

# NEW MILITANT

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## A MESSAGE TO NEW MILITANT READERS

November 7th saw the first eight-page NEW MILITANT. Next week, the first anniversary of the Workers Party, the second will appear.

The proof will then be conclusive of the infinite value added to the only revolutionary paper by its enlarged size.

Our members are convinced; they are prepared for the final push to send the regular eight-page NEW MILITANT over the top.

The entire machinery of the party is being geared up to high-speed for the attainment of this goal in the shortest possible time.

1,000 subs by Christmas will do the trick.

Every branch has its quota and every member his assignment. But our party is small; the members will do their part, but more is needed.

We need the help of every sympathizer and supporter of the party to fulfill the goal—and make the eight-pager ours.

We need your help.

You can get subs from your friends, shopmates and union members.

Make your Christmas gift to the Workers Party—send in every sub you can lay hands on.

And we will reciprocate with THE EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT!

## Fascists Grow Bolder in France after Recent Clash

By H. F. R.

At Limoges on November 17 some 30 French Socialist workers were wounded when members of the Croix de Feu opened fire.

"The shooting definitely establishes beyond any possible doubt," says the Daily Worker, "that the Croix de Feu is well-armed for a Fascist coup."

It also proved that the workers were facing the well-armed Fascists with nothing but their bare hands.

Cachin, says the Daily Worker, wants to oust Laval because the government "has not yet made any arrests among the Fascist gunmen."

What is Cachin going to do about it?

Edouard Herriot, Radical co-minister of Laval, is the present beau-ideal of the Stalinists for premier—or at least foreign minister.

But this week "Comrade" Herriot bluntly declared that he was "fully in accord" with Laval, that he would countenance no attempt to overthrow Laval, and that he, Herriot, would not take part in any cabinet designed to succeed Laval's.

Dutifully Leon Blum declared before the delegation of Radical-Socialist-Stalinist deputies that any attempt to overthrow the Laval government would be a "dangerous experiment."

The thing to do, said Blum, was to get Laval to dissolve the Fascist leagues, dissolve Parliament and call new elections.

Will Sacrifice "People's Front" Government

One or two Paris reports indicated that the Stalinists, who mortally hate and fear Laval's tendencies to toy with Hitler, are growing fearful. The latest "Humanite" to hand indicates that even the slogan of a "Front Populaire Government" has been forsaken. It is now a simple "government of the left" which the Stalinists demand. And what would this government of the "left" be? A government, writes Jacques Duclos, "which would give life to the resolutions of Wagram." ("Humanite," Nov. 12.) In other words, the resolutions of the Radical Socialist Party congress which ended on the keynote appeal for "impassioned devotion to national defense!"

Such a government, which will apply, says Duclos, "a left policy," i. e., dissolution of the Fascist leagues—and passionate national defense?—"will meet no difficulties from the Communists."

No, hardly. Vaillant Coturier, who marched on November 11 with uniformed, be-medalled war veterans, rhapsodically reported in the columns of "Humanite" that as they marched by, the unanimous electric cry was: "Long live the republic! Long live the Republic!"

"The Unknown Soldier has once more found his comrades"—is the headline over the Armistice Day spread in "Humanite." Tragically, it is true. The Cachins who handed over millions to unknown graves in 1914-18 are today preparing to hand the new generation over to the same fate symbolized by the Arc de Triomphe in Paris with the slab of cold marble beneath it.

**CUBAN BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS SIGN OPEN LETTER**

The Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Cuba, now under severe police repression by the Mendicita Wall Street government, has just sent its signature to the Open Letter for the Fourth International to the Workers Party of the U. S. is one of the signatories.

## Egypt Rises In Revolt

### British Imperialism Casts Off Hypocritical Mask in Severe Repression

Britain's great show of defending the national rights of the Ethiopian people is not making such a hit since Britain's own national problem burst forth last week in the Waifist (nationalist) riots in Egypt. At the very moment when Sir Samuel Hoare, the British Foreign Secretary, is oozing righteous sympathy for the poor Ethiopians, and calling for a vastly enlarged navy, for the purposes of defending Ethiopia no doubt, six Egyptians are killed and more than a hundred wounded in riots of resentment against a speech on the Egyptian question by Sir Samuel Hoare.

Egypt stands to Britain much as our own Philippines stand to the United States, with the exception that Egypt has already been twice granted an independent constitution, once in 1923 and once in 1930, and twice had that constitution revoked, while the Philippines are just starting their career of so-called independence.

The riots are significant in a larger sense as an indication of the colonial unrest stimulated by the Ethiopian war. Britain at first tried to pass the riots off as the work of Italian agents, just as bosses always try to pass off strikes as the work of outside agitators. This explanation is absurd on the face of it, for the riots and the Egyptian people generally are more than friendly to the Ethiopians in their struggle with Mussolini.

Today there are reports of wider unrest in Egypt, more demonstrations, a deepening movement. "High Egyptian officials," says the Times, "express fear that more serious troubles are ahead." Nahas Pasha, president of the Wafd movement, said that a protest had been sent to the League and that the Wafd were "seeking the world's sympathy in our struggle."

Nahas Pasha may seek the aid of the world at large through the League of Nations, but the Egyptian nationalist movement can only become a force when the Egyptian workers and poor farmers are enlisted, and when the Egyptian workers appeal not to the world at large, the capitalist world and its Robber League, but to the international working class for support. It is just this possible awakening of the Egyptian workers that causes "high officials to fear serious troubles ahead."

## Roosevelt's "Pacifism"

American financial and industrial interests greedily eyeing the rich plum that the huge Far Eastern market means for them, have a worthy servant in Franklin D. Roosevelt, the extent of whose "pacifist" comment is matched only by the extent of his naval program—the largest in recent history.

The present construction program extends from 1933 to 1938. It involves an outlay of over \$650,000,000. There are 87 vessels now in process of construction—33 in eight private yards and 54 in eight navy yards. Present employment in naval construction is nearly 45,000 workers, 19,000 of whom work for private employers, the remainder for the government.

# Lewis "Purge" Stopped Cold

## 574 Heads Confident Of Smashing Victory

Cannon, on the Scene, Reports Drivers Local Stronger than Ever and the Center of the Minneapolis Labor Movement

By JAMES P. CANNON

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 20.—One doesn't have to be here very long to learn that William Green picked the poorest spot in the country to begin his ill-fated campaign against radicalism and militancy in the A. F. of L. Meyer Lewis, the man selected by Green to do the job here, has made such a miserable showing that his early elimination from the scene is freely predicted on all sides. The stormy reception accorded him at the Central Labor Union the other night—his first appearance before a labor body after numerous speeches before employers' meetings, luncheons and teas—showed that he has ceased to inspire any fear even among the old-line labor leaders, and has become a nuisance and a joke.

Meantime Local 574, the spearhead of progressivism and militancy, which met his red-baiting campaign with a savage counter-offensive, is still fighting, going stronger than ever and recruiting new members daily.

**574 Demands Return of Charter**

In a direct move to conciliate the struggle, the Central Labor Union has appointed a special committee, supplementary to its executive board and jointly with it, to negotiate with local 574. These negotiations are now in progress. In conference with the C.L.U. committee, and in a statement prepared today, the executive board of Local 574 reiterated its basic position that a fundamental settlement of the issue necessitates the restoration of its charter and the recognition of the jurisdictional rights obtaining prior to its revocation. Local 574, in its statement, showed from the record that it had not infringed on the jurisdiction of any other unions but, on the contrary, had cooperated with them in their struggles and helped to build them up. At the same time it asserted the firm determination to maintain the organization it has built at the cost of so much blood and sacrifice and to defend itself against attacks from any quarter, regardless of whether they come from the Citizens Alliance, Mayor Latimer's police, or misleaders sowing disruption in the labor movement.

Local 574 is well-equipped for the fight. Its leaders count on victory with a superb self-confidence. The magnificent organization which went through the great strikes of 1934 with such a shining record is not fighting with its back to the wall any more. The morale of its membership, tested and hardened in heroic battles, is on the heights. Job control is more secure than ever. The authority of the leadership is undisputed. The sympathy of the rank and file of organized labor is outspokenly on the side of local 574. Unless all signs fall progressive unionism will come out of the present conflict in Minneapolis with a smashing victory which will herald the collapse of the anti-"Red" campaign on a national scale.

Next week I will provide the readers of the NEW MILITANT with a first-hand account in some detail of the present situation of local 574 and the facts in the situation which justify every militant in the labor movement in looking to the outcome of the struggle here with enthusiasm and hope.

With hundreds of thousands of workers and sympathizers, white and black, anxiously awaiting news as to Angelo Herndon's fate, Judge Hugh M. Dorsey of Atlanta Superior Court on November 13 reserved decision in a suit brought by the International Labor Defense for a writ of habeas corpus. Through this suit, brought for the I.L.D. by Attorneys Seymour and Sutherland, the I.L.D. hopes to upset the sentence of 18 to 20 years on a chain gang.

Herndon, whose appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court was thrown out on the technical ground that it had not been properly prepared for in the lower courts, is today in Fulton Tower jail in Atlanta. Should Judge Dorsey grant the writ, the prosecution would go over his head and appeal to the Georgia Supreme Court to order Herndon's rearrest. The fight will almost certainly go to the U. S. Supreme Court again before it is settled.

While no organized effort was made to induce sympathizers with the Herndon struggle to show their interest by attending the hearing, it is an interesting fact that the Negro section of the court was crowded and that several dozen whites, a number of whom were sympathetic to Herndon, were also present.

**Defense Arguments for Herndon**

The constitutional questions involved were argued in the Atlanta Court by Whitney North Seymour, former U. S. Assistant Solicitor General, who presented a masterful legal argument in a dignified, forceful manner. He contended that Herndon has been denied due process of law, and that the 1866 Insurrection law under which he was convicted is unconstitutional.

Solicitor Lecraw of Fulton County, representing the Jim Crow

(Continued on Page 4)

## Meyer Lewis Has to Catch Train--

After Students and 574 President Get Thru with Him

MINNEAPOLIS.—On Tuesday, Nov. 12, Meyer Lewis, the mighty union splitter, was scheduled to appear before the University of Minnesota Student Forum and tell how he was going to make the world safe for trade union bureaucracy.

Undoubtedly, Meyer considered this occasion as just another step in his program of rallying non-union support in his and Bill Green's campaign for the destruction of the living union movement. The subject of his talk, as it appeared on placards distributed all over the campus, was "The A. F. of L. Red Purge in Minneapolis." Meyer thought, unquestionably, that he was going to hold forth, this time also, before another boss club—a junior edition of the Citizens Alliance or of the Chamber of Commerce, perhaps. He thought, too, that it would be easy going; wouldn't the students, like any other boss organization, simply drink in every word he had to say and accept it as the gospel truth? Wouldn't they just adore his union-splitting tricks?

**Meyer Meets Bill Brown**

Meyer was sitting upon a settee in the room where the Forum meets, waiting for the meeting to begin and in the meantime basking in the glory of his anticipated victory. In a few minutes, as if by a dash of cold water, Meyer was rudely brought back to reality. Bill Brown, Ray Dunne and Grant Dunne walked in through the door of the Forum hall. A student at the university, sympathetic to 574, having learned of Lewis' scheduled appearance at the Forum, had invited the leaders of 574 to come down so that they could get the dope direct from Lewis' own lips. As the leaders of 574 walked through the door, they were greeted by "Hi, there Bill. Do you know Meyer Lewis? Meet Bill Brown, president of 574." Bill Brown shook hands and said, "Meyer, do you know Ray and Grant Dunne?" This was the first time that Meyer had come face to face with the leaders of 574, whom he was trying to purge. It was a rude shock for him, indeed. But the leaders of 574 enjoyed it immensely; they obtained front row seats, right under Lewis' nose. You see, they didn't want to miss a word!

When Lewis got up to talk, he was not going to talk about the A. (Continued from Page 2)

## Scottsboro Boys in Danger as Southern Bourbons Hint Deal

Two days after new indictments were returned against the Scottsboro boys by a grand jury, an authoritative spokesman of the Alabama authorities openly intimated they were prepared to let the Scottsboro boys off, if the International Labor Defense were prepared to make a deal.

If the Scottsboro case is turned over by the I.L.D. to non-labor elements and thus ceases to be identified with the cause of labor and oppressed minorities, an acquittal is impliedly promised by John Temple Graves, prominent Birmingham editor, whose editorial correspondence to the Sunday edition of the New York Times during the trials and appeals authoritatively expressed the policy which the Southern bourbons subsequently carried out.

**The Bourbon Deal**

"In the opinion of many Alabamians the prime thing to be considered today is whether the International Labor Defense shall be permitted to win a famous victory and exploit it to further the Communist movement among the Southern Negroes," declares Graves in the New York Times of November 16. "These Alabamians would be well satisfied if the defense could be taken over by some well-known Southern lawyer or lawyers and an acquittal won under such command. They do not believe acquittal would be wise if the I.L.D. were in a position to claim credit for it and they do not believe an acquittal

## Stormy C.L.U. Rally in Mpls. Voices Protest

Green Stooze Forced to Backwater on Hosiery Strike Despite Solidarity with 574; C.P. Plays Cowardly Role.

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 18.—Meyer Lewis, despite the fact that he has the complete backing of William Green, Farmer-Labor Mayor Latimer, and the bosses—with the Communist Party helping in its own way—lost every round in last week's battle to split the strong Minneapolis labor movement and smash fighting Local 574.

The regular Tuesday noon business agents' luncheon openly opposed him, and had to be hurriedly adjourned.

At the Tuesday Student Forum at the University of Minnesota, where Lewis spoke, he was given the most brutal verbal wracking that a speaker there has ever received.

On Wednesday night the membership of the expelled Laundry Workers Local No. 18005 voted unanimously to support its executive board in repudiating Lewis and continuing friendly relations with Local 574.

Lewis' appearance at the Central Labor Union meeting Wednesday night, the first time he has appeared there in his six weeks' stay in Minneapolis, was the signal for one of the stormiest sessions the C.L.U. has ever seen. Not one delegate took the floor to support Lewis.

Lewis has been forced to make an abrupt about-face and come out in open support of the Strutwear strikers.

**A Planned Frame-up**

Finally, in desperation, Lewis and the Latimer city administration began the use of gutter tactics and attempted a frame-up. On Wednesday night, Local 574 had planned a stag-show for its membership. Just before the show was about to begin before 700 workers, word came that the police were all set to raid 574 and arrest the leaders. Three hundred police, with patrol wagons and armored cars, were all set to make the raid, and provoke a fight. A dozen plain clothes men were in the audience. The newspapers actually had the whole story already set up and ready to run in Thursday's papers. The plan was to arrest a bunch of prostitutes in Minneapolis' red-light district and use them as a background against which to photograph the 574 leaders. But at the last minute the scheme leaked out, and the stag-show was called off and the money refunded. Seven hundred men left the hall with even less love for Meyer Lewis and Mayor Latimer who had suddenly taken such a fatherly interest in the morals of 574's membership.

This wasn't the only frame-up attempted that night. One of the 574 leaders, Harry DeBoer, was picked up the same night by the cops and thrown into jail, charged with disorderly conduct, an old charge growing out of the May, 1934, drivers' strike, and one that had been settled out of court over a year ago. DeBoer was released on \$25 bail early the following morning, and the next day when his case came up in court, the judge was forced to postpone it for lack of evidence. The two incidents cited above show the growing bitterness of the current struggle in Minneapolis, and the lengths to which the reactionaries are willing to go in their fight against militant unionism. Readers of the NEW MILITANT should not be surprised if, in the near future, they hear that various militant trade unionists have been arrested on the most outrageous charges that can be conceived by the enemies of the working class.

**574 Goes to College**

At the Tuesday business agents luncheon, one of the delegates rose and demanded point-blank that the group reach a decision on the Lewis-Green drive; as for himself, he was completely opposed to Lewis' fight on 574. Support immediately rallied to this suggestion, with the result that Pat Corcoran, chairman, had to hurriedly adjourn the meeting.

At about the same time, Mr. Lewis was making the fatal mistake of addressing a student forum at the University (reported elsewhere in this issue), and got the drubbing of his life.

The affair was a field-day for 574, a pleasant interlude in the bitter struggle that is taking place in Minneapolis today. Incidentally the Minnesota Daily, student newspaper, came out next day with a story and editorial attacking Lewis, and that night broadcast over the university radio station the story

(Continued from Page 2)

**Emptiness of Supreme Court Decision**

In the same article, the Alabama editor boasts that the U.S. Supreme Court decision requiring placing of Negroes on jury rolls, does not interfere with chauvinist exclusion of Negroes.

The dispatch with which the Southern rulers have rendered meaningless the legalistic requirements of the Supreme Court proves to the hilt that their "honor" does not exist where "white supremacy"—which is actually the policy of divide and rule—is involved. If the I.L.D. opportunistically turns the case over to "respectable people" and the necessary militant mass support of the labor movement is not built up, the Scottsboro boys are in greater danger than they were when the I.L.D. combined a sectarian policy of adventurist stunts under the sole banner of the C. P. and the I.L.D. with trimmings in the form of Attorney Liebowitz's catering to Southern prejudices. Only evidence of the determination of the organized political and trade union forces of labor to support the Scottsboro fight will convince the Alabama bourbons that the Scottsboro boys must be freed.



## Our Revolutionary Heritage:

## Shays' Rebellion

By Leighton Rigby

Note: Hearst quotes Jefferson. But quotations, like statistics, can be so manipulated as to seemingly prove a black lie is a pious truth. Jerked from their true settings and placed in new ones, quotations often shine with false brilliance and fool the eye.

Yes, Hearst quotes Jefferson. But what about Thomas Jefferson's opinion of Shays' Rebellion? If it were not so horribly tragic, it would be amusing to watch the Hearstians as they avoid that opinion on tiptoe. "God forbid that we should ever be for twenty years without such a rebellion," and "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of tyrants." That's the real Thomas Jefferson, the Jefferson who fought tyrants but was impeded by lack of a fundamental knowledge of class relations.

This article concerns Shays' Rebellion, the joy of the real Thomas Jefferson and a part of our revolutionary heritage.

When the "embattled farmers" stood by the rude bridge and "fired the shot heard 'round the world," they were inspired by dreams of freedom from tyranny. Because they were not aware of the inevitability of class dictatorships wherever classes exist, they had the right to hope indeed that victory for them would bring freedom. In the end, they succeeded only in driving out one group of tyrants to make room for another.

The new tyrants did not quickly establish themselves. It was not until the Articles of Confederation were scrapped in favor of the Constitution that the new batch of oppressors were able to make their dictatorship secure. But lack of complete control did not prevent the money leaders, speculators, commercialists and industrialists from making themselves known at once. And while they were engaged in gaining their selfish ends, there was an increasing determination on the part of the agrarian population that freedom should not ring out only to be immediately resubmerged.

In all fairness, we must take care not to magnify the size of the revolutionary group of 1776. Two-thirds of the population either opposed or showed no interest in the conflict. But those who actually fought to destroy tyranny meant to do exactly that, not to effect a mere transfer of rulers. It is probably true that no power could have altered the result; capitalism had something to put forward then besides stinking, decaying flesh. Be that as it may, the truth is that a militant minority sought to overthrow oppression, both the old and the new. Their spirit is our heritage.

## Hamilton Safeguards the System

In a society of classes, there must be a ruling class. When the ruling class cannot rule, there is chaos. Such were the circumstances in America following the Declaration of Independence. The new high-and-mighty needed time to learn the art of subtle persuasion. It took Alexander Hamilton to give them their first lesson when he artfully saw to it that the likes of Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Sam Adams and Tom Paine had no hand in framing the Constitution. That document eventually brought order, in addition to much comfort to shivering capitalists.

Shays' Rebellion was largely responsible for the urgency felt by the capitalists in the matter of drawing up a constitution more suited to their needs. That armed insurrection was the handwriting on the wall that told the new tyrants that to make themselves masters they were obliged to use the whip of artifice to retain democracy, yes, but only in name.

## Foreclosures, Taxes, Oppression

In the state of Massachusetts, a group of capitalists (hardly a party)—among them merchants and money lenders—determined to solve their problem by jamming through a state constitution of their own making. Under this code, adopted in 1780, the makers and administrators of the laws were chosen on the basis of their sympathy for the capitalist cause. The immediate result was the hiking of taxes, with the secondary result that wholesale foreclosures and

oustings were the order of the day.

As the pressure became daily more hard to bear, the farmers made no secret of their resentment. The spirit of revolt that had led them to boot out one gang of tyrants still smoldered, and each new stinging lash only served to fan higher the fire of indignation. Insurrection was inevitable. Had it not been conducted in 1786 by Daniel Shays, veteran of Bunker Hill, another would have led.

## "The Common Property of All"

Congress appointed a committee. (Yes, even then!) In this case it was one man, General Knox, who was sent to Massachusetts to see what was what. His report on the followers of Shays is greatly to the point: "Their creed is that the property of the United States has been protected from the confiscation of Britain by the joint exertions of all, and therefore ought to be the common property of all, and he that attempts opposition to this creed is an enemy to equity and justice, and ought to be swept from off the face of the earth." Let the Hearstians try to explain that quotation away!

The general court of Massachusetts offered the olive branch in the form of questionable "redress," and the chief magistrate summoned the state militia. But Shays, with hundreds of militant followers, was determined that the supreme court should not meet. He was equally determined, moreover, that the ten thousand stand of arms in the con-

tinental storehouse should be distributed among the revolutionists. The supreme court of Massachusetts under the state constitution of 1780 would probably have disappeared indeed had Shays been able to gain possession of the too-well guarded arms, thus augmenting the lean supply of the insurrectionists.

## "A Strong" Government

There was quaking among the influentials throughout the land. Fears of a general agrarian revolt led to talk of an outright military dictatorship. Colonel Humphreys held that "nothing but a good Providence can extricate us from the present convulsion," and he begged George Washington to again enter the arena. The latter was stunned by the events: "What, gracious God! is man, that there should be such inconsistency and perverseness in his conduct." But he was also moved to vigorously propose greater constitutional power for the federal government to suppress local revolts: "What stronger evidence can be given of the want of energy in our government than these disturbances?" And, make no mistake! the money lenders and commercialists were bent even more on making their position more secure.

In the end, the leaders of the revolt sought refuge in Canada, and Shays' revolutionists suffered disfranchisement at the hands of the Massachusetts legislators. The insurrection was put down, but not until the clash of arms had revealed the militancy of oppressed Americans.

The militant working class of today is the counterpart of the "embattled farmers" of yesterday. If they of 1776 believed democracy possible in spite of class antagonisms, the reason lies in their lack of experience. We have no will to brush their memory aside, nor do we intend to allow them to be clothed in the garments provided by capitalist apologists. Their example is our tradition, our heritage. The tree of liberty will again be refreshed with the blood of tyrants!

## C.L.U. Raps Meyer Lewis

(Continued from Page 1)

## Bosses Plan to Open Strutwear

On Wednesday noon the Citizens Alliance held a meeting at the Radisson Hotel and outlined a plan to re-open Strutwear and break the 4-month strike—the bosses claimed their proposed action was on a "non-controversial basis." The Citizens Alliance had taken Lewis at his word (he had previously come out against the hostelry workers' strike) and thought they saw the chance to deliver a blow at the organized labor movement. Previously, Lewis had tried to get Alexander McKeown, first vice-president of the American Federation of Hostelry Workers, who is in Minneapolis, to come out with a statement denouncing 574. This McKeown refused to do, maintaining that it was 574 who had been the chief force in making the strike a success. This move of the bosses put Lewis right up against the gun, and he had to make a complete change of front, formally announcing that the A. F. of L. was standing behind the hostelry workers' strike to the fullest extent.

## The C.L.U. Meeting

On Wednesday night Meyer Lewis went into the Central Labor Union meeting all primed to beat down opposition to his outrageous spitting program; for this purpose he was ready to wield the club of wholesale expulsion from the A. F. of L. An awful surprise was due him. In a heated four-hour session, not one delegate took the floor supporting his game. Instead, delegate after delegate arose in absolute opposition to the Green-Lewis drive, the fight on the floor being ably led by Sanders Genis of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Even T. E. Cunningham, president of the State Federation of Labor and chairman of the meeting, opposed Lewis.

The significance of this event can only be understood if one recalls the impressive showing of the industrial unionists at the Atlantic City A. F. of L. convention, plus the recent move of the John L. Lewis group to wage a nation-wide campaign on behalf of industrial unionism within the A. F. of L. through a "committee for industrial organization," in cooperation with Charles Howard, Sidney Hillman, Dubinsky, McMahon, Fleming, Zaritsky, Brophy, Thomas Brown and other A. F. of L. leaders. There can be little doubt that this committee had already contacted various Minneapolis locals. The fact that various reactionary labor leaders are already no longer willing to go along with Green in his fight would seem to indicate that Green's days are numbered, and that the policies he advocates are fast headed for oblivion—faster than was even suspected by the most optimistic of his opponents.

## Stalinists Play Miserable Role

In closing, it is well to point out the role that the Communist Party has played locally in the Green

drive on the progressives. It will be recalled that in the Daily Worker of November 6, the Communist Party took a good position on the Minneapolis "red hunt," saying editorially that "Meyer Lewis is trying to expel not only Communists, but all progressives from the unions. He is attacking the very teamsters who have led Minneapolis labor's most heroic struggles," and closing by appealing to labor to repudiate Lewis and drive him from Minneapolis.

We will only pause here for an instant to smile at the C. P.'s admission that Local 574 has led heroic struggles in Minneapolis, and to recall a certain no-longer available pamphlet entitled "Permanent Counter-Revolution in Minneapolis."

The truth is that the local Stalinists have played exactly the same game in the Lewis-Green drive that they played in the truck strikes of 1934. The truth is that the actions of the local Stalinists is at complete variance with the position the C. P. puts forth in the Daily Worker. The truth is that the actions of the local Stalinists are so vile and anti-labor that they dare not tell their own supporters in the nation just exactly what they are doing in Minneapolis.

Let us observe them in action. Prior to the November 8 mass meeting in 574's auditorium, various Stalinists came to 574 and asked that the mass meeting be held under the auspices of the Conference of 15 Unions, a group of locals who had banded together to fight for progressive labor principles. 574 replied that the situation was too serious, that it was not ready to place its fate at that time in the hands of people who had not yet been tested in the fire. A few weeks' time would show who were the friends and who the enemies of labor in Minneapolis. The Stalinists were invited to send speakers to the mass meeting and assured they would be given the floor.

## C. P. Funks on 574

Events quickly showed how correct 574's stand was. The night prior to the mass meeting the Auto Mechanics Local 382 (the very local for whom 574 has done most in assisting to fight the bosses) met and decided to withdraw from the conference of progressive unions, the Stalinists attacked the 574 leaders as "dishonest" and moved to send no speakers to the mass meeting. In short, the C. P. completely faked the fight and rolled over to Meyer Lewis in his "red drive." The C. P. did precisely what they did in the truck drivers' strikes, sided openly with the worst enemies of the working class against Local 574.

The Stalinists, in the last few days, have seen their mistake. Yesterday they sent a delegation to 574 to seek a reconciliation. It was pointed out to them that they had been the very first to go over to the enemy after the "brave" stand they had taken prior to the

## Lewis Catches Train

(Continued from Page 1)

F. of L. purge, as had been announced. His subject was to be "The Attitude of the A. F. of L. toward the Minneapolis Situation." He further revealed how disturbed he was by the presence of the leaders of 574 by giving a loose, rambling talk. He told how the depression had resulted in terrible conditions for the workers all over the nation; and how it was to be expected that there would be trouble (for the bosses, he meant) arising from such conditions. But in Minneapolis, labor troubles were not due to bad working conditions and low wages. They were due to "outside influences." There were two outside influences in Minneapolis—the "Communists," who are the same as the leaders of 574; and the Citizens Alliance—the extremists on the bosses' side of the picture. Now, Meyer said with some emphasis, the A. F. of L. is not opposed to the members of either the Citizens Alliance or of 574. The members in both organizations are all very fine. It is only opposed to the leaders; but particularly to the leaders of 574 who use intimidation and threats to force unwilling workers to accept better working conditions and raises in pay. The latter is entirely opposite to the methods of the A. F. of L., which Lewis proudly called "conservative." The methods of the A. F. of L. are "cautious, slow, and gradual." The A. F. of L. does not believe in strikes—and Lewis admitted that one of his main jobs in the past few years has been "flying from city to city and stopping strikes when we didn't think they were justified." The A. F. of L. believed that the rank and file of the bosses were fine fellows at heart, and that if "outside influences" would stop stirring up trouble the bosses would fall over each other trying to make life sweet for the workers.

Reserves Right to Refuse to Reply After having finished with this rubbish, Meyer announced that he "reserved the right to refuse to answer any questions not put in the proper spirit." But the students and faculty were not impressed by his high and mighty attitude. One professor jumped up, and made a point of order that it was not for the speaker to decide whether a question was proper or not but for the student chairman. This brought considerable applause from the audience, and showed immediately that the students were almost to a man hostile to Lewis and his malicious slanders and falsehoods. From that time on, Lewis did not have a comfortable moment. In the words of The Minnesota Daily, student organ, Lewis brought down upon himself "the scorn of the audience, which asked questions with a decided 'put him on the spot' intent."

One student asked Lewis why he had so far depended entirely upon publicity in the capitalist papers, and why he had not yet appeared before any unions? Lewis replied that in the six weeks that he had been here the C.L.U. had not met, but that he intended to appear before the C.L.U. the next day. Everyone in the audience knew he was lying, because the questioner pointed out that the C.L.U. met every other Wednesday, and had actually met. To many of the other questions, Lewis refused to reply directly, saying "You'd be surprised." He said this so many times that it became a joke, and Bill Brown dubbed him "You'd-be-surprised" Lewis.

## Brown Shoots a Question

Then Bill Brown got up. "I'm Bill Brown, President of 574," he announced. All eyes turned upon him. Lewis became excited and shouted, "Before you ask your question, I'll tell you I won't answer it." Quick as a trigger, Bill flashed back, "I don't expect you to answer my question before I ask it." This witty retort brought down thunderous applause and laughter. Never had there been so riotous a Student Forum. When the applause and laughter subsided, Bill went on to say, "You say that Minneapolis has become the worst spot in the United States for labor troubles. Just what do you mean? Here the workers have taken control of their own economic and political organizations, and have succeeded in improving their conditions. Does that make it a bad

mass meeting. They were informed that the fight would continue to be waged against Lewis and that the progressives would worry along without their support; that the conference of progressive unions would continue to meet, and that as far as a reconciliation was concerned, they would have to prove their sincerity in action. They had already shown just what their support meant when the going got rough. Before the delegation left, the 574 leaders also severely criticized them for their treacherous methods and accused them point-blank of seeking to smash Local 574 for the sole reason that members of the Workers Party of the U. S. are leaders of the General Drivers Union.

Maybe the Daily Worker can now explain the raw deal that the local "Communists" have tried to give the progressive labor movement in Minneapolis.

## spot for labor?"

Lewis, forced to make a reply, said that he was against 574 because it was against the principles of the A. F. of L., the first of which is that Green is the only prophet of American labor, and there is no other. Lewis was forced to abandon all pretenses of defending democracy against communism, or American principles against the Reds. In almost so many words, he revealed that the present drive against "five-seventy-four" has at its basis a struggle for continued power on the part of the bureaucracy. Green, Lewis, Tobin and Co. demand the right to continue to slowly strangle the American labor movement to death. They are determined, Lewis admitted, to keep the A. F. of L. pure—that is, to expel any and all elements which threaten the control of the present masters of the A. F. of L. Any effort to agitate within the ranks of the A. F. of L. for the reform of the A. F. of L. is a "violation of the principles of the A. F. of L."—principles laid down by the bureaucracy in their own interests. Thus, willy-nilly, all of Lewis' pretensions were punctured, and he was forced to reveal his real purposes.

Lewis Has Enough and Scrams When asked by a student why the members of 574 did not join local 500 if they were dissatisfied with their present leaders, Lewis replied, "How do you know they haven't joined?" This brought a loud laugh from the students; and the questioner, taking up the challenge, replied that more than 3,000 members of 574 and other trade unions had attended a mass meeting called by 574 the preceding Friday. "How do you know that the people present were members of 574?" Lewis asked. This brought a number of students to their feet, and one of them shouted that he had been there and had seen most of the people present wearing 574 buttons. "Well, you'll be surprised six months from now," was all Lewis could reply. By now, the hostility of the audience had begun to wear upon Lewis' hearty but obtuse frame. Casting a glance at his watch he announced that he would have to leave after the next question were asked. And thus did Meyer meet, instead of a warm welcome and sympathy, one of the most crushing defeats that any speaker at the Forum has ever experienced.

So dramatic was the appearance of Bill Brown at this meeting; so witty his remarks to Lewis, that the next evening the University of Minnesota "Daily" broadcasted the highlights of the Forum meeting as part of its regular newscast. The necessity for a genuine workers' paper in Minneapolis is revealed by the way in which the daily press covered up completely Lewis' defeat at the Forum. This is just another instance of how the daily papers serve as instruments of the employer-class. Build "The Organizer"! Push its sub-drive on to victory!

## Shachtman Holds First Meeting In Fresno, Cal.

FRESNO, Cal., Nov. 14.—Max Shachtman spoke to a group of twenty people at a meeting under the auspices of the Fresno branch of the Workers Party tonight.

His talk on the subject of "War and the Working Class" was well received. Many questions were asked and answered to the satisfaction of an enthusiastic audience. This was the first public meeting held by the Fresno branch since it was organized less than one month ago, and although the turnout was small it speaks well for a town which is considered by many to be reactionary and apathetic. The Workers Party branch of Fresno, however, feels that this town is misjudged, and that a strong working class movement will soon be established. —G.H.

## Textile Barons Ready For War

"The outbreak of a war involving the United States would find the cotton textile industry well prepared for rapid mobilization of its resources, the United States Army Industrial College was assured today by George A. Sloan." (Daily News Record, Oct. 29, 1935.)

Mr. Sloan, who was formerly president of the Cotton Textile Institute, the One Big Union of the cotton mill magnates, told the Army college that the Institute "has developed a splendid technique for determining the facilities for manufacturing the various types of cotton products that the nation would need in time of war."

He referred to the preparations for war in the textile field that the War Department has been making in cooperation with mill owners. "Needless to say," he added, "the cotton manufacturers are always only too glad to cooperate with the War Department."

Such cooperation between the Government and industry cannot but help to pay dividends—so to speak—in the form of the most practical and efficient product for the purpose of which it is intended."

## Support Italian Comrades In Their Struggle Against Fascism and War

MUSOLINI must go.

But with Mussolini, ITALIAN CAPITALISM must also go.

## OUR ITALIAN COMRADES HAVE CONSTITUTED

a Coordination Committee for the Revolutionary Struggle in Italy. This Committee of Coordination has issued a manifesto to the Italian soldiers, to the youth, to the Italian mothers, to the workers and peasants that:

## ONLY REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

with the aim of overthrowing Italian capitalism can yield any results; that all CLASS COLLABORATION is a betrayal of the working class and that the path of the so-called "popular front" is nothing else than collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

The Coordination Committee needs funds:

Everywhere where there are Italians, REAL enemies of Italian Fascism; everywhere where there are revolutionists able to understand the extreme importance of an Italian revolution—everywhere they are asking for funds for the revolutionary struggle in Italy.

Address messages, letters, donations to:

Walfis, 17 rue de Meaux, Paris XIXe, France.

—The International Secretariat of the International Communist League.

## 'Social Credit' Goes Begging

A terrible fate has overtaken the Social Credit movement—it has a chance to put its theories into practice.

In the last Canadian elections the Social Creditors swept the province of Alberta, Canada, under the leadership of Premier Aberhart, promising a social credit paradise of \$25 per month to man, woman and child within eighteen months after election.

Today we find that Premier Aberhart has extended the time limit from eighteen months to two years, and hardly a few months gone since the election.

Twenty-five dollars a month is no fortune, in the United States there are many relief workers who receive the same miserable pittance, and that without any fancy social credit theories. Yet Mr. Aberhart has so far failed to provide even that. He has limited himself to economies, the last resort of every reform government. He has abolished several of the provincial departments, applied to the government for financial relief, and is planning to convert the provincial loan to a lower rate of interest. Not a very auspicious start for a movement that is supposed to rejuvenate the whole capitalist system.

The social creditors are already beginning to excuse themselves on the ground that the previous administration left them an empty treasury, an unbalanced budget, and a huge debt. Not a very original excuse.

The great social credit crusade has its lighter side: Major Douglas, the originator of the system, has so far refused to commit himself to the experiment.

"The major has told London newspaper correspondents that he has not been asked to come to Alberta. Mr. Aberhart's provincial secretary, Ernest Manning, has denied from the platform that there is any rift and that the major would not be needed until the foundations had been laid.

"Mr. Aberhart himself has declared that he is awaiting word from the Very Rev. Hewlett Johnson, dean of Canterbury, who was asked to interview Douglas on Alberta's behalf."

It would seem that the major is somewhat reluctant to associate himself with the concrete application of the system he has been lecturing on for the last ten years. After all a lecture is one thing, a real government problem another... and lectures are much easier.

## THE MANAGER'S CORNER

The best results in the campaign to increase our circulation by 1,000 new subscribers at the time of the second Workers Party convention, to be held Dec. 26, have come so far from New York City. Even here, however, it is necessary to say that it is only a beginning. But a number of our very best subscribers from various parts of the country have informed us that their plans are ready and they are going to work.

In New York City the best record is held by Branch 1. Undoubtedly this is due to the fact that this branch has in comrade Ray Saunders an exceedingly active and efficient literature agent. The cooperation she receives from the membership flows essentially from her own careful attention and effective methods of organizing the drive. Branch 3 is also moving forward apparently in an effort to contest Branch 1 for first place.

Less than five weeks are still available for the various branches to work and make good on their quota of new subscriptions. Is it necessary to mention again that speed is essential?

Since our last report on the campaign we have received 29 new subscriptions and the standing of the branches is as listed below:

City	Quota	Turned in
Akron, Ohio.....	20	—
Albert Lea, Minn....	10	—
Allentown, Pa.....	30	—
Austin, Minn.....	10	—
Berkeley, Cal.....	10	—
Boston, Mass.....	25	2
Charleston, W. Va....	5	—
Chicago, Ill.....	50	7

Cleveland, Ohio.....	25	3
Columbus, Ohio.....	10	—
Davenport, Iowa....	10	—
Detroit, Mich.....	25	—
Dickson City, Pa....	5	—
Fargo, S. Dakota....	10	—
Gulfport, Miss.....	10	—
High Point, N. C....	5	—
Kansas City, Mo....	10	—
Los Angeles, Cal....	25	—
Minneapolis, Minn..	75	—
Mount Carmel, Pa..	5	—
Newark, N. J.....	20	1
New Castle, Pa.....	10	—
New Haven, Conn....	10	—
New York City.....	400	55

(Branch 1)	90	26)
(Branch 2)	40	8)
(Branch 3)	75	18)
(Branch 4)	30	1)
(Branch 5)	20	1)
(Branch 6)	15	1)
(Branch 7)	15	1)
(Branch 8)	10	1)
(District)	100	9)

Northampton, Pa....	5	—
Paterson, N. J.....	10	—
Philadelphia, Pa....	20	1
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	25	—
Plentywood, Mont....	10	—
St. Louis, Mo.....	10	—
Salt Lake City.....	10	—
San Francisco, Cal..	20	—
San Diego, Cal.....	10	—
Springfield, Ill.....	5	—
Toledo, Ohio.....	25	—
Utica, N. Y.....	5	—
Washington, D. C....	10	—
Williston, N. Dakota	10	—
Youngstown, Ohio..	10	—
Received from cities	—	—
Not listed above....	—	6

Total .....	1,000	75
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## WORKMEN'S SICK AND DEATH BENEFIT FUND

51st JUBILEE CELEBRATION WITH BALL

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1935, 3:30 P.M.

ST. NICHOLAS PALACE, 66th St. and Columbus Ave.

- Concert - Varieties - Ball -

Guest Speaker: NORMAN THOMAS

Tickets: Advance 25c; at box office 40c.

The Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, for more than half a century a pioneer in the field of Fraternal Insurance and advocate of Social Insurance, will celebrate its 51st anniversary on Sunday, Nov. 24, at St. Nicholas Palace, 66th Street and Columbus Avenue, New York.

As at past occasions a program will be presented, that will mainly consist of the splendid achievements of our workers' cultural clubs. The performances of the Mass Chorus of the Workers Singing Societies, the New Theater

Group, the modern dances of the Nature Friends and a 30-piece Philharmonic orchestra under the baton of the well-known conductor Franz Kaltenborn will find the approval of even the most fastidious audience. Norman Thomas, as guest speaker, will be another attraction.

The advance price for tickets is 25c, admission at box office 40c. The arrangements committee extends its invitation not only to members of this society, but also to the masses of progressive workers and to all friends of the Anti-Fascist movement. The program will start at 3:30 P.M. sharp.

**WORKERS**

Protect Yourself Against the Hazards of Life. Join the WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE U.S. 1884-1935

Organized, managed by and for workers with only one purpose: to render protection to members and their families, and to support all endeavors and struggles for the improvement of toilers.

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Death benefit graded according to age at entry. Sick benefit payments from \$360 to \$900—to men and women, according to classes.

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1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays and Holidays.



## MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

### Scottsboro Case

Once more the Scottsboro boys are to face capitalist legal-lynch law of the South. This time just to satisfy those old fogies of the Supreme Court, the farce has been enacted of placing one Negro on the grand jury rolls. Nobody has any illusions at all that this means a change in attitude towards the Negro or his "rights." On the contrary, the press treats the matter with utter cynicism, pointing out that of course no Negro will actually be allowed to serve on trial juries. The cynical gesture has exactly the same meaning as that of Hitler in inviting two Jews to participate in the Olympics. Nobody is taken in by the farce, but it permits the reactionaries to gloss over the realities and to state that the formal rules of the game have been satisfied. The ruling class would like nothing better than to have the Negro boys quietly convicted without too much public fuss. This the class-conscious workers will never permit. Mass pressure must be aroused once again to snatch these boys out of the hands of the lynchers and to ward off this act of terrorism against the oppressed Negroes of the U. S.

### Egypt...

One of the reasons for British opposition to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia was the dread that the sympathies of every colonial people would be actively aroused and might take channels of revolt against the immediate oppressor. The fear of the English ruling class has already been justified by the events in Egypt. All that was required to set off the spark was the speech of Hoare, British Foreign Minister, giving clear evidence that the rulers of Egypt did not intend to carry out a previous promise to

grant a new constitution. The first constitution of 1923 had been replaced by a new one in 1930. The latter had been abrogated in 1934 when the Wafdist movement became a threat to British rule. The reactionary speech of Hoare started student demonstrations and riots that were put down ruthlessly by troops. This is the beginning of a revived movement for independence in Egypt, one of the fruits of the Italian attack on Ethiopia. It would not require much to cause the spread of this movement for national liberation to the other colonies of Great Britain, particularly India. A widespread concerted movement of revolt of the colonial countries would be a blow not only at British imperialism but at all imperialism.

### Shanghai...

An open anti-Japanese movement sprang up in Shanghai this week. The threat of the Japanese to take over the five northern provinces produced a feeling of desperation and the demand for a war against the invaders. The situation in Shanghai resulting from this agitation and some demonstrations against the Japanese, became so tense that the population of Chapel, mindful of the previous brutality and slaughter in this district, flocked into the International Settlement by the tens and scores of thousands. The hatred and mistrust of the Japanese brigands is too great for the Chinese masses to believe the words of "reassurance" issued by the Japanese army representatives that no bombardment or invasion was intended. The Nippon imperialists have been laying the basis for some time for large scale operations designed to meet any resistance that might ensue when the seizure of the northern provinces was consummated.

## Old Guard Reorganizes N.Y. Socialist Party

After weeks of conferences to decide upon a course of action, the Socialist Old Guard has decided to stay in the Socialist Party and capture control of the national apparatus by hook or crook.

The first important step in its campaign to get a majority at the national convention in May, 1936 was taken at the November 13 meeting of the New York City Central Committee when, by a vote of 69 to 47, the Old Guard vested dictatorial power in the all-Old Guard City Executive for a sweeping reorganization of the New York branches.

The resolution bluntly states that the purpose of the reorganization is "to put an end to factional organizations and disruptive activities, enforce the orders of the N.Y.C. and the State Committee concerning the ineligibility to party membership of those advocating violence, armed insurrection or dictatorship as a means of achieving socialism" and "pending the accomplishment of these purposes" by reorganization, puts all power in the hands of the City Executive.

With the City Central Committee thus dissolved, there exists now no official body through which the Norman Thomas and "Militant" minorities can act.

In a mass meeting of party members protesting the Old Guard action, held at Stuyvesant Casino Sunday afternoon, Norman Thomas and the "Militant" leaders declared they would not submit.

A meeting the same day of the Old Guard-controlled State Committee took two further steps in consolidating Old Guard forces for the coming convention.

The Old Guard meeting announced that early next month a two-day conference will be held in New York in which the state organizations of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Maryland would be officially represented, as well as minority delegations from New Jersey, Ohio, Michigan and other states. The Finnish and Jewish Federations will also be officially represented. The conference will determine the policy of the Old Guard at the May convention, including the drafting of a party platform and a new declaration of principles, decide on nominees for President and Vice-President, and plan the strategy of the convention struggle.

The State Committee also announced that it had decided to overrule the National Executive

Committee which had disapproved of the expulsion of five Buffalo left-wingers.

At the protest mass meeting, which was called by a committee of fifty members of the dissolved City Central Committee, Thomas declared that he would refuse to appear before the City Executive to answer charges of breach of discipline for debating Browder. Resolutions were adopted branding the reorganization as "illegal" and an attempt "to split the party locally and nationally," and declaring the protestants determined to "resist the splitting move."

In recent weeks, since last month's Chicago meeting of the N.E.C. showed that the "peace pact" adopted three months previously, had broken down, some of the Old Guard had counseled withdrawal of Old Guard state organizations from the national party. The policy that prevailed, however, is based on the conviction that the Old Guard can depend on Dan Hoan, Hoopes and other erstwhile allies of Thomas, particularly the Municipal Socialists of Reading, Bridgeport and Milwaukee, to aid them in carrying the convention against the Thomas-"Militant" group.

With the aid of these elements, and powerful financial resources, the well-organized Old Guard faces a heterogeneous conglomeration of Thomastites and "Militants" who have little in common except hatred of the Old Guard. Only decisive steps to organize a left-wing on a revolutionary program can provide the necessary rallying center to oppose the Old Guard's machinations. With only five months to the convention, and only three months before delegates will be elected to the convention, the "Militants" have not yet published their program.

**CHICAGO AFFAIR**  
**THANKSGIVING FESTIVAL**  
Thursday, Nov. 28, at 8 P.M.  
Dancing—Eats—Entertainment  
Admission 15 cents  
1237 N. California Avenue  
Auspices: Branch 2, W.P., Chicago

**CHICAGO MEETING**  
"Egypt, the Philippines, and the National Question"  
Speaker:  
**NORMAN SATIR**  
Member Natl. Committee, W.P.  
TUESDAY, NOV. 26, 8:00 P.M.  
Auspices: Branch 2, W.P., Chicago

### PRIVATE SHOWING

## "In the Land of the Soviets"

Including News Reel, Charley Chaplin Ballet and Puppet Show Reel

Accompanied by a Lecture

By A. F. REMUS

**TOLEDO WORKERS SCHOOL HALL**  
322½ Ontario Street

ADMISSION 15c

Auspices: Toledo Workers School

# Lovestone Gets His Price

Herberg and Zimmerman Dicker  
or Entry into S.P., Lovestone in C.P.

The Lovestone-Brandler group, known as the Communist Party Opposition, notorious for six years for its opportunist attempts to get back into the Communist International at any price, has at last had the price named. The Stalinist bureaucracy will welcome its repentant servants if they successfully act as brokers between the Stalinists and the Socialists.

The sudden cessation of criticism of the Lovestonites in the Stalinist press; a lengthy interview with the Lovestonite, Charles S. Zimmerman, in the Daily Worker, approvingly quoting him as favoring the Stalinist conception of a Labor Party; and, above all, the new line of the Lovestonite "Workers Age," provide independent verification of information from a reliable source that Lovestone and Brandler have just negotiated with Comintern representatives an agreement to act as Stalinist agents in ballyhooing organic unity on an unprincipled basis.

It is understood that the agreement, so far as it concerns this country, provides that Lovestone, Bertram Wolfe and others are to be received into the Stalinist apparatus, while Zimmerman, Will Herberg and the main body of Lovestonites enter the Socialist Party. We have definite information that Herberg and Zimmerman have been negotiating with leading Socialists for an understanding for their entrance into the S. P. under the pretense that the negotiations are being carried on without Lovestone's knowledge and that to enter the S. P. they are "splitting" with Lovestone. Actually, the negotiations are under Lovestone's direction. The sending of the main body of Lovestonites into the S. P. as Stalinist agents is an elaborate piece of trickery, of the type for which the Lovestonites have long been notorious in the labor movement.

### An Interlude of "Criticism"

Recent issues of the Lovestonite Workers Age provide the "theoretical" foundation for this elaborate maneuver. The first few issues of the paper after the Seventh Congress of the C. I. had unfolded its social-patriotic and reformist policy reflected spontaneous shock and reaction against the Stalinist betrayal. "Shadows of 1914 Over the Comintern," "principled deviations from Bolshevism," "degeneration," were among the characterizations of the C. I. course. One section of the Lovestone group proposed a complete break with Stalinism. But six years of a false theoretical analysis of the Stalinist line had its effect; so long fed the Philistine doctrine that all that was wrong with the Comintern was its "ultra-leftism," the followers of Lovestone were driven into line by being fed the equally Philistine doctrine that the Seventh Congress was like a pendulum which had swung too far to the right and would eventually swing back to the correct place.

It is significant of the disastrous results of the theoretical miseducation of the Lovestone group that the irrelevant analogy from mechanics of a swinging pendulum was accepted by them. Lovestone, Wolfe and the other leaders, of course, no more believe this pap they feed their followers than they believe any of the scores of other fantastic excuses for Stalinism that they have brought forward during six years of degeneration of the Comintern. Having driven their followers in line, and arrived at an understanding with Herberg and Zimmerman to negotiate with the Socialists, the Lovestone leadership proceeded to develop the necessary "theoretical" line in their press:

### 1. Whitewashing the Stalinist War Program

No more talk of "shadows of 1914"—what a regrettable error that was! No, indeed; instead, Lovestone developed the theory that the "sole" deviation of the C. I. was on the question of "mixed wars," i.e., wars in which the Soviet Union was involved on one side, and that even this deviation arose from the laudable desire to protect the Soviet Union. Since "mixed wars" are the only kind of large-scale wars which are possible in a period in which all wars tend to be international in scope, and since Social Democrats support capitalist governments from the equally laudable desire to protect the working class organizations against the foreign enemy, Lovestone's arguments do not hold water for a moment. But no matter; they confused the issue sufficiently to enable the Workers Age to move to the next stage, in which all talk of fundamental differences with the Comintern disappears completely.

### Wolfe Sees the Flashpots

Finally, in the issue of November 9, Bertram Wolfe and Herberg show us to what lengths these cynical tricksters are ready to go. Only a few weeks before, it had been perfectly clear to Wolfe what the C. I. line on war was—one of "principled deviations," "shadows of 1914," etc. By November 9, however, the prospect of return to the Stalinist apparatus had so dazed him, the rich aromas and heavy vapors arising from the Stalinist flashpots had spread such a mist before his eyes, that Wolfe was no longer able to see what had been so crystal-clear a few short weeks before.

Now he utters the gentle cry that the Stalinists must "clarify its stand." He gathers up all his courage to point an accusing finger at the Seventh Congress to say—"Does not the Seventh Congress bear the responsibility of not having spoken clearly on the French and Czechoslovak errors, of having tried to correct some of them by just dropping them without analysis, thus leaving loopholes for their repetition?" He cares not what happens to him, he must say it—"The Comintern must hasten to clean house." What a performance, indeed, this charade of Bertram Wolfe! He speaks of "errors" of "vague and worse than vague formulations," of "mechanical transference of the tactics of Soviet governmental diplomacy to the tactics of the class struggle," of the need to "clarify"—he speaks of everything except the bald fact that the Communist parties everywhere are social-patriotic to the marrow of their bones, and that the whole foul betrayal of every fundamental principle of the class struggle was embodied in every step taken by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. "The Comintern must clean house"—what a fantastic joke! Real revolutionists will no more ask the degenerate Third International to clean house than they will ask the degenerate Second International to clean house. Both are equally incapable.

**Take Any Program—Not Revolutionary**  
In the same November 9 issue, Herberg goes even beyond Wolfe in covering up the Stalinist war line and seeking a basis for unity with the Socialists. "Never," declares Herberg, "was the situation more favorable for the development of a powerful anti-war and anti-Fascist mass movement deeply rooted in the trade unions. But what is the C. P. doing?" And what do our readers imagine that Herberg is about to accuse the Stalinists of doing? Their general social-patriotic war program? Their position on sanctions and the League of Nations, etc., etc.? Not a word about this from Herberg. His sole accu-

sation against the C. P. on the war question is against the organizational form through which it pursues its social-patriotic line. "But what is the C. P. doing? It obstinately persists in pushing forward the American League Against War and Fascism as the chosen vehicle for rallying the masses in this field."

All the C. P. needs to do, according to Herberg, is get rid of the American League. "Why not start anew in the face of the new situation and, in collaboration with the Socialists and the C.P.O., help launch a new anti-war movement on sound foundations, with program, methods and appeal such as will open the way to a fruitful approach to organized labor? On such a basis, effective cooperation is possible immediately." Lest anyone harbor the notion that Herberg's talk of "sound foundations" refers to any revision of the Stalinist social-patriotic decisions to support capitalist governments in war—this, to repeat, is completely avoided by Herberg—we quote Herberg's notion of how to get a common platform:

**A "Reasonable" Appeal**  
"In order to be really fruitful, Socialist-Communist cooperation must be cemented on such a basis and on such a program as will most effectively mobilize the organized labor movement for action. The question is not how 'correct' or how 'revolutionary' a program or a slogan may be but how reasonable an appeal it makes to the trade unionist who is beginning to feel keenly the need of doing something about the danger of war," etc. (Our emphasis.)

In other words: the Stalinists, with their social-patriotic conceptions, should unite with the anti-sanctions Socialists, and the Militant Socialists with their near revolutionary analysis of the struggle against war; how can such opposite camps unite? Herberg, as attorney for Stalinism, finds the formula: unite not on a correct or revolutionary program, but on one making a "reasonable" appeal to the

simple worker who is "beginning to feel."

Note: Herberg does not speak here of specific, united front actions against war as being needed to involve broad masses in order to help them take their first step toward a revolutionary program. No! Herberg proposes that the program itself be written down to the level of the simple worker. In other words, write the kind of program on which social-patriots and Leninist fighters against war can both unite. But what kind of united front action can flow out of such "reasonable" programs, and where would it lead to? Only to the camp of Stalinism, for the backward workers, imbued with bourgeois ideology and otherwise unassisted, will move toward social-patriotism. The opposite camp, of real struggle against war, is one which must go against the "reasonable," that is, the first thoughts, of backward workers. In calling for unity on such a "broad" program, a unity inclusive of Stalinism, Herberg is serving the cause of social-patriotism.

**New System of Stalinist Apologetics**  
The whitewashing of Stalinist social-patriotism, the erection of a smokescreen to cover the bare, bald fact that the Seventh Congress adopted a policy of supporting capitalist governments in war if they are allied with the Soviet Union, the invention of a "theoretical" justification for uniting with Stalinist social-patriots in "anti-war work"—this is merely the beginning of the doctrinal facade being erected by the Lovestonites to facilitate their attempts to bring about organic unity. From this point they go on to give a completely false picture of the line adopted by the Seventh Congress. Whenever the Stalinists anywhere commit an act so flagrantly opposed to revolutionary policy that even the Lovestonites must condemn it, they do so with the refrain: "Is that the way to carry out Dimitroff's directives at the Seventh Congress?" This preposterous fabrication, however, requires another article to do it justice.

(A second article on the Lovestonites will appear next week.)

# Y.C.L. Meet Converted Into Forum against Social Patriots

By JOSEPH CARTER

Last Friday's New York meeting of the Young Communist League on the new turn of the Young Communist International was converted into a forum against Stalinist social-patriotism.

The several thousand youth, mostly students, who came to the meeting were given innumerable pieces of anti-Stalinist literature by the Spartacus Youth League, the Young People's Socialist League and others. As a prelude to a dry humanitarian speech by Gil Green the audience was treated to some soothing music. The young Socialists were given the platform following Green's speech. The chairman announced that two representatives of the Spartacus Youth League had asked for the floor but that there was not "sufficient time" for any more discussion. This after only two Ypsels and no one else had been permitted to speak!

Following the meeting a group of Spartacists assembled in the street and lustily sang revolutionary songs and shouted slogans, most popular of which was "I know it Browder" and the slogan of "Fourth, Fourth, Fourth International."

### Green Sees the "Light"

Green dished out the new line of the Young Communist International. He sounded like a Y.M.C.A. director who had just seen the "light" and urged "the unity at all costs of the young generation against war and Fascism." Nothing new was added to his interview in the Daily Worker and Young Worker on the "reorganization" of the Y.C.I. preparatory to organic unity with the Young Socialist International.

The Young Communist League is today nothing but a "young Communist party," he stated. It must become a mass youth educational organization not directly affiliated with any political party. He denied that this meant the "liquidation" of the Y.C.I. but avoided any explanation of the omission of the road to power in the proposed program of the "reorganized" league. Green declared that the "communists" in this broad league would "democratically" urge that the organization have fraternal relations, engage in joint activities, etc. with the Communist Party. If organic unity were achieved between the Y.C.I. and the Y.P.S.L. then the young Socialists would have the right to propose that the new youth organization have certain relations with the Socialist Party. This, he stated, would be a step to organic unity of the S. P. and C. P.

The response of the audience indicated that the young Communists present were uneasy about the liquidation of the Y.C.I. but seemed to be reassured by the remarks of Green. Green had apparently forgotten

all about the struggle against capitalism! Nor did he even attempt to explain the program of the Y.C.L. on the struggle against war and struggle against Fascism. Only bare formulas were presented: "unity of all non-Fascist and progressive youth," "organic unity of the Y.C.I. and the Y.P.S.L."

**YPSL Denounces Social Patriotism**  
The young Socialists who spoke in "semi-official capacity" since the Y.P.S.L. had refused to send an official spokesman—followed the line of the leaflet issued by their organization. This is the first leaflet ever issued by the Ypsels to the Y.C.I. in New York and follows on the heels of a young Socialist leaflet which greeted Browder's meeting in Chicago several weeks ago.

The leaflet scores the "liquidationism" of the Y.C.I. "as an abandonment of the struggle for a Socialist revolution." (The inference might logically be drawn from this that the Y.C.I. is a revolutionary organization.)

The Comintern justified the split 16 years ago mainly on the ground that the International had to exclude all remnants of social-patriotism, all those who had supported the imperialist war because they considered their bourgeoisie to be aligned on the "just side." Today a similar situation is developing. Again we find sections of the working class (including the Communist International) beating the war drums in the name of the revolution.

The C. P. frankly states that if, in the next world war, the U. S. finds itself aligned on the same side as the U.S.S.R. (against Japan or Germany) then it will support that war by the Government.

Here is a clear cut statement against social-patriotism.

**The Twenty-One Points**  
But strangely enough, this statement appears in the same leaflet wherein the twenty-one conditions for admittance to the Communist International (adopted 1920) is attacked as the cause of the split in the international working class movement.

"We are glad that they (the leaders of the Comintern—J.C.) now wish to take measures to overcome the split in our movement which has lasted since 1919 and for which the famous '21 points' were largely responsible. At that time, it was the theory of the Communist leaders that it was inadmissible for revolutionaries to be in the same party with the reformists and centrists. It was with this guiding idea that they drove toward the thoroughgoing split which your leaders

are bemoaning at present.

"We of the Y.P.S.L. agree with the goal of a homogeneous revolutionary party, disciplined and centralized, which will be capable of overthrowing the capitalist state. But we consider that such an end can be achieved only by a process of discussion and self-development within the party, not through an artificial split engineered from without as the Comintern leaders believed. We therefore welcome the new turn of the C. P. and the Y.C.L. toward organic unity as a complete repudiation of the organizational principle upon which the C. I. was founded and which gave it its reason for separate existence."

Here we have a combination of an ignorance as to how the Comintern was formed and a confusion on the conception of a revolutionary party.

### Let History Speak

In the first place the split in the labor movement was caused by the social democratic betrayal during and following the World War. Strangely enough, this was stated by the young Socialist speaker at the Y.C.L. meeting—who is the author of the leaflet!

Second, the organizational split with the social-patriots was not "an artificial split engineered from without." One has but to read, for example, the history of the origins of the French and American Communist parties. In the first case Lenin urged the Communists to stay in the S.P. and it was more than a year and a half after the Comintern was formed (March 1919) that the Communists won a majority in the French S. P. (Dec. 1920)! The party affiliated to the Comintern.

In the United States the majority of the S.P. was expelled in the most arbitrary fashion because of its support to the program of the Third International. They "agreed with the goal of a homogeneous revolutionary party, disciplined and centralized" (present statement of Y.P.S.L.) and attempted to achieve this end—which means a break with the social-patriots of all stripe "by a process of discussion and self-development within the party."

**Green Nods His Head**  
The leaflet confuses Stalinism with the early Comintern under Lenin. Stalinism has repudiated the 21 points in regard to the political struggle against social-patriotism because it has adopted this treacherous program as its own. And therefore it proposes organic unity to the social-patriots of the Second International!

Gil Green's reply to the young Socialists' charge of social-patriotism was an admission of the accuracy of the charge. He did not

deny that the Y.C.L. would support the United States if it were in alliance with the Soviet Union in the coming war. He stated very dramatically that "we would force the government to support the Soviet Union in case of war!"

The young Stalinists present were undoubtedly impressed by the anti-Stalinist literature given to them. The statement of the Spartacus Youth League clearly explained the political basis and significance of the new turn of the Y.C.I.

## Question Box

By A. WEAVER

**A. K. BRONX—**  
Question: Why should it not be correct for a revolutionary party to proclaim the slogan "Fight in the next war under the leadership of your imperialist government while it is allied to the U.S.S.R. and turn against your government when it turns against the U.S.S.R."?

Answer: What is completely false in this slogan, which is essentially that of the Stalinists, is that it relegates the defense of the U.S.S.R., not to the international proletariat, but to the Soviet Union's imperialist "allies" on the assumption that the military support of the latter can defend the class interests of the Soviet state, whereas the class struggle of the proletariat will only weaken such defense.

The class antagonism between the Workers' State and ANY imperialist power is of a more fundamental character than the antagonism between any imperialists or groups of imperialists so that, in the final analysis, the "aid" which an imperialist "ally" will give the Soviet Union can be, at best, of such treacherous and unreliable a character as to constitute, in reality, acts of hostility against the latter. As in 1914-18, the outbreak of war may reveal secret treaties by means of which pacts between the Soviet Union and imperialist powers have been completely negated. A possible variant here is for the imperialist "ally" at the same time that it agrees to support the Soviet Union in case of attack, to give the imperialist enemy to understand that it can depend upon the "ally's" neutrality; the intention of such a trick being, of course, to involve the Soviet Union and the opposing imperialist power in an exhausting war from which the "neutral" imperialists expect to benefit. Even if it should enter a war as opposed to the same imperialists as the Soviet Union, the "ally" will attempt to conserve its own resources at the expense of the U.S.S.R.; so as to exhaust the latter as well as the imperialist enemy. As the world war showed, the imperialists, when allies, practice treachery on each other and in every turn of events the true nature of the "ally" would manifest itself. Areas and property, valuable to both opposing imperialists would be free from attack. If profits can be made out of the transaction, the enemy may find it possible to purchase arms and supplies from the "allies" of the Workers' state, who will even attempt to prolong the war if such profits are assured thereby. During the course of the war the class antagonism between the "allies" would immediately come to the fore. The question as to the form of government in captured territory, Soviet or capitalist, is sufficient to produce a rupture which could be solved only by force of arms.

The Soviet Union is dealing with imperialist bandits, with class enemies, and yet these are the people to whose "alliance" the Stalinists ask workers to surrender their own material interests. It is only by hiding the true character of the "aid" which the imperialists can and will give the Soviet Union, that it is possible to claim that the struggle of the workers against their own capitalists, "allied" to the Workers' State, can endanger the latter.

Only the class struggle of the proletariat can save the Soviet Union from being eventually faced with the military opposition of its imperialist "allies" as well as its enemies. If at first the workers' struggle appears to deprive the Soviet Union of a certain, even if treacherous, military support, it nevertheless opens up to the Workers' state the possibility of obtaining as allies, reliable allies, the proletariat of the enemy capitalist countries; and a demoralization in the armies of the latter can more than offset the loss of such military "support." Finally, it is the workers alone who can permanently remove all danger of attack on the U.S.S.R.

We have repeatedly stated that the Stalinists have squandered the revolutionary resources of the October revolution; that they no longer have any faith in the proletariat and cannot be depended upon to defend the U.S.S.R. The C. I.'s subordination of the proletariat to the class enemy, which is palmed off as the defender of the Soviet Union, is so much more confirmation of this. A real defense of the U.S.S.R., therefore, means the struggle for the Fourth International. All else is quackery.

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# Chiang Hands Over North China to Japanese for the Asking

## Abandons Region Without Raising A Finger

By LO SEN

Plans for the proclamation of formal "autonomy" in North China were temporarily postponed on Nov. 20 following what looked very much like a deal between Chiang Kai-shek and the Japanese. It should be clearly understood that the question involved in the North China situation at the present time is almost entirely a formal one. *De facto* Japanese control has existed in North China since the conclusion of the Tangku Truce in May, 1933. Ever since that time no Chinese official in North China has dared breathe without permission.

The "autonomy" movement which sprang into being only a few weeks ago was a direct product not of any sudden political change in North China itself but of Nanking's temerity in trying to make monetary and other arrangements, without consulting Japan.

### Britain Steps In

British imperialism stepped in with a plan for reasserting itself by having the Chinese dollar pegged to the pound sterling and for organizing of an international loan which would relegate Japan to the position of being merely a partner in the plundering of China.

Nanking, and Chiang Kai-shek, jumped at the hope of finding a new imperialist wet nurse. The Chinese dollar was devaluated, and all silver called in.

The Japanese soon showed their hand. They flatly and bluntly told Britain that no loan would be counterbalanced by Japan. They flatly and bluntly told Chiang Kai-shek and Nanking to behave or else—there would be "autonomy" in North China and perhaps a new invasion of Shanghai. In the north an "independence" movement miraculously came into being after Nanking's demand for the shipment of silver stocks southward. No Northern general had any intention of shipping good hard silver to Nanking in return for paper! And Japan stood ready to back their refusal.

### Japanese Marines March Again

In Shanghai a Japanese marine was conveniently murdered and a whole flock of "incidents" occurred. Japanese marines tramped once more through the streets of Chapel. Threats were again made that Japan would enter Shanghai to take for itself what Nanking hesitated to give.

The developments at Shanghai were not only meant as a demonstration of force to frighten Nanking but were also directly linked to the Anglo-Japanese struggle for control of Shanghai's rich foreign settlement, now dominated by British interests. Japanese demands for a bigger hand in the administration and police of the settlement were again brought forward with one hand, while with the other stinging slaps were administered to the Nanking government.

Meanwhile "autonomy" was announced for North China, to be proclaimed on Nov. 20. Under cover of specious press reports about the massing of troops to resist further Japanese incursions—a bit of window dressing Chiang needed to show his good will in the matter. Chiang moved toward a new settlement with the Japanese.

### Chiang Backs Down

He looked over his shoulder for help from Britain and America. But from London and Washington come only expressions of "concern" over Japan's new conquests. This "concern" will one day grow into a major war in the Pacific but at the moment that prospect was of no help to Chiang, who is nothing if not realistic. So Chiang started talking terms.

The first indication that an agreement was approaching came when the Japanese modified "complete autonomy" to only "financial and economic" autonomy with face-saving political sovereignty left to Nanking. But that Japan meant business was likewise made plain with the concentration of Japanese troops and planes on the border ready to move in at a moment's notice if need be.

At zero hour, noon on the 20th, no proclamation was forthcoming in Peking. Instead at Nanking, Akira Ariyoshi, the Japanese ambassador, emerged beaming from a 2-hour talk with Chiang and announced that he was "completely reassured" concerning China's "intentions" toward Japan.

The terms of the deal remain to be divulged. They will be concealed, as usual, under the diaphanous veil of a "compromise" formula. But the latest despatches at this writing (Nov. 20) indicated that negotiations were about to open at Nanking to cover a thorough "settlement" of outstanding Sino-Japanese questions.

1,000 NEW MILITANT SUBS BY CHRISTMAS!

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

## 'Peoples Press' Sinks Ever Lower in Its Methods

The third issue of the People's Press, that new national tabloid sponsored by the Stalinists, is now being peddled on the streets. Sickened as we were by the filth of the first issue, we decided to skip the second in order to see whether the third showed signs of reform. Perhaps, after all, we were unduly harsh in our criticism, and the opening issue was simply an aberration on the part of the editors.

We hasten to report, however, that the character of the People's Press has not altered in the least. Although the third issue has a little more red paint on its cheeks and even a touch of Stalinist rouge on its lips, it remains the same journalistic prostitute.

Indeed, the paper has been going from bad to Hearst. Almost the entire contents of this issue, including news stories, photos, a full-page True Story, and the leading editorial, revolves around the Sultan of San Simeon and his personal affairs. The main headline on the front page, announcing that "Marion Davies Rushes East to Be With Hearst," treats the palpitating public to another chapter in that stirring sex-serial on "The Bad Life and Good Times of W. R. Hearst."

The leading editorial is given over to a puny peevish personal attack upon Hearst. It seems that King Features, the Hearst syndicate, refused to sell photos to the People's Press. From the photos of cities, etc., the People's Press has been printing, this doesn't seem to us so damaging an offense. However, this unjust act brings all the fighting blood of the editors to a boil. They simmer over in a savage editorial. Listen to the lions roar!

### "WILLIE'S MAD AT US!"

"Willie's mad and we are glad. We know what will please him. Sugar plums to make him sweet, And Marion to please him."

"Despite all our efforts to please everybody, William Randolph Hearst doesn't like the PEOPLE'S Press. And we try so hard...."

"His boys... sent our money back.... So we marked, 'Charge Marion Davies account,' to help the boys figure it out."

"You see Hearst lies about the best people in America. Then he poses as the Great American Husband, the Savior of the American Home, and the Patron of Clean Movies. And he lets publishers know that anyone who dares tell the story of his long affair with Marion Davies will be blasted from existence."

"Well it was a good act while it lasted but there's a new deal in American life and that means ruin for the Hearst myth.... Thanks to the People's Press, we now know what 'the new deal' is all about. It is to expose the private life of Hearst and defend 'the best people' against his slanderous attacks. Mrs. Whitney, Mrs. Vanderbilt, Mrs. Rockefeller, meet your valiant knights, the People's Pressmen."

We have nothing good to say for the arch-reactionary Hearst. His anti-labor and anti-Soviet activities must be exposed to the last detail. But the campaign against him must be waged upon the level of political propaganda. It is Hearst's political and economic activities that menace the working class, not his personal peccadilloes. Such keyhole peeps into his private life as the People's Press indulges in have nothing to do with the case. They can only make the untutored worker believe that Hearst acts the way he does because he is a degenerate person, not because he is an aggressive spokesman for the masters of capital. Accordingly, if Hearst led a pure moral life, he would presumably be as well-disposed toward democracy and the workers as "the best people" he slanders, such as the Rockefellers, the Whitneys and other leaders of bourgeois society.

Another streamer head on the front page reads: "Poison Candy Sold As Medicine for Children." At first glance, we thought this was

a brief statement of the paper's editorial policy. But no! It is an expose of "Ex-Lax" by Editor Kallet of "100 Million Guinea Pigs" fame. Ex-Lax, we are told, contains phenolphthalein, an irritant and a poison. Kallet, however, doesn't consider one important circumstance. So long as people continue to stomach such stuff as appears in his paper, they need strong laxatives. We do not uphold this "policy of the lesser evil." We say: boycott the sheet and you won't need laxatives after reading it.

The biggest laugh of the week is contained in the first sentence of a hot story on the Amsterdam News strike, which reads: "Hearst's reputation as a hotbed of entertainment has acquired a new luster (sic)!" "The new luster" in case you're interested is William H. Davis, husband of the owner of the Amsterdam News who, although he owns 41 percent of the stock, is presumably willing to play ball with the strikers in order to get even with his wife. That's class-angling the eternal triangle with a vengeance!

To date, the NEW MILITANT is the only labor paper that has protested against the putrescent policy

of the People's Press. Following the lead of its big brother, the Daily Worker, the New Masses also applauded its appearance, and its attempt to apply the tabloid technique to the popular issues of the day, and "to approach politics through personalities."

### Fascist Propaganda Methods

In our opinion, such a policy is absolutely false. Marxists approach personalities through politics. This principle holds true in every field of political action and propaganda, even to the most popular printed agitational material.

There exists, however, another tendency in the world today, which believes and acts in a totally different fashion. This tendency stresses the personal side of politics to the exclusion of the real political issues involved, shouts "turn the rascals out" and "put right men" or "the strong man" in their place. It stoops to the vilest level of slander; resorts to all kinds of lies and tricks of deceit; and panders to every prejudice among the backward elements in the working and middle classes. That tendency is reactionary through and through. It has nothing in common with Marxism or the revolutionary movement. It is, indeed, its deadliest enemy.

This tendency is called Fascism. Hearst is at present its leading exponent in the United States.

The editors of the People's Press have begun by imitating the propaganda methods of the Fascists. Where will they end?

## Jim-Crow Law for Herndon

(Continued from Page 1)

rulers of the South, objected to this material being allowed in the hearing. Judge Dorsey not only reserved decision on the argument as a whole, but refused even to decide whether he would eventually allow the certified record of trial proceedings to be counted in the argument before him. A decision should be forthcoming on all points in a few days.

W. A. Sutherland of Atlanta, Georgia, the other defense counsel, did not deal with legal questions, but presented the judge with his political arguments in favor of granting Herndon a writ of habeas corpus as a step towards Herndon's eventual liberation. His chief argument was that existing social, political and economic relations could best be preserved by allowing radicals, whom he regards as ridiculous, freedom of criticism and agitation up to the point where they might threaten to succeed in their aims. This argument he supported by flattering references to the social system of Georgia today.

**Jim-Crow Political Philosophy**  
Solicitor Lecraw, in addition to making legalistic and technical replies to Seymour's argument, gave Sutherland a political reply from the viewpoint of the State of Georgia, the instrument of ruling-class political oppression. Denying that Sutherland's theory of limited free speech is the law of Georgia, he went on to say:

"Should the Supreme Court of the United States decide that this doctrine is the law of the land, we are through. When things get so that there is a danger that they will succeed, we won't be able to fight them in the courts. Then we will fight them somewhere else. Now is the time to fight them in the courts."

Weighty legal technicalities, with such fancy names as "the rule of legal decisions," stand in the way of Judge Dorsey granting the writ, Lecraw argued.

Whatever Dorsey decides, a long struggle is ahead. The Joint Committee for the Herndon Defense is continuing its work in aid of Herndon by circulating pamphlets and petitions.

**Statement of N.P.L.D.**  
In a statement issued subsequent to the Atlanta hearing, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, a constituent of the Joint Committee, declares:

"It is hardly likely that Judge Dorsey will fly in the face of the ruling Bourbons of Georgia by overlooking these 'good' excuses for denying a writ. Nor is this

Jim Crow judge likely to overlook Solicitor Lecraw's political philosophy and demands.

"If the highest courts finally sustain the outrageous class sentence passed on Angelo Herndon, the governor can free him. For this reason, the petition campaign must be intensified."

"While the Joint Committee does not control the policy of the Herndon defense, which is directed by the I.L.D., it can do a lot to help Herndon's struggle for liberation through this petition campaign, which is its primary concern. We call on all members of the N.P.L.D. and all members of other organizations who have received petition blanks from us to send them in at once with every space filled out with a bona fide signature."

### ALABAMA MINERS WIN PARTIAL VICTORY

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Union recognition and an agreement granting approximately half their demands were won by 17,000 miners in the Birmingham district as a result of an eight-week strike.

The miners will receive a wage increase of 20 cents a day, with increases of 44 cents a ton for tonnage workers and 5 percent for dead work. The new agreement runs until April 1, 1937. The strike was hard fought, and at least one miner was killed.

## British Tories Sweep Election as Best "Sanctions" Party to Protect Empire

By MAURICE SPECTOR

The Baldwin government was returned to power by a majority that exceeded every Tory expectation. The distribution by parties in the new House of Commons is:

For the National Government: Conservatives, 385; Liberal National, 32; National Labor, 8; National, 3; total, 428.

Against the government: Labor, 164; Liberal, 17; Independent Liberal, 4; Independent Labor Party, 4; Communist, 1; Independent 3; total, 183. Four seats were still in doubt when these lists were compiled.

If one considers the entire national and international background of this election, the British working class, under the leadership of the class-collaborationist, pro-"sanctions," Labor Party, has sustained a severe defeat. The increased Labor representation from the lower-water mark of 52 in the elections of 1931, may be Thanksgiving fodder for the "New Leader" of this city, but it will be no occasion for mad revelry in the ranks even of the British Labor bureaucracy.

The Conservative strategists themselves, who learned their "cricket" on the playing fields of Eton, did not expect a government majority of 250. In the face of such a majority the return of the lone Stalinist Gallacher will hardly send any tremor through the Empire, particularly as the Stalinists stood for "sanctions" and the "League" as staunchly as Sir Samuel Hoare. Besides which British Communist Party representatives have a way either of deserting to the Tories like Colonel Malone, to the Labor Party like Walton Newbold and Ellen Wilkinson or feebly subsiding at the first supercilious Tory's push like the unfortunate Parsee Saklatvala.

### Labor Party Prepares Own Defeat

For the past four years the Labor Party has assiduously prepared its own defeat. When you estimate the results, remember that the Labor Party has already formed two Labor governments. We are not dealing with an election victory of our own cherished C. P. who proclaim a one hundred percent increase when (probably with the aid of a little colonization) they add another vote to the solitary vote in Oshkosh! The British Labor Party is the party of the majority of the organized British working class.

In these past four years, the army of nearly two million unemployed has not appreciably declined. Wages and the social services have been reduced. Conditions in the "distressed areas" have become a by-word of destitution. As in the case of the miners now threatening a great strike, longer hours were imposed by legislation of the National Government in 1932. In the field of foreign affairs, the disarmament conferences

have dimly collapsed. Hitler returned with the complicity of the government and the Bank of England. But the elections nevertheless give the party of National Reaction five more years of a free hand at home and abroad.

### Supports and "Deplors"

And the principal reason? At this crucial juncture of the post-war epoch the policy of the British Labor Party is in every practical essential a capitulation to the interests of British imperialism. The outstanding fact is that there is virtually nothing but a feeble protestation to distinguish the pro-"League Covenant," pro-collective security, pro-sanctions position of the Laborites from the Tories. Both the Labor Party and the Trades Congress went on record urging not only economic but military sanctions. They gave the Tories just the right ammunition for the imperialist plans to increase the air and naval forces on a gigantic scale in preparation for war.

The Labor Party manifesto declared that it "deplored" this attempt to exploit for partisan ends a situation of grave international anxiety. But they have deplored before! The Labor Party "deplored" Lloyd George's Khaki election but they had ardently helped Lloyd George prosecute the war. They "deplored" the fake Zinoviev letter sensation which won another election for the Tories, but the Labor government had been prosecuting Communists. They "deplored" the financial panic strategy by which the Tories turned out the second Labor government in 1931; but with what right when they had themselves been preparing to cut wages and social services in the interests of economy? MacDonald was merely following out the extreme logic of his position as the leader of the Labor Party, when he entered the coalition. MacDonald's policy was always based on "continuity" instead of class struggle and "community" as against "class-consciousness." Those who believe in "continuity" and socialism by parliamentary procedure must accept the consequences. MacDonald is not the only "undone old man" in the ranks of the present and former heroes of the Second International.

### Right Party for Right Job

The point cannot be too strongly stressed. If what is wanted is a party that will maintain the imperial establishment, support the present distribution of world markets, called "collective security," and enforce military sanctions, then a single-minded, strong-willed, forthright imperialist party like the Tories will get the support over the "art-and-art," milk-and-water, "Socialistic dilution" of these objectives by the Labor Party. The twelve million who participated in the straw vote for the League of

Nations prefer to put their trust in additions to the fleet and the air force rather than in more professors of international law.

### Role of Independent Labor Party

That there are prospects for a revolutionary party in Great Britain is indicated by the fact that the Independent Labor Party which has vacillated so badly for so long was yet able to return four members. The I.L.P. must make up its mind which route to travel or be dissipated by the C. P. For a considerable time, Maxton and Brockway have balanced themselves on a tight-rope. The stand of the I.L.P. in opposition to sanctions and its approximation to the revolutionary anti-war policy should clear the air if followed up with a clear-cut orientation on the problem of the International. Precious time has been frittered away in the attempt to establish the united front with the Stalinists. The result was demoralization of the I.L.P. The British C. P. is sterile and the problem was to engage in united front activities with the Labor Party for fruitful contacts with the masses, but the leaders of the I.L.P. adamantly insisted that they wanted a "revolutionary" united front. For a while they even utilized the "third period" concepts of the C.P. The social-patriotic rightward swing of the Comintern seems to have had a sobering effect on some leading elements of the I.L.P.

But the I.L.P. is still bound up with the London-Amsterdam Bureau of "Socialist Revolutionary Unity." That means that they are still pursuing "organic unity" of the Second and Third Internationals. If any country provides an illustration of the futility of mere unity on the basis of a program of social reformism, bourgeois democracy and social-chauvinism, surely it is Britain with its Labor Party, already overwhelmingly in fact the party of "organic unity." To imagine that the addition of the British Labor Party to the German Social Democracy to the Stalinist bureaucracy (Comintern) will somehow engender the social revolution is mysticism, not Marxism. The unity of the working class movement can only be progressive if it embarks on a program of class struggle, if it breaks with bourgeois democracy, if it is a revolutionary unity. The I.L.P. has recently been rid of the Gaster-Lovestonite (R.P.C.) clique that was striving to liquidate the I.L.P. into the C.P. The revolutionary left of the I.L.P., the Marxist Group, clearly indicates the road the party must travel—the road of the Fourth International.

### The Years Ahead

We have said that the next years will be crucial, confronting the revolutionists with gigantic problems and decisions. Consider that in the half decade of the National government just gone, history inscribed on its rolls the Spanish revolution, the victory of Hitler, the Viennese insurrection, the seizure of Manchuria, the Italo-Ethiopian war. Ahead of us lie the prospects of yet greater upheavals. Japanese imperialism is systematically carving up China. The United States is carefully preparing for the great struggle in the Pacific. German rearmament proceeds apace. The Egyptian demonstrations indicate the challenge to imperialism generally contained in the colonial ferment. The capitalist world is a powder keg. The British Labor Party has given every evidence of its impotence, in the tests of office and of opposition. The I.L.P., if it takes the road of revolutionary Marxism, can become the party of socialist power.

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