaning of the whole "sanctions" game is revealed in the phrase "number one in history." Sanctions are merely war preparations disguised under a fancy name. Why should an embargo be called "number one in history?" Didn't the same British government declare an embargo against the U. S. in 1812? Didn't the Northern government declare an embargo (sanctions) against the South during the Civil War? Didn't the Germans try to "sanction" the British Isles with submarines during the World War?

Sanctions will not necessarily lead directly to war—no more than any preparations necessarily lead directly to war. There are sanctions and sanctions. While the Czechoslovakian Stalinists openly call for military sanctions, the League, under French influence seems at present inclined to go easy on Mussolini, confining itself to less provocative measures.

Meanwhile in all the countries concerned, especially in Britain, politicians are hastening to unify the country for war around the "peaceful" sanctions question. In Britain the parliament has been called early "in compliance with the request of the Labor opposition . . . in view of British participation in sanctions against Italy. . . ."

"Inasmuch as sanctions have already been endorsed by the Labor Party and have the backing of the Conservatives and the public as represented by 11,000,000 voters in a popular referendum (a peace referendum!!!) there is no possibility of any material opposition."

As the last war was fought to make the world safe for democracy, this will be fought to make it safe for sanctions. Sanctions, which are really no more than war preparations. Diplomatic, economic, then military sanctions. And when the first shot is fired and the first soldier killed the war of sanctions becomes a war in fact. Another imperialist holocaust brought on, as was the last, by imperialist powers protesting their interest in peace right up to the last moment.

There is only one way to defend Ethiopia, and that way leads not through imperialist sanctions that lead ever nearer war, but through sanctions of the international working class: demonstrations, boycotts and embargoes.

15 Unions For Recharter of Drivers' 574

Conference in Minneapolis Sends Resolution to Green, Tobin, CLU

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—A conference of 60 delegates representing 15 local unions on Monday night voted to send a resolution to Daniel Tobin, William Green, the State Federation of Labor and the Minneapolis Central Labor Union demanding the reinstatement of Local 574 in the Drivers International and the A. F. of L.

The participating unions were the Machinists, City and Sanitary Drivers, Public Building Service Employees, Ornamental Metal Workers, Stationary Engineers, Building Laborers No. 543, Carpenters, Upholsterers, Painters, Bakers, Miscellaneous Restaurant Employees, Lathers, Laundry Workers, Gas Station Attendants and the General Drivers.

The conference criticized sharply the policy of the conservative bureaucracy in discriminating against individuals in the movement because of their political views.

Calling attention to the splendid support which the unemployed have given to striking unions, a resolution sent to the Central Labor Union demanded that it take the lead in helping the relief workers to organize and fight for the relief in—

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On S.P. 'Militants' Trade Union Stand

(By the Editorial Board)

Let every serious worker in the "Militant" Socialist ranks read his group's program on trade unionism (which is here printed in full). Then let these workers ask themselves the question: Is there anything in this so-called program which the worst of the "Socialist" bureaucrats—Dubinsky, Zaritsky, Zausner, Schlossberg, Abe Miller, Feinstein, Joe Turin and the whole caboodle of labor fakery and outright racketeers—would not sign? There is perhaps one point which some of them might not agree to, on discrimination for political beliefs. Otherwise, everyone of these labor fakery would sign with both hands this "Militant" program!

Yet this fact is only surprising in the sense that we might have expected the "Militants" to distinguish themselves from the bureaucrats in a theoretical document. We have seen, with growing disgust, how the "Socialist Call" has gone on month after month without beginning even the semblance of a struggle against the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. One can count on the fingers of one hand the exceptions to the "Call" rule that no bureaucrat must be colluded with. And all the exceptions were cases on which Hillman, John L. Lewis, Dubinsky or Gorman also frowned. For it is precisely to these bureaucrats, the leaders of the anti-Green bloc, that the "Socialist Call" looks for A. F. of L. leadership today!

One point must be clarified immediately: we are scarcely unaware of the necessity of compromises in the trade union movement. It is seldom, indeed, that a revolutionist can bring forward his whole program openly within the trade unions. But the "Militants" can

make such compromises on one condition only: that their political press, the Socialist Call, should tell the whole truth: teach every worker that (regardless of any temporary differences between Dubinsky and the Old Guard) Dubinsky remains the bureaucrat who smashed the left wing ten years ago and to this day roots out by the most mechanical means all incipient opposition; that John L. Lewis is a racketeer who destroyed the U.M.W.A. once in order to control it and will do so again, and who on the day he introduces the industrial union resolution rules all but two of his union's districts under personal dictatorships; that Hillman, Lewis, Gorman et al cannot possibly be the leaders of a progressive A. F. of L. for it is precisely these false leaders who have cooperated most with the government in tying the unions to the government apparatus.

That is what the Socialist Call would say—if it were a revolution-

ary paper. Instead, it is silent. Many of the "Militant" leaders are minor functionaries in the trade unions; within them they keep quiet, they do not fight the bureaucrats; outside, their press is as silent as they are inside; wherein, then, do they differ from the labor fakery? The intentions of some of them may be of the very best. But at what point will their intentions become discernible to any besides those to whom they speak when the door is locked and the shades drawn down.

We content ourselves in this article with merely listing the basic questions "omitted" from the "Militant" program:

1. The Role of the Party in the Trade Unions.

When a resolution on trade unionism was introduced at the Detroit convention, Jasper McLevy, in a burst of righteous indignation declared: "What right have you to interfere in the trade unions? Stick to your own business in the political sphere!" This is an exact reflection of the theory of reformism, which considers its party as one of the political parties competing for "control" of government; it differs from the Republican or Democratic parties in relation to trade unions, only in being friendly to the unions, supporting the unions' demands, etc.

A revolutionary party, on the

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Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

BUSINESS SELF-CONTROL . . .

At an annual cost of over \$7,000,000, a staff of 2,700 former NRA employees is kept to teach business "self-control." Seventy of the staff receive more than \$6,700 per year. Forgetting his prediction of "chaos" with the ending of the NRA, Donald Richberg states: "The NRA developed collective thinking that made it possible for business men to carry on their standards." (Workers in textiles average \$600 yearly; in boots and shoes, \$744. Workers in both industries report a decrease since the NRA became defunct.) . . . Sixteen Harlan, Kentucky, coal companies have filed suit attacking the constitutionality of the Guiffey Coal Control Act. . . . In Baltimore, the American States Public Service Co., at the instigation of the Edison Electric Institute, filed suit attacking the constitutionality of the Public Utility Act. . . . James M. Landis, new chairman of the Federal Securities and Exchange Commission, spent the third day in his new position with eleven representatives of the public utilities drafting new rules for regulating the power industry. . . . Arthur H. Young, vice-president of the United States Steel Corporation, calls New Deal "kibitzers" "who behind the mask of assumedly necessary social reconstruction of our national life would, without invitation from the players, change the rules of an ancient and honorable game" . . .

PROSPERITY . . .

Cup in hand, eleven blind persons were forced to take to the streets last week in the City of Brotherly Love. Their relief had been shut off. . . . "More people have eaten better food for a longer time under the constitution than under any other form of government," proclaims Frank Knox, millionaire publisher of the Chicago Daily News and prospective Republican candidate for President. . . . After being elected from his home, Edward McLaughlin, 61 year old Chicago electrician, climbed through a window and hanged himself. . . . "The American worker must think carefully how he can best uphold the American institutions and the American industrial system which have made him the freest, the happiest, the most highly esteemed, and the most highly paid representative of constructive labor in the world," editorializes Arthur Brisbane in the Hearst papers. . . .

WITH THE STRIKEBREAKERS

"Employers like him because he is conservative and practical—he gets men back to work," says News-Week of Edward F. McGrady. McGrady is becoming the greatest traveler in labor history. "I hope that a settlement may be made by the time I have to leave by airplane tomorrow for the Louis-Baer fight in New York," he remarked during the bituminous strike parley. From New York he hastened to Portsmouth, Va., to address the Holy Name Society. Then to the coast to head off a threatened longshoremen's strike that might mar the pleasantness of President Roosevelt's visit. . . . The Los Angeles Railway Corporation spent \$350,000 last November to break a strike of its employees. \$159,900 went to Nick Harris of the World Wide Detective Agency; \$7,393 to Chief Hynes of the Los Angeles Red Squad. . . .

SOCIETY NOTES . . .

Doris Duke Cromwell, world's richest girl, on her round-the-world honeymoon is collecting animals for her Palm Beach zoo. She resents reports of huge spending. "It's less than 30,000," she says. Press reports state that "Doris wears a gold anklet and paints her toenails a pale lotus pink. She and her husband watch each other dive and make caustic comments which end in laughter. No matter how much she spends she can't use up the interest on her fortune." . . . Twin baby girls were born to Mr. and Mrs. C. R. McWhitty, in a tent near Springfield, Ill. The family could not afford a doctor. A woman from a neighboring tent acted as midwife. . . . From the fashion page of the Chicago Tribune: "Furs valued at \$557,000 will be shown at the Edgewater Beach Hotel. Fashionable women are preparing to swathe themselves from head to toe in luxurious furs. They make a flattering foil for midday on crisp days and the enchanting lines upon which the new garments are modeled are remarkably slenderizing."

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'Militant Socialists' on Trade Union Question

The Old Reformist Line Is Dusted Off; Basic Problems Not Answered

(Continued from Page 1)

other hand, has a completely different conception of its relation to the unions. For a revolutionist, his party is not merely a "political party," in the usual sense; his party is the vanguard of the whole working class, is its consciousness; the party, as Trotsky once put it, is what the working class should be, while the trade unions are what the working class is today. Hence, the party must intervene, as far as it can find the power to, in every problem of the trade unions. For only by so doing can it eventually transform the working class into a revolutionary force.

To which of these fundamentally different conceptions of the party does the "Militant" program adhere? Elsewhere in the program, we find references to the party as the "vanguard," "revolutionary party," etc. But where the program must be concrete, as in its trade union section, its similarity to the reformist conception of the party becomes obvious. From the doctrine that "trade unions without a revolutionary party can achieve only partial and temporary success," a really revolutionary program would draw the conclusion that it is the right and duty of the revolutionists to fight for the supremacy of their ideas and leadership in the trade unions. The "Militant" program, on the contrary, draws from the

correct premise, the false (reformist) conclusion that their party "will therefore support the trade unions and work for cordial relations," etc. This is hopelessly Philistine stuff. The clue here is in the phrase "cordial relations." With whom? Any party which advances a real class struggle program in the unions will not get "cordial relations" from the present officialdom. Yet, this is what the "Militant" program really means. True, they do not expect cordial relations with everyone. Their programmatic statements cut them off from white chauvinists, from the bitter-ender craft unionists, etc. They want cordial relations merely—with the Hillmans, John L. Lewises, etc.

The "Militants" do not say with the McLevys that they have no business in the trade unions. No, they say they have business in the unions. Not the revolutionists' business: the pitiless struggle against the reactionary officialdom and for the hegemony of the revolutionists, the faithful exposition to the working class, through the party press, of the whole truth. No, the "Militant" program in the unions is an implicit support of a degenerate clique which temporarily raises certain progressive slogans in its fight for power.

2. The Fight Against the A. F. of L. Officialdom.

Rubber Price War Begins

(Continued from Page 1)

many plans which mean added misery and starvation to the rubber workers?

The house-to-house canvas for members is not enough for the organizational drive.

Program of Struggle

Around a platform that meets the workers' desires and needs can they be rallied. This must include: (1) No wage reductions; (2) Continuation of the six-hour day and abolishment of the eight-hour day where it has been introduced; (3) Seniority rights in lay-offs and no discrimination against union members.

Mass meetings with the international officers as speakers should be held explaining what is happening and pointing out that the only bulwark against the capitalist offensive are the unions.

Insufficient stress has been placed on the fact that the rubber worker unions have won complete independence from the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and that now the workers can build an international of their own desire—one with a progressive policy that meets the changing conditions in the rubber industry.

Ample proof that the rubber workers will rally around such a program was given recently at Firestone where a threatened wage cut brought complete solidarity in the department and forced the bosses to retreat!

Test of Leadership

This is the first major test of the new leadership of the U.R.W.A. Although the unfolding events in the rubber industry are filled with dangerous situations and can possibly bring further defeat for the workers, the key to success lies in this very danger.

For if the leaders can confront this situation calmly, armed with the correct policy and platform, they have created for themselves and the union a formula which, placed into action, can only result in bringing the rubber workers back into the union by the thousands.

As always, the Workers Party will do its utmost to achieve this aim—build the unions and strengthen the working class against the ravages of capitalism. This will show which leaders are giving the rubber workers the correct ideas and bringing results. Every officer of both the international itself and of the local unions should welcome this opportunity to display their abilities and their fundamental interest in the workers, as we do.

It is in the field of battle that generals and the army itself are tested. This applies perfectly to the rubber workers' union today because of the crisis.

Coal Strike Exposes Keck Leadership in the P.M.A.

By GERMAL

(Ed. Note: The following article, written before the settlement of the coal strike, throws a clear light on a significant angle of the coal situation in Illinois.)

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Sept. 26.—The national strike of the bituminous coal miners might officially be called off any day now, as Lewis continues his shady maneuvers in Washington to help the coal operators rid themselves of a surplus of 55,000,000 tons of coal that threatened to glut the market.

Large coal corporations expressed no alarm over the strike. Demands by the United Mine Workers that the FERA stand ready to rush relief to the strikers is the only thing that disturbed their confidence of "mutual admiration," as Lewis himself called it.

Without question, the present strike, involving approximately 400,000 mine workers in 26 coal producing states, is the most effective walkout since the 1922 struggle when the United Mine Workers of America succeeded to tie up 650,000 coal miners—or 76 percent of the industry.

Only two sections of the country failed to respond to the strike call—Harlan County, Kentucky, and the 14,000 working Progressive Miners of Illinois. In Kentucky the open hatred of the coal corporations for an independent union of any kind had the first stages of the strike stopped the strike movement in this field. Western Kentucky, however, was solidly out.

"Progressive" Officials' Shady Role
Officials of the conservative Progressive Miners of America worked closely with the Coal Producers Assn. of Illinois to keep the miners at work. Taking advantage of the deep rooted prejudices the Progress-

sive rank and file have against the United Mine Workers in this state, the Keck leadership stated that the policy of the organization was against striking with John L. Lewis' union.

Keck's policy did not succeed to keep all the miners under his jurisdiction at work, however. In Saline county, Pekin, East Peoria and Belleville, Progressive miners voted to join the strike. Confusion was evident in the Progressive ranks and a bitter factional fight over the question of the strike threatened the very existence of the organization.

Constant reports that the strike would be short lived along with the fact that the United Mine Workers are deadlocked over a mere 1½ cent wage increase aided the Progressive leaders in keeping the mass of the rank and file in check. Indications were that the Progressive leaders would not hold the rank and file at work should the strike assume a militant character, carrying forward a fight for the 6-hour day and a basic \$3 wage.

Left Wing Leaders in Action
For the first time since the inner struggle between the P.M.A. and the U.M.W., in Illinois, rank and file miners of both organizations met at Pekin, Ill., and voted to unite their forces in the strike for higher wages.

Jack Battuello, Joe Burrell, Pat Ansboury and Gerry Allard, left wing leaders, were carrying the fight to the Progressive membership over the heads of the union leaders, calling upon the Progressive miners to join the nation-wide walkout. "In the strike the economic welfare of the mine workers is the first and foremost consideration," Allard said, speaking for the left wing. "John L. Lewis and his rotten poli-

The revolutionary party fights the trade union bureaucracy not only in order to infuse the unions with the spirit and policy of class struggle. Irreconcilable struggle against the reactionary officialdom is also necessary in order to secure democracy in the unions, an end to bureaucracy and racketeering, organization of the unorganized and unskilled, etc. The revolutionist, of course, knows that the fight for this is also the fight for a class struggle policy. Bureaucracy, for example, arises because of the necessity of repressing the combative instincts of the masses (John R. Commons, the theoretical exponent of the A. F. of L.'s "class peace" policy, has developed the tendency of bureaucracy along these lines into a systematic theory.) So, too, racketeering can only arise in the atmosphere of "deals" with the bosses which is typical of conservative unionism. And the failure to organize the unorganized and unskilled is perhaps the most pervasive expression of the class-collaborationism by which a privileged section of skilled workers is used in cooperation with the bosses who are simultaneously permitted to exploit the unskilled (and deliberately unorganized) workers in the same industry. This goes on in so-called industrial unions. For example, the sacred cow of the Socialist Call, Dubinsky, in the last agreement with the bosses, traded off certain points by abandoning the shipping clerks, who finally had to wage a fight by way of a federal local and in spite of Dubinsky. All this means is that the fight for every progressive demand is a fight against the Dubinskys, Hillmans, et al. Needless to say, there is not a hint of this in the "Militant" program.

3. The Fight Against Government Control.

The "Militant" program fails even to mention one of the most significant tendencies of the present regime: its attempt to tie the trade union movement up with the capitalist government, by way of boards, laws, etc., designed in the long run to emasculate the unions, to restrict the right to strike, and thus to undermine the workers' power of resistance. This policy is strongly nourished by the degenerate leadership of the A. F. of L., including the Lewises, Hillmans, Dubinskys, whom the "Militants" support. Lewis and Hillman, in fact, are even closer to the government than are Green and Woll.

4. The Fight Against the A. F. of L. Monopoly.

While we unreservedly favor the organization of workers into unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. wherever possible, we also recognize present realities. Often enough, important groups of workers have been, and will be, repelled from the A. F. of L. by outright betrayal of strikes, by bureaucracy, racketeering and other evils. Often enough, the A. F. of L. has been, and will be, unwilling to organize important sections of unorganized workers. In-stance on craft union jurisdictions

even to mention one of the most significant tendencies of the present regime: its attempt to tie the trade union movement up with the capitalist government, by way of boards, laws, etc., designed in the long run to emasculate the unions, to restrict the right to strike, and thus to undermine the workers' power of resistance. This policy is strongly nourished by the degenerate leadership of the A. F. of L., including the Lewises, Hillmans, Dubinskys, whom the "Militants" support. Lewis and Hillman, in fact, are even closer to the government than are Green and Woll.

What does the "Militant" program do? It gives no hint of the conditions under which independent unions come into being; it gives no hint of the necessity of supporting such unions, if necessary against the really dual unions brought in by the A. F. of L. (as in the case of so-called "Local 500" brought into Minneapolis by Tobin). In typically Lovestonette fashion, the "Militant" program plumps down for the A. F. of L. and leaves it at that; thus providing no theoretical justification for the many instances in which any honest trade unionist must support independent unionism. Thus it provides the basis solely for capitulation to the dictates of the Tobins and Wolls. Is this part of the price which the "Militants" are ready to pay for "cordial relations" with the "trade unions"?

5. The Fight for Party Responsibility.

The distinction which the Jasper MacLevys make between politics and trade union work is not really as innocent as it appears. The real function of the distinction is to prevent the spotlight of proletarian policy from being cast on the "So-

THE 'MILITANTS' PROGRAM

(From the "Militant" Program presented at the "Call Institute")
"The Socialist Party recognizes that the trade unions, no matter how conservative, are organs of the class struggle and schools of Socialism. Without trade unions, even the most elementary labor struggles would be impossible. But trade unions without a revolutionary party can achieve only partial and temporary success. The Socialist Party will therefore support the trade unions and work for cordial relations with them. It will support all the actions of the trade unions on behalf of the workers (strikes, boycotts, shortening of the working day, etc.). It will work for the unification of the unions into industrial unions and against union splitting, disruption, or dual unionism; it will fight against bureaucracy and racketeering, and for clean and democratic unionism; it favors the organization of the unorganized and the unskilled; it opposes discrimination against Negroes, women and youth; and will champion them on all occasions. It opposes discrimination against union members or applicants because of their political beliefs. The Socialist Party recognizes and supports the American Federation of Labor as the mainstream of the American labor movement, and will urge all independent trade unions and individual workers to affiliate with it. It is the duty of every Socialist, and of every worker to belong to a trade union, and work there as a good trade unionist and a good Socialist. Through such work the trade unions and their members will eventually support the revolutionary struggle for Socialism." (page 8)

In some cases may make it even imperative that the workers first be organized in independent industrial unions. Last but not least, are the cases of unions under militant leadership, which have their charters taken away, as was the case with famous Teamsters Local 574 of Minneapolis. What does all this mean? It means that the revolutionary party must firmly declare itself against the claimed right of the A. F. of L. to a monopoly in the field of labor organization. The revolutionary party must openly state that in these instances it will solidly support independent unions, while working for the unification of the whole labor movement within the A. F. of L.

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We have touched on only a few points; but sufficient to reveal the bankruptcy of the "Militant" program on trade unionism. Psychologically, practically, this bankruptcy arises from the fear of breaking with the labor fakers. Ideologically, this bankruptcy flows from the failure to understand the meaning of the revolutionary conception that the party is the conscious vanguard of the proletariat. In line with what we have said, we ask Socialist workers to read Lenin's "What Is To Be Done," the classic exposition of the role of the party; read Trotsky's "Communism and Syndicalism," which, though it deals with France, illumines the revolutionists' task in the trade unions everywhere. Read the works of the great teachers, and see how utterly alien to their spirit is the cowardly program of the "Militants" on the trade union question.

(Note: This is the second of a series of articles; next week's will deal with the "Militant" program on the United Front.)

ALLENTOWN, Pa., Sept. 23.—After two weeks of militant strike struggle, the WPA project workers of Allentown last night voted to return to work on the basis of the victory conceded by the state WPA administration on Thursday.

The Pennsylvania Works Progress Administration in Harrisburg announced a raise of 10 percent in wages for all laborers, the payment of prevailing union scales for all skilled work and a reduction in hours from 140 to 120 per month last Thursday night.

Terms of Settlement
Before taking the vote, the strikers, meeting at the Silk Workers Hall, listened to reports by Anthony Ramaglia, chairman of the strike committee and Sam Gordon, speaking for the negotiations committee.

The negotiations committee had met on Friday afternoon with Assistant WPA administrator Folkeston, who gave the strikers the following assurances:

1) The new schedule of wages and hours is to go into effect as of October 1;
2) There is to be no discrimination against strikers or strike leaders;
3) First men to be requisitioned will be the first to be returned on the projects;
4) The administration will recognize the collective bargaining agency of the project workers (the Joint Labor Council);
5) The administration will order recognition of grievance committees elected by the workers on each project.

The speakers stressed the fact that Pennsylvania is the first state to change the federal WPA wage schedule, a fact which serves to emphasize the force of the militant struggle and solidarity displayed by the project workers in Allentown and throughout Lehigh, Northampton, Berks and Somerset counties.

Lester W. Heckman of the Pennsylvania Unemployed Leagues, Bill Koecher of the Joint Labor Council and Simon Levine of the Citizens' Welfare League joined the other speakers in urging the workers to consolidate their victory by strengthening their united front organization, the Joint Labor Council.

Stalinist Disrupters Routed
A motion was put that all project workers be organized directly into the Joint Labor Council. At this point the Communist party stalwarts came forward with their contribution to the strike. As usual, the Stalinists tried to carry into the workers ranks their typical disruptive and strike-breaking tactics. After the united front organization, the Joint Labor Council, had for two weeks led the strike and demonstrated its effectiveness, the C.P. counter-posed a motion to form a separate project workers' union. The workers recognized this move as an attempt to break their united front and gave the Stalinists the answer they deserved. They voted overwhelmingly to join the Joint Labor Council. The strike leaders had to exert themselves strenuously to prevent workers in the hall from throwing the disrupters out bodily, the strikers were so incensed at this Stalinist provocation.

After the vote, strikers filed by the desk to sign up with the Joint Labor Council. The J.L.C., composed of the unemployed leagues, the Citizens Welfare League and the Keystone Workers Association, is meeting this Sunday to consider plans for further action.

cialist" labor fakers. The distinction is a credential of irresponsibility to every Socialist to do as he will in the unions—to do as he will except that it rules out a demand that the Socialist Party accept responsibility for the conduct of its members in the unions.

If, in contrast to this, the "Militants" were to take seriously their phrase that their party must represent the "historic interests" of the working class, one of the first concrete applications of it would be to demand systematic fraction work in the trade unions. But even though their fractions would be already bound to a pusillanimous policy of supporting the Dubinskys and Hillmans, the "Militants" fail to put this demand into their slogans. Are they, perhaps, waiting to get the permission of Dubinsky to put it in the program?

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Allentown WPA Workers Win State-wide Victory

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AUTO NOTES

TOLEDO, Ohio.—The "big three" of the automobile industry—Ford, Chrysler and General Motors—employ diverse methods in smashing unionism and keeping their wage slaves divided and unorganized. Ford likes concentration in the manufacture of automobiles. He has centered the greater portion of Ford Motor Car production at the River Rouge plant at Detroit, thus eliminating the necessity of constant shipping of parts to the various assembly plants. Ford relies therefore upon an elaborate and vicious spy system to terrorize his workers and keep them in constant fear of being blacklisted all over Detroit. The Chrysler-Dodge Co. has a particular fondness for the company union. General Motors, in addition to both these methods, has perfected a system of marvelous integration in the manufacture of its cars accompanied by a geographical decentralization of its various plants. In the event of a strike, a few plants can be temporarily shut down, the workers starved out and the particular work diverted to other near-by plants.

The Chevrolet strike has revealed a glaring weakness in the armor of General Motors. The Chevrolet plant at Toledo manufactures all Chevrolet transmissions. The company has found itself powerless to break the automobile union or divide the shop committee at the plant. By striking at this Achilles heel, it becomes possible to shut down General Motors assembly plants all over the country. Thus the whole carefully planned and adjusted mechanism of General Motors is thrown out of gear.

As soon as the recent Chevrolet strike was over, the order went out from General Motors: Break up Toledo! Instead of one plant manufacturing all Chevrolet transmissions, there will be three: Toledo, Munsey, Ind., and Saginaw, Mich. Machinery has already been shipped to both places and the Munsey plant is already working on transmissions. Every worker employed at Munsey is carefully checked and rechecked. He must live in Munsey at least one year prior to date of employment; he must have a recommendation from a reliable Munsey merchant. Saginaw will probably open up early in the winter.

For the workers to attempt to prevent these moves, would, of course be worse than futile. What must be done, and the only thing that can be done, is to organize Munsey and Saginaw! The offensive of General Motors must be answered by a counter-offensive by the Automobile International. Dillon has boasted that by October 1 a campaign will be started to organize "141 automobile plants in the United States." The automobile workers must force him to keep good that promise. The campaign should start with Munsey and Saginaw!

Toledo federal local 18384 of the United Automobile Workers is waiting expectantly for word from the International office at Detroit of the new charter which it will receive. It is believed that separate charters will be granted the various shops comprising the Toledo local and that a district committee will be formed on the model of the districts in the U.M.W.A. The present clique dominating the local executive committee belong mostly to the smaller and weaker shops and so fear that such a move would destroy them. If they attempt to fight it, however, they will probably meet with the resistance of the best union members of Chevrolet, Bingham and other shops who have no representation on the present executive board and who have been dominated by this unprincipled clique of union "politicians."

The committee of seven elected at the constitutional convention of the United Automobile Workers of America to appeal the decisions of the executive council to the 65th convention of the A. F. of L. in appointing all officers of the newly formed automobile international, are preparing to leave for Atlantic City and are counting on the support of the progressives in rubber, steel, and many of the city centrals in their fight at this convention for trade union democracy and industrial unionism.

AFL Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

will not take place at Atlantic City. It is possible that the progressives will gain some apparent victories. The basic consideration is that by means of the amendment to the constitution or in some other form the foundation will be laid for the campaign against the emergence of class-struggle unionism—above all for seeking to prepare the unions for a role of subversion to capitalism and the capitalist government when war breaks. Progressives and revolutionists in view of this development, will have to learn to fight not only with more vigor but also with more subtlety than hitherto.

RIGHT PAGE NEW MILITANT!
RALLY SUPPORT FOR THE

MARCH OF VENTS

By JACK WEBER

BRITAIN PREPARES . . .

The imperialist nation with the greatest colonial empire naturally has the most to lose in the attempt by lesser powers to redivide the world and reallocate the raw materials and the markets that mean life and death to modern capitalism. By its invasion of Ethiopia Italy has served notice that the time has come for the posing of this question once more in Europe, as well as in the entire world. The preparations that were being made for the inevitable world war have been tremendously accelerated by this event. Not only has there been a dizzying speeding up of the production and stocking of munitions and the raw materials that enter into their making, but the diplomatic preparations in the maneuvering for alliances have been given a staccato tempo. Eden for England, Goering for Germany, Beck for Poland hasten from capital to capital seeking the best bargains in the holocaust each is helping to prepare. Baldwin announces that England's previous preparations have been mere play compared to what is to come, for Britain is about "to rearm in earnest." This imperialist rearmament is cloaked under the hypocrisy of defending peace. The "sanctions" of the League of Nations is in reality the sanctioning of this rearmament for keeping the exploited colonial peoples under the brutal heel of British imperialism. The robber League of Nations now becomes the instrument par excellence for creating the illusions of "right and justice," for justifying social patriotism, for binding the working class hand and foot and delivering them helpless into the bloody hands of the bourgeois ruling class. The propaganda for justifying imperialism is made to center around the League of Nations and its "sanctions."

STALINISM AIDS THE BOURGEOISIE . . .

Why shouldn't Baldwin use the arguments of justification presented to him by Stalin? What better method could he adopt than this for fooling the proletariat? Baldwin tells the British workers that England is preparing for war "not only because of Italy's present defiance, but because of the challenge which all dictatorships have thrown down to the free peoples of Europe." This is the poisonous propaganda of the Comintern taken up, as was only to be expected, by those whom it will benefit. This is the attitude that motivates the "People's Front," the vicious distortion of the united front that makes of it an instrument not of the revolutionary proletariat, but of class collaboration

and truce with one's own bourgeoisie. Stalinism helps the capitalists in the so-called democratic countries to send their workers willingly to the slaughter. Meantime the British ruling class propose, purely in the interests of democracy, no doubt, to take all precautions against the workers at home. Their first proposal is to concentrate government power in the hands of their most direct and most reactionary representatives, rather than to permit any less reliable indirect representative, even one like MacDonald who has proved his faithfulness to the national bourgeoisie, to remain in control. Hence the rulers are now choosing their own time for parliamentary elections so as to crushingly defeat the Labor Party on the issue of war and patriotism. In this vital struggle the Labor Party has capitulated in advance by its anti-revolutionary stand on sanctions, the League of Nations and war. This stand may please the Stalinists but it can only arouse the bitterest indignation in the heart of every revolutionary worker who cannot but see in it the course of betrayal that was followed similarly by the Second International in 1914.

THE ENEMY AT HOME . . .

The Labor Party, just as the Second International, points to the enemy abroad and helps to divert the attention of the proletariat from its main enemy, the English capitalists. In imperialist war the capitalist class is driven by necessity to extend the sphere of its exploitation for the very purpose of preserving the system of capitalist exploitation at home. Success of the bourgeoisie in such a war means its success in fastening ever stronger chains on the working class at home. The effort of the English workers to free themselves from capitalist exploitation means also the effort to free their colonial brothers under the heel of the same enemy. The effort of colonial peoples to secure or to maintain national independence is at the same time a blow struck at the enemy of the workers at home, a strengthening of the workers and a weakening of the capitalist exploiters. Thus the best way to help free the colonial peoples under the domination of imperialism, is to strike at the imperialist masters in one's own country. The Ethiopian people must be defended not only against Italian imperialism, but against English imperialism as well, which intends soon to send in its own troops to seize the Lake Tana region. In short, the fight against imperialism is an international struggle in which each section of the proletariat must fight against its own bourgeoisie.

Labor Defense Front

CITY WIDE CONFERENCE TO AID ANGELO HERNDON

A city-wide conference to map out a program of work for the defense of Angelo Herndon, young Negro Communist sentenced to 18 to 20 years on the Georgia chain gang on a charge of "inciting to insurrection," has been called for October 19, at 1 P.M., in the Imperial Auditorium, 160 West 129th Street, New York City. It was announced today.

The conference is called by the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense, constituted by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the General Defense Committee (I.W.O.), International Labor Defense, League for Industrial Democracy, League of Struggle for Negro Rights, and National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners. Calls for representatives to be sent to the conference have been sent to hundreds of local organizations this week.

Besides reports from the various organizations, there will be a number of prominent speakers, including Congressman Vito Marcantonio of New York, it was announced.

WORKERS

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CONCERT FOR FERRERO-SALITTO DEFENSE

Comrades: A Concert and Festival is to be held Saturday evening, October 12 at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place, to raise funds for the defense of Ferrero and Salitto against deportation.

These two defendants are legally resident aliens in the United States. Ferrero has been here for 35 years. While Salitto has lived in the United States for 15 years. They are being threatened with deportation to Fascist Italy on trumped up charges of harboring Anarchist views.

For the Concert and Festival there will be a good dance orchestra and a program of entertainment which will include a girls' string ensemble, a violin-piano duo and concert songs by Loforese. There will be refreshments, sandwiches, beer and soda. Admission is 35c.

Readers of the NEW MILITANT are urged to attend.

ALL OUT!
to the
HOUSEWARMING PARTY
Branch 1, N. Y. C.
320 East 14th Street
This Saturday Night, October 12.

"WAR IN ETHIOPIA—IMPERIALIST SANCTIONS OR REVOLUTIONARY ACTION?"

Speaker:
MAURICE SPECTOR
FRIDAY, OCT. 18, 8:15 P.M.
1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn
Aus: Brownsville Branch, W.P.

LECTURE
A. J. Muste will speak on "Do Sanctions Mean War?" at the Sunnyside Hall, 277 Kingsland Avenue, near Eastern Parkway, Wednesday, Oct. 16 at 8 P.M. Admission 10c. Auspices of the Flatbush Branch.

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The first bound volume (1928-1931) of
"THE MILITANT"
State your price to the Business Manager of the NEW MILITANT.

How History Is Written

By ALFA

A considerable portion of the Pravda for August 5 is devoted to the fortieth anniversary of the death of Engels. Poor Engels! Assuredly he is undeserving of this mockery. Engels was not only a man of genius but also the soul of scrupulousness. In literary work as well as in practical affairs he could not bear sloppiness, inaccuracy, and inexactitude. He checked every comma (in the literal sense of the term) of Marx's posthumous work, and carried on a correspondence on the subject of secondary orthographic errors. Then why does the central organ of the Moscow bureaucracy come down upon the great thinker and writer with this flood of articles in which side by side with the tendentious and, so to say, standard lies one meets at every step with the lie that is unpemeditated, born out of ignorance, heedlessness and irresponsibility?

The leading article reads: "The reverberations of the shots on the barricades of the bourgeois revolutions had hardly subsided . . . when Marx and Engels were already pointing to the majestic figure of the proletariat, this gravedigger. . . ." and so forth and so on. What sort of "bourgeois revolutions" are made mention of here? During the barricades in the year, 1830, Marx and Engels were still kids and incapable of pointing out the "majestic figure of the proletariat." Consequently the statement must relate only to the revolutions of 1848. But the "Condition of the Working Class in England," the genial work of young Engels, appeared as early as 1845. Finally, Marx and Engels did not at all await the reverberation of 1848 to proclaim to the world the doctrine of scientific socialism. "The Communist Manifesto"—and may the editors of the Pravda be apprised of this—appeared not after the "last shots had sounded" but prior to the time the first bullets hummed of the revolutions of 1848. But what does a functionary fulfilling the duties of a publicist care about the chronology of revolutions, or the ideological development of Marx and Engels to boot? Not for nothing did Bismarck say, "Give me a journalist and I'll make a good functionary out of him; but there is no making a good journalist even out of a dozen functionaries."

Stalin Sharpshooters

Quoting, from the obituary in the Neue Zeit (1896), the sentence to the effect that with the death of Engels "Marx finally died too," the leading article unexpectedly appends the following: "the leaders of the social democracy who had slid down into the swamp of reformism and opportunism made haste to intern together with the remains of Engels the revolutionary teachings of Marxism." This is indeed sharp shooting: aim a finger at the sky and hit the bull's eye! Revisionism appeared only in 1897, the name itself came still later, the weekly Neue Zeit was not the organ of revisionism but of the struggle against revisionism. The above quoted sentence did not at all imply that revolutionary Marxism was being buried together with Engels. To ascribe to the Neue Zeit of 1895 such a notion is tantamount to being an utter ignoramus in the history of Marxism. In reality, the thought expressed in the Neue Zeit was to the effect that with Engels' death there also died that part of Marx's living personality which had continued to exist in Engels. In these words there is beautifully expressed the well high indivisible creative collaboration of Marx and Engels. But the functionary fulfilling the duties of a publicist opines that he best expresses his belated hostility to revisionism when he provides a stupid and pettifogging interpretation of a clever and correct thought. And this, at the moment when the entire policy of the Communist International is being directed into channels of reformism!

The Institute of Confusion

The Marx, Engels and Lenin Institute publishes in the self-same issue a letter from Engels to Kautsky which subjects to criticism the Lassalle formula of "the single reactionary mass of the ruling classes." The aim of this publication is quite clear: the Institute for the falsification of Marxism and Leninism seeks by means of this quotation to provide a prop for the policy of coalition with the "democratic" bourgeoisie. It is unnecessary to dwell here on the political fraud: toll and moll as the Messrs. functionaries may, they will not succeed in transforming Engels into the theoretician of conciliation with the bourgeoisie. But at any rate, these gentlemen have forgotten to explain to us how the negation of the "single reactionary mass of the ruling classes" is reconcilable with the immortal aphorism of Stalin on the subject of: "Fascism and social democracy. But here is the remarkable part: publishing the letter in its own solemn name, the Institute in a brief introduction commits, in the course of eight lines, two, if not three gross mistakes.

Says the learned Institute, "In this letter Engels subjects to criticism the draft of the Erfurt pro-

Dished Up to Order by Stalin's Savants on Frederick Engels Anniversary

gram in which Kautsky, despite the instructions of Marx and Engels, was smuggling in the Lassalle thesis of the single reactionary mass."

Learned Nonsense

There could have been no instructions from Marx to Kautsky for the reason that Marx had died some eight years prior to the drafting of the Erfurt program; the only letter that Marx did write to Kautsky (in 1881) says absolutely nothing concerning the question that interests us. As regards Engels, in his letter to Kautsky he actually did subject to merciless criticism the phrase on the "single reactionary mass." But he did not at all ascribe it to Kautsky; he knew that this phrase was inserted by someone (obviously Wilhelm Liebknecht) into Kautsky's original draft, which had been approved in essence by Engels. Engels' critical letter was intended to supply Kautsky with support against Liebknecht, and especially against the old Lassalleans. "Ordinary" mortals have the privilege of not knowing this. But the learned Institute of Marx, Engels and Lenin? . . .

Further on we read: "The instructions of Engels to the leaders of the German social-democracy were not executed when the final text of the program was accepted" (our emphasis). The style itself is noteworthy: the "instructions" of the head of the department were not "executed" by an underling. But Engels was not the one and indivisible "leader." He issued "instructions" to nobody. He was merely a genial thinker and he gave theoretical and political advice to different parties. Nobody was duty bound to "execute." This sentence, so remarkable stylistically, is all the worse for being false in essence. The formula of the "single mass" was deleted from the text of the Erfurt program, and Engels in his correspondence expressed his complete satisfaction on this score. What a deal of lying in eight lines for a learned institution!

Defaming Plekhanov

In the third article devoted to Engels' attitude to the Russian revolution we are informed that in a letter to the *Emancipation of Labor Group*, Engels warned against a mechanistic and doctrinaire understanding of Marxism. And the sage *Pravda* remarks in this connection: "Alas! The outstanding members of the Group gleaned

belching functionaries—in waiting write in a wondrous manner: the reader breaks out in a rash of burns and blisters.

Zaslavsky; Bootlicker in Chief

But the palm of primacy indubitably goes to D. Zaslavsky. In the literary sense he is immeasurably more literate than the rest, and in regards to flame belching pathos he can give anybody cards and spades. Zaslavsky concludes his article with the following words: "It was not by accident that the remarkable and well worth studying friendship between Marx and Engels found its counterpart in the remarkable kinship, the great friendship between Lenin and Stalin." An immortal Russian satirist has made a remark bearing upon such a case. Said he: "After this, the son of a gun squats on his haunches and waits to be petted." Marx and Engels were bound together by forty years of titanic mental labor. The most informed and penetrating students of Marxism, like Ryazanov, have been unable—for it is unthinkable in general—to conclusively establish the line of demarcation between their creative work. As regards Lenin and . . . Stalin we want to be shown not a line of demarcation, but a line of contiguity. In the titanic mental labor of Lenin, Stalin occupied the post of an ordinary "activist" side man with a score of others. As regards "friendship," enough to recall Lenin's Testament and his letter written on his death bed in which he broke off all personal and remotely relations with Stalin. But why pick on . . . D. Zaslavsky? He is the same scribbler who in 1917 hounded Lenin in the bourgeois chauvinist press as the paid agent of the German Kaiser. In a whole series of articles Lenin never made reference to Zaslavsky otherwise than as a "scoundrel." Only after the NEP and after the first pogrom of the Left Opposition was this individual able to enter the employ of the Soviet bureaucracy. At any rate, he remains true to himself in one thing: he calumniated Lenin while the latter was alive and he continues to calumniate him after he is dead. Such gentlemen are capable of proposing, say, for the 18th Anniversary of October to rename a dozen volumes of Lenin as the "Collected Works of Stalin," in accordance with the same method by which a city like Tzaritsyn is renamed Stalingrad; a single decree—and the matter is in the bag.

But let the lackeys sweat as they will, they will not attain their goal; we will stand in defense of Marx and Engels and Lenin against all the Institutes and all the Zaslavskys.

A Skeleton from Olgin's Social Patriotic Closet

By HENRY THURMAN

According to Moissaye J. Olgin, in his recent vicious pamphlet against "Trotskyism," Leon Trotsky was nothing but a petit-bourgeois compromiser up until 1917, when he managed to fool the Bolsheviks for a few years, returning to his old sins after Lenin died. But Olgin's evaluation of the Russian revolutionist's career was quite different in 1918, when he wrote in the preface to "Our Revolution," a collection of Trotsky's writings:

"The reader will see that Trotsky's views as applied in Bolshevik Russia are not of recent origin. They were formed in the course of the First Russian Revolution of 1905, in which Trotsky was one of the leaders. They were developed and strengthened in the following years of reaction, when many a progressive group went to seek compromises with the absolutist forces. They became particularly firm through the world war and the circumstances that led to the establishment of a republican order in Russia. Perhaps many a grievous misunderstanding and misinterpretation would have been avoided had thinking America known that those conceptions of Trotsky were not created on the spur of the moment, but were the result of a life-long work in the service of the Revolution."

Just such misinterpretations—claims that Trotsky hedged during the war (Olgin did worse than that!), that Trotsky did not believe in the socialist revolution in Russia—Olgin himself is spreading now! In the biographical notes of this same work, Olgin, who claimed he was personally acquainted with Trotsky, makes numerous statements that blast the lying claims made in his slanderous pamphlet: "Trotsky is not imposing. He is almost modest . . . an uncompromising Marxist. . . . Trotsky could not conceive of half-way measures, of 'diplomatic' silence over vital topics, of cunning moves and concealed designs in political struggles. . . . To secure permanent power, the working class would have to win over the millions of peasants. This would be possible by recognizing all the agrarian changes completed by the peasants in time of the revolution and by radical agrarian legislation . . . collectivism becomes

51 Unions Support 574 Fight for Reinstatement

(Continued from Page 1)

crease promised to them by the Farmer-Labor organization.

The tactics of Mayor Latimer in using his police for the wholesale gassing, shooting and clubbing of workers were called to the attention of the Farmer-Labor party with a request that they expel Latimer from their ranks. Latimer's Employer-Employee Board was thoroughly analyzed and shown to be an artificial agency created for the purpose of usurping the rights of the unions and thereby stripping the movement of its growing progressiveness.

Delegates pointed to the growing need for the industrial form of union organization and told of the successes of several unions in working out a program of closer cooperation between trades. The conference adopted a proposal that this be made the policy of all local unions, and it was decided to hold the next conference on Wednesday, Oct. 30, at 1310 Marquette. An invitation was issued to all locals to participate in future conferences.

PARTY AT WORK

CLEVELAND

The message of the new revolutionary party is spreading in Cleveland, as the following events will indicate.

Joe Pierce, who was looked upon by many Y.C.L.ers as a leading element, came over to the Spartacus Youth League after two years in the C.P. and Y.C.L.

A number of the youth are now wavering between the Y.C.L. and S.Y.L. The NEW MILITANT is passed around openly at Y.C.L. meetings.

The Socialist Unemployed Alliance invited the Stalinists into a united front against relief slashes, and the Stalinists suggested that the Unemployed League also participate. However, they struggled against allowing Foley, the organizer, to speak! Imagine one organization in a united front dictating the choice of speakers to another—and trying to bar its main leader at that. The face of the Unemployment Council secretary twitched convulsively when Foley insisted that if he were barred, Thurman, the first "renegade" of the Cleveland youth, must speak!

At the demonstration, the young "Trotskyite" speech was received warmly, and the NEW MILITANT sold like hotcakes.

The Workers Party headquarters will open soon, and the comrades are planning forums, lectures, classes, organizational meetings, etc.

One Spartacan is organizing a discussion group among his schoolmates, others are planning union work.

Recently a lecture, "The Need for a New International," was delivered before thirty-five young people, largely Stalinist members and followers, at the Lakewood Youth League. Other mass organizations are planning to have W.P. lecturers in the future.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

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

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

H. R., N. Y.—

Question: Certain Stalinists are today claiming that the designation of the social democracy as "social fascist" is merely a continuation, into modern times, of Lenin's characterization of the social democracy as "social chauvinist." What is there to this?

Answer: The Stalinists, who argue thus, are either new to the movement or short in memory. Otherwise, they are depending upon these shortcomings being present in their listeners.

First, as to the evolution of the theory of "social fascism." Its theoretical formulation was first propounded by Stalin: "Fascism is a fighting organization of the bourgeoisie, an organization that rests on the active support of the social democracy. Social democracy is objectively the moderate wing of fascism. . . . These organizations do not contradict each other, but complete each other. They are not antipodes but twins. . . ." This "definition" was made the basis of the program of the Comintern and the policy of the G.P.G. (See, for example, "What is Happening in Germany," pp. 20-21, by Fritz Heckert, published June, 1933, by Workers Library Publishers). Essentially, therefore, the Stalinists claimed the social democracy to be *fascist* and, based on this formulation, the C.P.G. refused to make united fronts with the social democracy against Hitler. (How could united fronts be made with fascists against fascists?)

As life itself began to hammer this "theory" to bits, however, it became necessary to offer a more "reasonable" argument, which was woven through the main fabric like an excess thread: The social democracy is "social fascist" because it "paves" the way for fascism. (You will find that intellectuals like Strachey, who confuse Stalinism with Leninism, use, or have used, this rather than Stalin's original formulation.)

Now that the C. I. is "united fronting" with the social democracy at all costs, it is necessary that the term "social fascist" be forgotten as soon as possible. When reminded of it, the Stalinists dodge the issue by stating that the term is the same as Lenin's "social-chauvinism," merely brought up to date; the inference being, of course, that the Stalinists never meant any more or less than did Lenin by the term.

Factually, there never was, and, theoretically, there never could be an evolution or equality between the terms "social chauvinism" and "social-fascism" insofar as these express actual, and not imaginary, social phenomena. Lenin's characterization of the social democracy as "social-chauvinist" is scientifically correct: The leaders of the social democratic parties claimed to stand for socialism and yet acted as chauvinists. Stalin's designation of the social democracy as "social-fascist" is a fantastic distortion of Marxism. The social democratic leaders, who can be chauvinistic because this does not do away with their sinecures, cannot at the same time be fascists because this would imply that they stand for the abolition of the very organizations upon whose existence their political career depends. The after-thought that social-democracy is "social-fascist," because it objectively paves the way for fascism, is meaningless. Objectively, the road to fascism was prepared for by the whole course of capitalism, and, let us not forget, by the course of the Stalinists themselves, as well as the social democracy. It would obviously be ridiculous and merely pile confusion upon confusion if we were, for this reason, to call capitalism "capital-fascism" and the Stalinists, "communist-fascists."

Between the formulations of Lenin and the stupidities of Stalin lies, not a continuation but an abyss.

L. Z., BRONX—

Question: Is it true that the C.I. under Lenin refused membership to anyone who subscribed to the idea that the League of Nations was an instrument which helped to maintain peace?

Answer: Point 6 of the 21 conditions for admission into the Third International, adopted at the second congress of the C.I. in 1920, stated: "Every party that wishes to belong to the Third International is obligated to unmask not only open social patriotism, but also the dishonesty and hypocrisy of social pacifism, and systematically bring to the attention of the workers the fact that, without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no kind of international court of arbitration, no kind of an agreement regarding the limitation of armaments, no kind of a 'democratic' renovation of the League of Nations will be able to prevent fresh imperialistic wars."

Point 21 stated: "Those party members who, on principle, reject the conditions and those laid down by the Communist International are to be excluded from the party. . . ."

Mooney Trial Brings Out New Proofs of Innocence

SAN FRANCISCO—With their second week, the Mooney hearing sessions have really got under way. The most exciting moment of the week was the first meeting of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings since their trials in 1917. All minor differences of policy forgotten, the two famous frame-up victims threw their arms around each other and greeted each other in tears. Since he was permitted to come from Folsom and be present at the hearing, Billings' objections to testifying were relinquished, and he is doing his utmost to help Mooney in the court procedure that may in the end mean freedom for them both.

At the beginning of the week, Mooney was put on the stand again. The only remaining evidence offered directly by him, however, was the production of a long-lost letter from President Mahon of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America, authorizing him officially to organize the United Railroads employees, and enclosing funds for his expenses. This disposes of the state's contention that Mooney did not have the support and co-operation of the union in his activities in the carmen's strike.

Weinberg on Stand

Weinberg was the next witness, having come all the way from Cleveland to testify. He told again the story of how Martin Swanson tried twice, in vain, to get him to help frame Mooney in connection with the San Bruno electric tower dynamitings, and how when he refused, Swanson threatened to "get him for that." After Weinberg's arrest, Swanson sneered, "I said I'd get you, and I got you." Weinberg also threw considerable light on the methods of "identification" used by the police, telling—as have all the other witnesses—how the defendants were pointed out individually, by name, to persons brought in to identify them, and how the only time there was a real line-up, Goff made him put on a cap (all the other prisoners being bareheaded), and then whispered to the would-be identifier, "The man with the cap!"

He stated that while he was in the county jail, a fellow-townsmen of his from his native place in Poland came to him with an offer from Fickert of \$20,000 and his freedom if he would testify against Mooney. Clearly hastily moved that this be stricken from the records as hearsay, but the effect remained, and attempts are being made to locate this man, David Farber, and take his testimony if he is still alive.

Weinberg was followed by Ed Nolan, who came from his present home in Los Angeles. For a day Nolan gave rather routine testimony telling the oft-repeated story of his arrest, the search of his home with out a warrant, and the fake "identifications" to which he too was subjected. Then suddenly, on cross-examination by Cleary, he suggested that the hearing "get down to facts without so much mystery."

Testimony of Nolan

For the first time, he revealed that the various substances—clay, iron junk, etc.—found in his basement were his, that they consisted of welding compound used for him in experiments in a hardening process or soft steel, and that he accepted full responsibility for them. Mooney's key to his basement (where he kept his motorcycle) was not even in his possession while Nolan was in Baltimore at a convention during most of July, as it had been seized by the police when he was arrested in connection with the street car strike. Questioned by Cleary about the anarchist paper, The Blast, of which so much has been made by the prosecution, he cried, "I've been engaged all my

man who, when told "Here's the man you saw," still refused to be stampeded—and was never called as a witness.

Cross-Examination of Billings

Under cross-examination, as the week's sessions closed, he was being grilled on his account of his doings on July 22, 1916, with special reference to his concealment of his sabotage activities. He insisted that this concealment was voluntary and individual, based on his belief that he could easily prove an alibi anyway, and did not want to be involved in any trouble on account of sabotage. When Cleary accused him of "concealing evidence," because he destroyed the paper containing his notations of numbers of scab-painted cars on which he had squirted paint-remover, Billings retorted, "I didn't destroy nearly as much evidence as the district attorney did in my case!"

During the week testimony was read from 17 police officers stationed near Steuart and Market Streets that no car had passed down Market St. during the parade except the official car and an ambulance. Many of the long-lost documents and transcripts which never have been seen by the defense have now come to light and been handed over to them; but some are still missing, including Rena Mooney's first statement and Billings' note including the story of one elderly

Wage Cuts Heaped on Phila. Dress and Blouse Workers

Wage cuts and lengthening of hours have been put over on the workers of the cotton dress and blouse industry of Philadelphia by the bosses without any real struggle on the part of the union leadership.

Before the Fall season began, a new manager came into the union and soon after a meeting of chairmen and chairladies of cotton dress shops was called for the purpose of taking up the matter of the increase in hours as demanded by the bosses' association.

This demand aroused the workers who were present and all spoke in favor of a struggle against it. The manager, however, thought that a fight at this time would be disastrous since the industry wasn't fully organized and tried to discourage any fighting spirit on the part of the workers, by stating that if you go too strong on the bosses they may move out of town. One big shop did move out, but the union persuaded it to return by granting them all sorts of concessions.

"Impartial" Chairman
The matter was finally taken before the "impartial" chairman. When some of the shop representatives questioned him about the possibility of a wage cut as well as increases in the hours, he vehemently declared against granting any wage cuts. But his decision was a typical "impartial" chairman's decision—that is, a boss' decision. The hours were increased from thirty-six to forty and a technical term was used for wage cuts which the workers did not find out until prices on new garments were made.

Meanwhile the blouse shops started to work and the bosses refused to settle prices on the old basis. They also wanted some concessions. All this time no membership meetings were called to acquaint the workers with the situation and all sorts of rumors arose. Weeks passed, nothing was done. Unsettled garments piled up and finally the workers forced the officialdom to call shop meetings. At these meetings, we were told that the joint board recommended a five per cent reduction.

A few stoppages were made but they were declared illegal since the two year agreement has a clause in it against stoppages and strikes.

Finally the workers in some of the

shops weakened and voted for a five per cent flat reduction. Of course, the other bosses took advantage of this and the reduction became official in a majority of the shops. Besides unofficial wage cuts are taking place in all the shops, amounting to twenty and thirty per cent.

Clashes in Union

In the midst of all this a factional struggle has been raging between two cliques in the union whose main object is control of the office; one of them, the former Reisberg faction, is supported by Dubinsky, and the other poses as a progressive group. In the elections that were held in spring, the so-called progressive action, supported by the Stalinist rank and file group, won the majority on the joint board.

The joint board is composed of the silk dress local, cutters and pressers as well as the cotton dress and blouse local; each are allowed five delegates.

Out of a membership of seven thousand, the cotton local numbering over four thousand, have only five mandates. The Reisberg faction controlling the Cotton Executive, used this disproportion for its own benefit and stirred up quite a number of workers to the point where there was talk of a split.

This struggle continued all Spring and finally culminated in the board requesting the resignation of Reisberg.

Reisberg, manager of the Philadelphia local for fifteen years, has a record of class collaboration. The union membership dwindled down to a couple of hundred and it was almost put out of existence, until the strike of May 1933, when the workers responded in great masses to the call, much to the surprise of Reisberg and President Dubinsky as well.

Class Collaboration

While the workers were glad to be rid of this individual, Reisberg, nevertheless the members are now confronted with a leadership worse and more open in its policy of collaboration.

Collective bargaining, no struggle, the bosses might close up if we don't give in, is their song and dance at meetings. Two shops have a check-off system of collecting dues and there is talk of having it in every shop.

No effective militant opposition movement exists as yet in the union. The Stalinist controlled rank and file group helped this new leadership to get into power. They even swung the membership into voting for three business agents, when two are more than sufficient. There is great discontent with the present leadership and its policies, especially among the new elements in the union, and particularly in the cotton local, where a more militant attitude is being developed.

The Fall season will be over soon. A campaign must be started as soon as possible to organize the unorganized and to rally the union for a militant struggle in the Spring to regain our losses and obtain better conditions for the worker in the industry as this is the only guarantee for a strong union.

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SHADOW OF TREACHERY

(Continued from Page 1)

of truth, the precedent was set on August 4, 1914.

Litvinov's Role

October 3: An article on page 3 entitled "The Soviet Union Alone Fought Against Imperialist War at Geneva." How? "On April 17, the Council of the League adopted a resolution condemning Germany, then as now, openly rearming at a break neck speed. . . . The Soviet delegate (Litvinov) at that time foresaw that the League was setting a very important precedent which could be later applied to Mussolini. . . . On April 18 the New York Times described Litvinov's action at Geneva as follows:

"... He raised the point that the proposed measures against the unilateral denunciation of treaties were applied only to European countries. . . . He wanted the Committee left free to propose measures for other than European countries."

"That is why it was no surprise that on September 5 at the Council of the League Maxim Litvinov rose to defend Ethiopia."

What can be said for this filthy hypocrisy? Ethiopia applied to the League in December, 1934. For more than eight months the delegate of the Soviet Union to the League "fought against imperialist war" and defended Ethiopia by . . . making a slight change in a resolution calculated to enable him to protest against the Ethiopian outrage months "later" whenever his French ally, Laval, thought it necessary. Not once during those

whole eight months did Litvinov so much as mention Ethiopia by name, to say nothing of fighting imperialist war and defending colonial peoples. And the Stalinist delivers, obliged to find some action to bear out the title of their article can find nothing more than a quotation from the N. Y. Times (How does it happen that comrade Litvinov's intransigent struggle for peace and the defense of Ethiopia did not find its way into the Daily Worker?) to the effect that he amended a resolution so that it might include Ethiopia . . . and still did not once mention Ethiopia by name, although her protests had been sent to the League four months before.

On September 5 France decided to take measures against Mussolini, and Litvinov, agent of Stalin, who has now become the agent of Laval, rose to protest in the League. This was "no surprise" to the Stalinists who had followed Litvinov's eight month's battle against the invasion of Ethiopia, a battle consisting of a one line amendment to a resolution last April, with such breath taking interest that they had completely neglected to mention it in the Daily Worker.

Sanctions and British Labor

October 4: Like a criminal returning to the scene of his crime, the Stalinists return to the question of sanctions. Not content with the somewhat clumsy treachery of M. Repard, they employ the services of a certain R. Bishop to explain away the fact that Stalin's International has become the puppet of imperialism. An article on page 6 treats of "The Line-up of British Labor on Mussolini's War Moves":

"Fenner Brockway, the leader of the Independent (Left Socialist) Labor Party says that the only sanctions that matter are 'working class sanctions' that the working class cannot demand that the National government should apply sanctions, as to do so would be to align the working class with the National government."

"The I.L.P. leadership has been stating that the Communist Party line means lining up with the National Government. This misrepresentation of facts (what misrepresentation?) was dealt with very effectively by Harry Pollitt (leader of the British C.P.). He said the National government is seeking to preserve its vital imperialist interests on the one hand, and to cover this up by pretending to be a defender of peace on the other. Unless the fight for the independence of Ethiopia is accompanied by the most convincing exposure of the responsibility of the National government for the present tense international situation, a position can easily result which the National government will turn to its benefit at the coming election. The line of the Labor Party unfortunately helps the National government in this respect."

Covering Up the Tracks
This quotation, and this quotation alone, which is given in full, is said by the Stalinist, Bishop, to deal "very effectively with Brockway's (perfectly correct) misrepresentation of facts." Where? How? What has Pollitt to say on the question of sanctions? Only that the C.P. is prepared to "expose" the National government while supporting it in the application of sanctions, that is, handing the workers over to the service of British imperialism to be slaughtered in war.

Pollitt's "effective" answer boils down to a very effective exposure of the degenerate aims of Stalinism. Sell the workers to the imperialist government, send the workers into a new world war, that's all right, but be sure to cover up the tracks by criticizing the National government.

October 5: Harry Gannes takes up the question of sanctions: "With war raging, the line-up for and against sanctions has become crystal clear."

"All the Fascist nations . . . are lined up solidly against sanctions. In Britain and France the Fascist Mosleys and de la Roques are bitterly against sanctions. Confused elements in the labor movement play into the hands of these forces."

"On behalf of real collective effective sanctions are: The Soviet Union . . . the growing united forces of the world labor movement."

Playing the Fascists' Game
Harry Gannes makes of his own betrayal an argument for further betrayal. Because the Socialist Internationalists have betrayed the workers into supporting the sanction policy of their imperialist governments Gannes is able to say that the labor movement is for sanctions. Perhaps Mr. Gannes has not read the New York Herald-Tribune which only the other day commented upon the situation in France. For the first time in history, said that reactionary paper, the parties of the Left are for war, and the parties of the Right, the Fascists, opposed to war. The latter are capitalizing on the peace sentiments of the people. The Stalinists are not only selling the workers out to imperialism, but they are playing directly into the hands of the Fas-

With Revolutionary Greetings,
For the Fourth International,
CHARLES VAN GELDENEN.

To Lecture On

AFL Conclave

The present convention of the American Federation of Labor will be analyzed in the first two lectures of a series to be conducted by A. J. Muste at the International Workers School. The series "Current Trends in America, Trade Union and Political" will open Wednesday evening, October 23 and continue the succeeding Wednesdays for 8 weeks.

A. J. Muste will be the speaker at the first three lectures which will include an examination of the past year of the A. F. of L., the deliberations and decisions of the Atlantic City convention, the prospects or the coming year and a detailed examination of unionization in the steel, automobile and rubber industries.

The lecturers for the remainder of the series will be announced later. The additional lectures are:

4. THE NEEDLE TRADES UNIONS AND THEIR ROLE IN THE AMERICAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT. Wednesday, Nov. 13.

5. THE CAPITALIST POLITICAL PARTIES. Wed., Nov. 20.

6. THE THIRD PARTY MOVEMENTS. Wednesday, Nov. 27.

7. THE SOCIALIST PARTY IN THE U. S. Wednesday, Dec. 4.

8. THE COMMUNIST PARTY. Wednesday, Dec. 11.

The fee for the entire series is one dollar, fifty cents payable at time of registration, and fifteen cents per lecture.

Register at School office, 55 East 11th Street, third floor, N. Y. C.

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Every Edition of Daily Worker Sinks Deeper into Social Patriotic Swamp

staff! What is the next step? Stalinists will force their way into the positions vacated by the "Fascists."

October 7: An editorial on sanctions, another one. Can it be that the "monolithic" party is not swallowing the Stalin-Laval communique?

"Ethiopia has put the question of sanctions squarely on the order of the day at the League of Nations."

"Ethiopia, whose people are being slaughtered by the Fascist invaders, seems to have a different conception of its interests than certain people who persist in condemning sanctions."

A Prophetic Editorial
The "certain people" above are the followers of Lenin who resolutely oppose all imperialist war. There is something prophetic about this editorial; merely change the names a bit and you get an editorial from the Daily Worker a few months from now. Germany has invaded France (or vice versa); France has put the question of war squarely on the order of the day before the American people.

France whose people are being slaughtered by the Fascist invaders seems to have a different conception of its interests than certain people who persist in condemning war.

The editorial continues:

"Does it make sense to say that Ethiopia can fight so valiantly on its own soil and at the same time surrender to the imperialists at Geneva? When the opponents of sanctions claim that sanctions bolster imperialism it just doesn't make sense."

The Communist Party has now reached the stage of bankruptcy in which it takes its line from the Emperor of Abyssinia. If the Emperor supports sanctions why shouldn't we? says the Daily Worker. The last line of the editorial reads: "And Ethiopia, directly involved in the struggle, by her actions supports the policy of the Communist Party." (11)

So the party of the proletariat, in the greatest industrial country of the world, in the last stages of capitalist decay, is happy to announce that its line is endorsed by the feudal Emperor of Ethiopia, in the most backward semi-nomadic state of the world, barely on the threshold of civilization in any form. What an endorsement! That proves the line is right!

Shaking Hands With Green
Coming events cast their shadows before. On October 8, after seven days of preparing the workers for war, preparing them by examples from foreign lands, the Daily Worker comes home. A front page article on the A. F. of L. convention begins with a significant bulletin:

"Washington, Oct. 7.—As William Green, President of the A. F. of L. finished his convention speech in which he advocated sanctions against Italy in the name of the convention, Samuel R. Salomonick, trade union organizer of the New York Committee Against War and Fascism, who was seated on the platform with Green, stepped forward and congratulated Green in the name of the League."

Think it over, Stalinist workers. Are you ready to be voluntary cannon fodder of American imperialism in the impending world war? That is the real question put squarely before you by the treacherous policy of Stalinism.

On the last page is a streamer editorial of which the headline is sufficient: "League Must Be Forced to Act Against Mussolini's Robber War." Typical. Everywhere the Stalinists speak of forcing; the British government is forced to protect its colonies, the French government is forced to protect the Versailles Treaty, the League of Nations is to be forced to protect the interests of its dominant member imperialists. A pathetic attempt to cover up their treachery. They propagate the absurd lie that the workers are fighting against the imperialists on the question of sanctions! In a few more months they will demand that the workers force their way into the imperialist army! And this is no fantasy. In France they demand the removal of "Fascist" elements from the army

Which they are doing.

Forcing the Imperialists
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On the last page is a streamer editorial of which the headline is sufficient: "League Must Be Forced to Act Against Mussolini's Robber War." Typical. Everywhere the Stalinists speak of forcing; the British government is forced to protect its colonies, the French government is forced to protect the Versailles Treaty, the League of Nations is to be forced to protect the interests of its dominant member imperialists. A pathetic attempt to cover up their treachery. They propagate the absurd lie that the workers are fighting against the imperialists on the question of sanctions! In a few more months they will demand that the workers force their way into the imperialist army! And this is no fantasy. In France they demand the removal of "Fascist" elements from the army

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International Workers School

55 EAST 11th STREET, N. Y. C.

Second Year—Fall 1935. Beginning October 21, 1935.

1. ORGANIZATION PRINCIPLES—Martin Abern. Monday, 7:00-8:30 P.M. Eight sessions. This course will analyze party structure and methods of work. Open only to members of the Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League.
2. FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS OF MARXISM—Ben Borkeson. Monday, 8:40-10:10 P.M. Eight sessions. An elementary course which will trace the basic economic and political features of capitalist society, the development of the modern class struggle, the need or the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, the dictatorship of the working class and the role of the revolutionary party.
3. PROGRAMMATIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE WORKERS PARTY—J. G. Wright. Wednesday, 7:00-8:30 P.M. Seven sessions. An advanced course which will analyze the contradictions of the imperialist epoch, the rise and degeneration of the Second and Third Internationals, the struggle against Fascism and war, the working class struggle for power and the need for the Fourth International.
4. CURRENT TRENDS IN AMERICA, TRADE UNION AND POLITICAL—A. J. Muste. Wednesday, 8:40. Eight lectures. Lectures on the A. F. of L., unionization in the basic industries, the capitalist political parties, the third party movements, the Socialist and Communist parties.
5. THEORETICAL SYSTEM OF KARL MARX—Rubin Grote. Thursday, 7:00-8:30 P.M. Seven sessions. An advanced course which will consider the origins and social roots of Marxism, the materialist conception of history, Marxian economics, the class struggle and the political party, theory of the state and working class internationalism.
6. STATE AND REVOLUTION—J. Weber. Friday, 8:40-10:10 P.M. Eight sessions. The course will deal with the origin and development of the state from the earliest times to present day capitalism. A detailed discussion of the capitalist state machinery, the attitude of the working class towards the capitalist state and the role of the workers' state.

Fees: \$1.00 per course, 50c payable at time of registration. For information, write to: International Workers School, 51 East 11th Street, New York City.

Mass Meeting

Unite Against Imperialist War DEFEND THE ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE

WORKERS!

Imperialist Italy is conducting a robber war against the Ethiopian people.

The Ethiopians are fighting, arms in hand, for the right of national self-determination; for freedom from imperialist control.

Roosevelt, like his predecessor Wilson, speaks about "neutrality" while he goes full speed ahead with the greatest military program the United States government has ever had!

The League of Nations, imperialist instrument of France and England, has decided to invoke "sanctions," penalties against Italy. Imperialist sanctions cannot defend the Ethiopian people or prevent a new world war.

Sanctions is only the preparations for the new international conflagration.

Both the Socialist and Stalinist Internationals defend the policy of imperialist sanctions. Both have pledged themselves to support the capitalist governments in this policy. This means support to the new imperialist war.

The social-patriotic course of social democracy in 1914-1918 is now the policy of the Socialist and Stalinist parties!

Organize against imperialist war! Defend the Ethiopian people! Rally against social patriotism! Help forge the instruments for the revolutionary struggle against imperialist war and capitalism, the Workers Party and the Fourth International!

Speaker:

MAURICE SPECTOR

Sunday, October 20--8 p.m.

IRVING PLAZA, Irving Place and 15th Street

Auspices: Workers Party, New York District, 55 East 11th Street.