

NEW MILITANT

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Russell Sentenced To Four Months in Hosiery Strike Case

Ellis and Swanson, Strutwear Strikers, Get Six Months in Workhouse; N.P.L.D. To Appeal Cases

BULLETIN
(By Wire to New Militant)

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 23.—Labor hating Judge Molyneux sentenced Al Russell to four months in the work house and Ellis and Swanson, Strutwear strikers to six months each for their militant activities in the strike.

All cases are being appealed by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the legal representative of the defendants.

Vernon Simonson, Strutwear striker, was arrested today and is being held on charges of criminal contempt.

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 22.—On Thursday, Dec. 18, the trial of the three arrested Strutwear pickets (David Ellis, Lawrence Swanson and Al Russell) got under way in the Federal Court building in Minneapolis, with Judge Molyneux presiding. All three young boys are charged with the same offense, criminal contempt of court, growing out of the November 29 disturbances at the Strutwear hosiery plant, where federal marshals attempted to move merchandise from the struck plant to a railway siding, where the goods were to be shipped to the bogus "Peacock Co." in St. Joseph, Mo.

But a day or so before the trial commenced, a bill was introduced in the state legislature calling for an appropriation of \$100,000 to investigate strikes and riots in Minneapolis. It is considered unlikely that any such bill will pass this session. Later the city council of Minneapolis passed by a vote of 14 to 11 a motion calling for a congressional investigation of circumstances surrounding the federal replevin action of the Peacock Knitting Company against the Strutwear Knitting Company "in which a writ of replevin was obtained through an alleged fraud on the court to permit the Strutwear Co. . . . to evade the anti-injunction law and the Wagner-Connelly act, and to deprive strikers of their legal rights."

Russell Supporters Pack Court

When the trial opened Thursday morning, the courtroom was packed with workers and leading figures in the local labor movement. Dozens of Strutwear striker buttons were seen in the audience. Attorney Francis Heisler of Chicago, who, with Attorney Gilbert Carlson of St. Paul the Non-Partisan Labor Defense had secured to defend Al Russell, addressed the court for an hour or so, asking that all charges against the pickets be dropped, on the grounds that the jurisdiction of the court had been obtained by fraud. Attorney Heisler gave the background of the so-called Peacock Company in some detail, citing the fact that this company was formed on Nov. 8, that none of the three stockholders knew much about it, that it had no official residence, etc. Heisler charged that the writ of replevin was entered into to circumvent the anti-injunction act and the Wagner labor disputes act. "There has been an offense committed against this court," he said, "but not by the defendants in this case." In denying the motion, the judge admitted that there may have been fraud, but held that even so, the U. S. marshals had been ordered by the court to move the goods, and that any attempt to interfere with this process was a criminal offense.

In the afternoon various federal marshals testified to having seen the three defendants at the scene of the disorder. They claimed that 125 pickets had stoned the three trucks as they were being escorted into the plant by eight deputy marshals, six police squad cars and (Continued on Page 4)

A Xmas Gift for A. Sloan

Ohio Chevrolet Workers 'Thank' G.M. Head for Empty Christmas Tables

To the accompaniment of blaring newspaper publicity, General Motors has climbed on the Christmas handwagon and out of the generosity of its great strike-breaking, labor-hating heart, has presented its employees with a \$25 Christmas bonus. The 900 laid-off employees of the Toledo General Motors Chevrolet plant have written the following letter of Christmas cheer to Alfred Sloan for his magnanimous deed:

"Dec. 23, 1935

"Sir: "It is with extreme satisfaction that we have learned through every channel of publicity possible of your act of incredible generosity in giving a \$25 Christmas bonus check to the men now employed in the Chevrolet Motor Ohio Co. plant here.

"There are those who unkindly have termed this bonus for Xmas as a sort of bribe (you know that it is the first time that General Motors has ever given any Xmas present to its employees in Toledo) in your alleged drive to split unionism in the Toledo plant and make those who are now working forget those of us who you recently laid off and are now outside your gates as a result of your "economy" program. This, you will of course say, is all wet. It would not be either, of course, the fact that wages in your plant are so low that the \$35,000 you are giving as a gift to the 1,400 men in the Toledo plant represents but a fraction of the amount you have saved as a result of the speed-up and the General Motors low wage-scale.

You could afford to spend untold sums to break our strike last April rather than give us a slight increase in wages, and spend \$5,000,000 as "gifts" now. But a five per cent wage increase last spring was an "impossibility," wasn't it? Nevertheless, we are genuinely happy that the 1,400 men now working in the Toledo plant are receiving this \$25 Xmas gift because everybody knows that they are in dire need of it after a month's lay off and the low wages they are now receiving.

"Since you are getting so much publicity on this act of generosity, we feel that it is only your just due for us to inform the public of that other Xmas gift you have given 900 other Chevrolet employees in the Toledo plant. We, whom you recently threw on the streets in order to break our union, wish to publicly thank you for our Xmas gift. As we gaze at our empty Xmas tables, our kids whom no Santa Claus will visit, our eviction notices, we will bless you for a most Merry, Merry Christmas. You have a heart of gold, yes solid gold.

Yours truly,
COMMITTEE OF 900,
(signed) JAMES HOLLY,
Secretary,
Former employees of Toledo Chevrolet Ohio Co.

500 in NY Hear Max Shactman

Cannon to Speak on Labor War in Mpls., Jan. 5th

More than 500 workers attended the regular weekly lecture of the Workers Party, held in Irving Plaza last Sunday, to hear Max Shactman who just returned from a nation-wide tour, tear to shreds the Stalinist argument that the "People's Front" as constituted in France, can stop Fascism or war in France or elsewhere.

Thoroughly analyzing the program and tactics of the "Front Populaire," comrade Shactman showed that it was copied from the social-patriotic class-collaborationist and coalition government program of the Second International at its worst—1914-18. Quoting from Stalinist documents beginning with the Sixth Congress right down to Olgin's pamphlet on "Trotskyism" printed last June, Shactman proved to the hilt that the present social-patriotic course of the C. I. had in the past been roundly denounced from a principle basis by its present protagonists.

The next lecture of the series will be held Sunday, Jan. 5, when James P. Cannon, who has just returned from Minneapolis, will speak on the struggle in the A. F. of L. and the labor war in Minneapolis.

Independent Auto Unions Amalgamate

900 Auto Men Act In Toledo

Organize Vigorous Campaign to Save Chevrolet Union

TOLEDO, O., Dec. 23.—The 900 men, who have not been recalled to the Toledo Chevrolet plant, keen with resentment, that after six weeks, the Chevrolet union has taken no action to protect their jobs, and has allowed the union membership to become demoralized, have taken vigorous action at a special meeting last week of a number of the so-called "outside" 900 men, to protect their interests and to "Save the Union."

Forming into a "Committee of 900," they elected a membership committee of seven to act in their behalf, with James Holly as secretary for the group.

On Dec. 16, there appeared a statement in the Toledo press, over the signature of James Holly, secretary of the "Committee of 900" that "the automobile and auto parts manufacturers are carrying on a deliberate and well-planned drive to destroy our union organization in Toledo. General Motors took the lead some six weeks ago when it moved part of its Chevrolet transmission machinery to Saginaw, Mich., and Muncie, Ind. It is obvious that not only do we 900 Chevrolet men face the prospect of pauperism and dependence on public poor relief but also the remaining 1,400 Chevrolet men who are today temporarily employed, as well as thousands of other union automobile workers, will soon be thrown on the streets to become public charges."

"We wish to make it clear," the statement concludes, "that anyone who at this time deserts the union or attempts to create out of the troubled situation a dual or competitive union in the Chevrolet plant will meet the most determined resistance from our ranks."

Following through on their campaign, the Committee of 900 held an open meeting on Wednesday, Dec. 18 at the plant gates of the Toledo Chevrolet plant, where they explained to a crowd of 500 Chevrolet men the necessity for strike action.

Union Leadership Weak

In this troubled period, when General Motors is clubbing the union on the head, determined to wipe it out, the leadership of the union proved to be amateurish and weak. The confidence and aggressiveness which revolutionary elements in the union had provided during the previous strike was sadly lacking. Six weeks ago, when General Motors was first preparing to move out its machinery to other cities, the Workers Party gave the warning that decisive action was necessary and that the whole membership must be aroused to the danger facing the union. But the executive committee marked time; allowed itself to be seduced by the fair promises of General Motors and did nothing.

When the plant reopened, and the management announced that (Continued on Page 2)

Detroit Convention Launches New Organization with 100 Delegates Present

BULLETIN

DETROIT, Dec. 22.—About 100 delegates from Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, Defiance, Pontiac, Chicago and other cities, representing the three independent unions: the Mechanics Educational Society of America, the Associated Automobile Workers of America and locals of the Automobile Industrial Workers Association came together Saturday night for a "constitutional convention" at the Fort Wayne Hotel here in Detroit to amalgamate into one independent union representing the Automobile and Metal Workers of America. A telegram from Richard Frankenstein, president of the A.I.W.A., was read to the convention to the effect that the A.I.W.A. promises to cooperate with the amalgamated union, but was not yet ready to enter the convention. Boos greeted this hypocritical declaration. It is understood that both Frankenstein and Morris Fields backed out at the last moment, because they feared that they would lose the jobs which they now hold. It is understood that eight locals of the A.I.W.A. voted in favor of the amalgamation as against five that voted against. In spite of this disruptive action by the officers of the A.I.W.A., a solid delegation of the A.I.W.A., representing the Motor Products local and the Pressed Steel local, attended the convention and voted to amalgamate to the new union.

After a day and a half of deliberation, a constitution and preamble were adopted, stating that the final objectives of the new union were "the complete industrial and political freedom of all workers and to this end we dedicate our lives." The amalgamated union is to be called the Automobile and Metal Workers Industrial Union of America (A.M.W.) and its temporary officers are to be Tlee Woody of Pontiac, president, Mathew Smith, secretary and Arthur Greer treasurer.

Another meeting is to be held on Feb. 1 at which time dues books will be issued, permanent officers elected, financial arrangements completed and an organizing campaign planned.

The convention pledged continued support of the Motor Products strike and pledged solidarity with the battle.

The mass meeting of the Motor Products strikers was held at Schiller Hall following the convention. Mathew Smith reported on the successful amalgamation of the unions, to the enthusiastic applause of the strikers. The Toledo delegates, Brothers Byker, president of local 4, Crookes, secretary, and Burke Cochran of the Mather strike advisory committee, local 4, then addressed the strike meeting and pledged the support of Toledo for the Motor Products strike.

Rap Ferrero Mini Defense Deportation In New Move

In a last-minute appeal to save Ferrero and Sallitto from deportation on Dec. 28 to Italy where death probably awaits them, a delegation representing the Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference had a hearing on Monday with McGrady of the Department of Labor. The delegation consisted of Ullisse De Dominicis, manager of the Baltimore Joint Board of the A.C.W.A., Rose Pesotta, national vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U., Albert Strong, secretary of the Defense Conference and member of the Journeymen Stonecutters Union of North America; William Taback, delegate to the conference and formerly a member of the Boilermakers Union.

During the previous week protests from over 100 A. F. of L. and independent unions and from hundreds of prominent individuals all over the country had poured in on McGrady's desk as a result of the drive for such mass protests just started by the Defense Conference. These, with personal letters, telegrams and phone calls from many including John L. Lewis, Norman Thomas, Frank Morrison, secretary of the A. F. of L., Samuel Dubinsky and Luigi Antonini of the I.L.G.W.U., Joseph Schlossberg of the A.C.W.A., had convinced McGrady that the labor movement of the country was mobilizing in the defense of Ferrero and Sallitto.

McGrady, as usual, passed the buck, claiming that the charges against Ferrero and Sallitto could not be dropped and that the fight, (Continued on Page 2)

Mini Defense

Raymond W. Henderson, attorney for Norman Mini, is proceeding with the next legal steps in his fight to compel the state of California to provide copies of the trial record, thereby making possible an appeal by Mini and the other victims of the Sacramento criminal syndicalism frame-up. It is expected that the case will shortly be in court again, when Henderson moves to upset the recent adverse ruling of the District Court in Sacramento.

The National Sacramento Appeal Committee, which has retained Henderson, is opening a drive to get unions and other bodies to send resolutions to the California authorities calling for the release not only of Mini but of his fellow-prisoners. Among the organizations which have given financial aid and also adopted resolutions, the N.S.A.C. announced yesterday, are the following:

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (General Executive Board); New York, Cincinnati, Boston Joint Boards; many locals; the General Defense Committee and many of its locals; the League for Industrial Democracy; the I.L.G.W.U. (New York Joint Boards and several locals); Jewish National Workers Alliance; New York Forward Assn.; Proletarian Group (N. Y. C.); Workmen's Circle (N.E.B. and many circles); Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund (National Office and many branches); branches of the S.P., W. P., Y. P. S. L., Young Circle League, etc.

Toledo Projects Organize

O.U.L. Backs New WPA Set-up After Unity Efforts Prove Fruitless

TOLEDO, O., Dec. 23.—Real progress is being made in the organization of the 11,000 WPA workers here into the WPA Workers Union, affiliated to the Lucas County Unemployed League.

The much ballyhooed WPA program originally scheduled to be under way as far back as last June, has already simmered down into a weak imitation of the old FERA program, but on a much less stable basis. Originally scheduled to employ 18,000 men in Lucas County, it has to date given jobs to only 11,000 workers on the relief rolls. Approximately 14,000 families are still dependent upon direct relief and face the prospect of outright starvation with the withdrawal of all Federal relief funds, on Dec. 1.

The Lucas County Unemployed League, alive to the possibilities inherent in this situation, realized the necessity for a swift and aggressive campaign to organize these thousands of WPA workers into a stable organization for the achievement of better working conditions, continuous employment, trade union wage-scales; the ability to get back on relief as the WPA projects are demobilized; and for the realization of united action between the organized unemployed and the trade union movement.

Unity Efforts Fruitless

In order to create the broadest possible basis for this work the Lucas County Unemployed League proposed at the start of the WPA program here to the Workers Alliance of Lucas County to set up a joint committee for the purpose of jointly organizing the WPA workers. But all attempts to achieve joint action with the Workers Alliance have thus far proven fruitless. Some of the Socialist Party members holding leading positions in the local W.A.A. organization have united with Communist Party unemployed leaders who have officially liquidated the Unemployed Councils, have joined the W.A.A. and are using every means to sabotage and prevent any joint action between the W.A.A. and the U.L.

The confusion in the organization of the WPA project workers in Lucas County, which the leaders of the Lucas County Unemployed League predicted would ensue, cannot be exaggerated. Because of this hundreds of WPA workers will undoubtedly be lost to both organizations and the strength of the unemployed organizations considerably lessened due to the factional warfare that exists.

U. L. Organizes Project Union

The Lucas County Unemployed League, finding joint action impossible at the moment, sponsored and helped organize an independent organization, the WPA Workers Union. This union is an independent organization, has elected its own officers, set its dues at 25c per month and has proceeded to organize the WPA workers on the basis of project stewards and project committee subdivisions. The (Continued on Page 2)

Class Struggle Issues Arouse West Coast Maritime Unions

By C. CURTISS

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 18.—The issue of job action has assumed great proportions on the West coast.

The recent convention of the maritime federation (organization of all waterfront crafts on the coast) has attempted to resolve this question of job action, with what success remains to be seen.

Job action is a term that describes a multitude of activities. But speaking generally it is action taken right on the job by the men involved in order to gain a demand or a set of demands.

Above all the seamen have been

forced to take recourse to job action. The "award" they received some time ago has proven to be a cruel farce, and in order to maintain conditions of living and safety, the seamen have been compelled to utilize job action as an ultimate weapon.

The conditions under which the seamen live and work are described by Harry Lundberg, leader of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, and president of the Maritime Federation:

Conditions of Seamen
"The seamen are still working 56 hours a week or more for an (Continued on Page 4)

New Zealand Seamen's Union Adopts Revolutionary Position on Sanctions

(Editor's Note: The following resolution, carried at a stop-work meeting of the Seamen's Union in New Zealand, speaks for itself and shows that the New Zealand seamen are well aware of the illusions that are being spread by those who would capitalize the League of Nations in the present international crisis. We heartily endorse the attitude of the New Zealand seamen and hope that seamen in the U.S. will follow their position. The resolution is quoted from "The Militant," monthly organ of the Fourth Internationalist Workers Party of Australia.

"That in the opinion of the members of the Federated Seamen's Union the international situation is as follows:
"In 1914 the majority of the

world safe for democracy, to end war, and to overthrow German militarism for ever. Emphasis was laid on the importance of safeguarding international law against treaty breakers such as Germany and on the certainty, if Germany were allowed to do as she pleased, that there could be nothing but international anarchy throughout the world.

"Influenced by their hatred of the tyranny of German militarism, the working class supported its capitalist governments. But when

the war was declared the evils of British and French militarism were immediately added to those of German militarism; and at the end of the war British, French, Italian, and American militarism were triumphant, and democracy everywhere was either greatly weakened or wiped out of existence. In this manner the capitalist system managed to survive the conflict between the two great capitalist powers, Great Britain and Germany, and after the war profit (Continued on Page 2)

Our Revolutionary Heritage:

The Debs Rebellion

By Leighton Rigby

The Pullman strike of 1894 has been called "Debs' Rebellion." Taking root in Chicago, that great conflict quickly spread to twenty-seven states, from Cincinnati to San Francisco. Indeed, hardly a section of the nation failed to feel the terrific force of the impact. Led by Eugene Debs, founder of the American Railway Union, the struggle forced the ruling class to bring into play all the means of defense it could muster.

The American Railway Union was organized in 1893, and some of the more generous contemporary authorities estimated its membership at one million in the following year. Although some of the locals may have departed from the national policy, the union made no racial or occupational distinctions between the railroad workers. Firemen, brakemen, trackmen, telegraph operators—all were invited to join.

About 2,500 members of the American Railway Union worked in the Pullman shops and lived in the "model town" of Pullman. Competition (or more accurately, the necessity for maintaining profits) "compelled" the Pullman Car Company to drastically reduce wages in the spring of 1894. In addition, scores of workers were thrown out of work. There was, however, no reduction in the rent the workers were obliged to pay for the "model homes" they occupied. As the result of these circumstances, the Pullman employees quit work on May 11.

Company Refuses to Negotiate

The company officials refused to negotiate with representatives of the union and declined to submit the matter to any form of arbitration whatsoever. They stated that the matter of manufacture was a question of fact and did not lend itself to arbitration. (And therein, comrades and fellow workers, lies a general truth: Profits are the lifeblood of capitalism, and capitalists will not willingly or otherwise commit economic suicide by entering into agreements that would stop the flow. No number of peaceful conferences or "settlements" can change the basic contradictions of capitalist production. Capitalism must be overthrown!)

On June 21 the members of the American Railway Union voted to cease handling all Pullman cars on any of the twenty-four railroads entering Chicago, and on the 26th they voted a sympathetic strike.

This action, a splendid example of working class solidarity, transformed the strike at Pullman from a localized struggle into one of national prominence and significance. A Wall Street paper bemoaned the situation: "It is impossible to contemplate the action of the many thousand railway employees in blindly following the mandates of an irresponsible leader, without a feeling of wonder and astonishment." The truth is that the workers were not so much inspired by the leader as by their feeling of sympathy for their Pullman comrades. The ruling class always stands amazed at the comradeship between workers.

Cleveland Calls Out the Troops

Chamney M. Depew, president of the New York Central, pleaded in the interests of those travelers who were hurrying to the bedside of dying mothers, wives and children. In short, no stone was left unturned by the ruling class to whip up general public indignation against the striking workers. But the strike continued and spread with every hour.

On July 4 President Cleveland ordered two thousand federal troops to Chicago under the command of General Miles. At first Miles' authority was somewhat limited or undefined, but on July 8 the President issued a proclamation declaring the necessity for severe action and cautioning all "law abiding" citizens to keep clear of the scenes of riot. This proclamation virtually placed Chicago under martial law. It is interesting to note in passing, that Governor Altgeld had sent a vigorous protest to Cleveland when the federal troops were first directed to move on Chicago.

In the meantime, the workers were becoming more and more militant. As far west as California the blockade was almost complete. State militias and deputies were pitted against determined workers all over the middle-west and far west. There were many clashes, not confined to the railroads. In Michigan, two thousand ore miners were striking. Ten companies of state troops were guarding the Pratt mines in Alabama after riots. Others were out in Colorado and elsewhere.

Solidarity of Soldiers and Workers
A most interesting thing happened at Tacoma, Washington. Troop A of Sprague, consisting of sixty men and said to have been a crack cavalry unit, refused to ride on trains manned by non-union crews. The soldiers were placed under arrest and locked in a boxcar. These men, not being professional soldiers, were, in reality, workers and had the same interests in common with the strikers.

The Chicago Typographical Union appropriated \$1,000 for the relief of the Pullman workers and sent a demand to Cleveland that he withdraw his support from corporations.

As far east as Boston mass meetings were being held, and the workers were cheering their western comrades. In New York City, all police vacations were cancelled in view of the growing number of protest meetings.

The leadership in the labor unions was far from reactionary in most cases. While Gompers warned the members of the A. F. of L. to stay out of the strike, President McBride of the United Mine Workers predicted civil war if Debs was arrested. Secretary Hayes of the Knights of Labor (by then fading rapidly) said the workers would be asked to form military companies.

The Injunction

On the grounds that the railroad strike was interfering with the transportation of the mails and was, therefore, a matter involving interstate commerce, U.S. Attorney General Olney ordered the federal authorities in Chicago to obtain an injunction against the strikers. The strike, he held, was a violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust laws. Injunctions were obtained, not only in Chicago but at other points.

On July 17 Debs was arrested, and on December 14 a federal court found him guilty of contempt and sentenced him to six months in prison. The U. S. Supreme Court later upheld the lower court. Although Debs demanded a trial by jury, the court held that the jury was unnecessary.

As the reader knows, the sixth amendment to the federal Constitution states that "in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed." The celebrated "bill of rights" guarantees rights to workers if they can be given without stepping on the toes of the ruling capitalists.

Rap Ferrero Deportation

(Continued from Page 1)

It continued, must be fought in the courts. The Defense Conference is determined to carry through the struggle until the end, up to the Supreme Court of the U. S. if necessary. Upon the surrender of the two men, mandatory upon Ferrero this week, writs of habeas corpus will be sued out and the case taken for the first time before the courts. The protest campaign, hitherto directed to Frances Perkins and McGrady, must now be redoubled under the District Court in New York before which the cases will be tried. Already over 7,000 protest blanks have been sent out. The Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the I.L.D., the General Defense Committee of the I.W.W., the L.I.D., all participating in the Defense Conference, and the Greater New York Federation of Churches have sent out appeals on their own letterheads to their members to send in protests. Auxiliary defense committees in San Francisco, Chicago and Philadelphia are spreading the campaign over the entire country.

The growing realization of the significance of the cases of these two innocent men, persecuted by the government as part of a covered attack on the press of the working class, is shown by the threat of William Randolph Hearst to make the case a national issue in his papers.

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Electrical Worker Flays Stalinists
For Use of Forgery in Local Union

(Editor's Note: The following article is written by a member in good-standing of Local 3, Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, for the last fourteen years. His revelation of the utter corruption of Stalinism is another indication that this bankrupt movement which scrapes and bows before the bureaucracy does not hesitate to employ the vilest methods against revolutionists in the trade union movement. The editors are not quite sure as to what Brother Forman means by a "pure revolutionary party" but they are quite certain that if he draws the correct conclusions from his own remarks he will take a long step in the right direction.)

By ANDREW FORMAN

(Member Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers)

For three years, prior to July 1934, a movement of the Rank and File developed in opposition to the reactionary and corrupt officialdom of Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

The movement grew in spirit, strength and numbers to such proportions that, had it not been for a "sell-out" by such "oppositionists" as Moe Smith, Sam Rosenthal and John Sullivan, who were in strategic positions, there is no doubt that the reactionary officialdom of Local 3 would have been ousted and the control of the Union would now be in the hands of the rank and file and not in the hands of a few corrupt individuals as it is today.

It is not difficult to understand that after such bitter experience the opposition movement would tend to decline. What remained of the opposition movement was more or less a class-conscious politically inclined element.

Maneuvering for Control

Just about this time, November 1934, several members of the opposition disassociated themselves from the Communist Party and joined the Communist League of America (Trotskyists). From that time on slander, backbiting and dissension were the outstanding characteristics of the opposition meetings of Local 3. At times arguments reached such heights that the belligerent elements, "Trotskyists" and "Stalinists" virtually settled it with fists; this gave one the impression of being at the regular local union meeting. Of course, this sort of action, which seemed to me at the time to have been created by both factions, was due to strategic maneuvering for control of the opposition. Finally the entire affair was consummated with the understanding that there could be no collaboration between the two factions.

Although not being a member of any political party and disagreeing with both factions as to certain policies, I nevertheless decided to work with the "Stalinist" faction, hoping that I would eventually succeed in my efforts at reforming the members of the C. P. (By the foregoing I do not pretend that I am above politics, but it is my sincere conviction that both the Communist Party and the Workers Party are devoid of what I consider the correct approach to the international working class. However, I am willing to collaborate with a pure revolutionary party should one come into existence.)

When working together with the Stalinists for a few months an old "sympathizer" of the C. P. brought with him to one of our meetings a certain Leon Green. Although I had heard of Leon Green previously, this was the first time I had actually met him. At that meeting I was one of a committee of three selected to draw up a leaflet for distribution at the regular meeting of the Union protesting against the proposed increase in officers' salaries. This arrangement, however, was not carried out due to the bureaucratic and high-handed methods of the Stalinists.

Anything Goes

In September the progressives not dominated by the Stalinists issued their first number of "Labor Truth" to 1,500 members of the Union. The Stalinists were in a quandary; they must break the growing influence of "Labor Truth"... But how? They must seek the advice of their "leader."

In October a meeting of some Stalinists and "sympathizers" was held at 1 Union Square. Sam Nesin, the Stalinist "leader" of a new fangled Stalinist "trade-union-committee" insisted that the "Trotskyist renegades" must be exposed and an "opposition" bulletin must be issued at once... a thousand bulletins "if necessary"... Completely disgusted with the Stalinist clap-trap I stated the fight must be directed against the corrupt administration of Local 3 and not against the "Trotskyist faction." The Stalinists, however, did not issue this bulletin until a special situation occurred.

When Leon Green decided to join a group he made overtures to the "Trotskyist" faction; when he found he could not use them as a "stepping-stone" he went over to the "Stalinists" who were only too eager to accept him with open arms because together with them he was willing to issue a forged copy of "Labor Truth" slandering the "Trotskyists" instead of taking up the fight on vital issues pertaining to the local union. It is significant to note here that in the fight against the corrupt officials of Local 3, which was fast and furious, these staunch Stalinist "revolution-

aries" were not to be found. They were not seen or heard from; and if they were present at the meeting, they were probably hiding under the seats or in the balcony, reviewing the fight, while those whom they today attack as "Trotskyists" were always in the thick of the fight.

Now that a certain degree of democracy has been obtained by the rank and file through struggle against the corrupt officials the Stalinists want to rule the opposition. They want to rule regardless of their own competency. One cannot rule others by merely wishing to do so! One must possess the ability and qualifications that make for leadership.

Not a Word on Union Matters

Surely from what I have witnessed the Stalinists lack all of these qualities. By their vulgar, short-sighted and narrow minded policies they have frightened away not only the conservative element, but the liberal and progressive as well. The continuous turn-over in the membership of the C. P. is unquestionable and is positive proof of the party's malicious doings. The subservience of the Party rank and file in relinquishing their democratic rights to the bureaucracy is positively nauseating.

On November 14, at a regular meeting of Local 3, two copies of "Labor Truth" were handed to the members as they entered the meeting; one by the progressives and the other—a forged copy—by the Stalinists. The forged copy of the Stalinists attacked the "Trotskyists" but did not contain a single word against the proposed increase

of the officers' salaries. At a subsequent meeting of the Stalinist "group" I protested most vehemently against the vulgar Stalinist procedure. I was then told that if I wanted to "get along with the Stalinists" I should join the Communist Party. I replied that I did not wish to prostitute myself.

It is necessary to bring out one more point: In the recent W. P. A. strike the Stalinists in the union were conspicuous with their absence; one of them, Frank Flatley, continued to work on W. P. A. for more than six weeks during the strike and stopped only one week before the settlement for fear that he would be called before the executive board of the Union and charged with scabbing. Another, Sam Rivan by name, a member of Local 3, was employed in a hat factory, and though willing and ready to expose the "Trotskyists" nevertheless continued to work in a hat factory and displayed a blisful ignorance of the strike situation. The truth of the matter is that the Stalinists in the local are not there to take part in strikes or to build the progressive movement; their pet obsession is the "important" task of fighting the "Trotskyists." Thus the Stalinists saw fit to issue a forged copy of "Labor Truth," organ of the progressives of Local 3. For this special task they found it possible to use a stooge—Leon Green by name.

Falsification and forgery is nothing new to Stalinism. When the workers of the world will have destroyed Stalinism—and the members of Local 3 will lead a hand—history will record the fact that falsification and forgery had received their deadliest blow...

NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY

We don't like to boast of our house parties—you know what they're like. Don't cheat yourself out of a good time. Be there: Tuesday Night, December 31, 221 Second Avenue (Auspices, Branch 1)

Toledo WPA Is Organizing

(Continued from Page 1)

great response on the part of the WPA workers to the three-week old organizational campaign of the WPA Workers Union is conclusive proof that the WPA workers are anxious for organization and that a separate organizational form for them is vitally necessary to achieve numerical strength rapidly.

From the start the WPA Workers Union has moved decisively on the vital issues raised by the WPA workers themselves. By its aggressive attitude and the constant pressure it has exerted on the local WPA administration the union has already won major concessions for the WPA workers in Lucas County: all pay checks are now mailed direct to the workers' homes in place of the old system, where WPA workers would spend days waiting in line to receive their checks. Through the formation of a committee on the Canal Boulevard project which employs several thousand men, the union has secured the right to fires on all open jobs. The administration has agreed to supply the fuel and to erect shelter houses for the protection of the men. The union, at the present time, is engaged in a campaign to have all workers paid for any time they may lose on the job, through no fault of their own. It is common in Lucas County for thousands of WPA workers to be laid off projects and wait as long as two to three weeks for transfers and reassignment. This cuts their monthly minimum pay to as low as \$25, and is the biggest issue and the greatest concern of all WPA workers in Lucas County.

County-wide Drive for Conditions
The WPA Workers Union is mobilizing all resources and has requested the aid of the Lucas County Unemployed League, to which it is affiliated, to initiate a county-wide campaign aiming at forcing the local WPA administration to pay the full minimum monthly wage-scale with no deductions for any cause which the WPA worker is not responsible. This drive will reach a focal point in a mass meeting to be held on January 5 where the local WPA administration will be on the platform to address the WPA workers and fix the responsibility for the breakdown of WPA projects and deductions in the pay and answer the union's demands publicly point by point.

The union realizes that the WPA program is temporary and will not last for more than another three months in its present form. For this reason the WPA Workers Union has adopted the taxation program of the Unemployed League, providing for the establishment of large-scale, socially useful public works, such as housing, public recreation buildings, labor temples, etc., to be financed by taxes on high incomes, corporation profits, capital levy, etc., etc. The union also realizes that its membership is in reality still on relief, although the form is temporarily that of

work relief. In several months they will undoubtedly be faced with the necessity of again fighting for direct relief. The Lucas County Unemployed League has had three years of experience in handling these problems and in organizing the unemployed. During that time it has led hundreds of demonstrations and won immeasurably higher standards for all of the unemployed of Lucas County.

Because of these reasons the relations between the WPA Workers Union and the Lucas County Unemployed League are necessarily solidified. The union is continuing its work with the firm conviction that as the organization of the WPA workers progresses the pressure of the men themselves will become irresistible for the achievement of joint action on the unemployed field.

Toledo Auto Workers Act

(Continued from Page 1)

only 1,400 men would be rehired, the executive committee stood by idly and allowed the union to be split by General Motors into "outsiders" and "insiders." As a result of these delays, the hesitation to act and the timidity of the executive committee, which should have provided the leadership in the battle, the union membership was allowed to become completely demoralized.

Two weeks ago the executive committee split under the pressure from the 900 men. A minority of three, headed by James Roland, chairman, recommended to the union membership strike action, and a majority of five, headed by Joseph Ditzel, S. P. member of the executive committee, recommended continued negotiations for another thirty days. A union membership which had been led white with inaction and no resistance to the blows of the enemy, who had been listening to gloomy reports for weeks from a bewildered and dazed leadership, voted for the majority resolution.

Quick Action Vital

With every passing week the union has grown weaker and the membership has become more terrorized. Other manufacturers in Toledo are already speaking of moving their plants to other unorganized cities, and it is becoming almost impossible to organize new men into the unions today as they fear the manufacturers will immediately move out of town. A strike of 425 men called by the M.E.S.A. at the Mather Spring Co. some seven weeks ago has been turned into a lockout, and the plant is still standing idle. It is obvious that unless the Chevrolet union is rearmored within the next few weeks, and strike action taken to reinstate the 900 men, the Chevrolet union will be dealt a mortal blow and the city of Toledo will have been set back for many months.

The Progressive group of local 18384, realizing the danger which they are all facing, have already

THE MANAGER'S CORNER

Subscriptions are coming in but not at all fast enough to speak about it in enthusiastic terms. Our total to date is 223. We do not disparage, however, and have no reason to do so inasmuch as a couple of hundred new readers are always welcome.

Since our last report 59 new subscribers have been added and if the party convention date had not been changed slightly we would still be a good distance from our goal of 1,000 new subscribers. Now we have a little more time and should be able to make it.

The New York branches have by far the best record in this drive. Most of them should be able to reach their quota. But we still have a number of branches which have not yet gotten into motion or which have made only a very small beginning. Strange to say, this is the case of several branches the members of which are otherwise participating very actively in the general labor movement.

Among such branches, and those which have a large quota, the Allentown branch has not yet managed to send in a single new subscription. The San Francisco branch has sent in none; the Detroit, Toledo and Pittsburgh branches have sent in one new subscription each; the Newark branch has sent in two, the Boston branch three and the Minneapolis branch has sent in five. Comrades too often forget the necessity of building up a circulation for the party press, of spreading the ideas we stand for, as the most important means of really making their activities in the class struggle effective and fruitful. We would not maintain that this is the case in Minneapolis. On the contrary, in Minneapolis our comrades have already a substantial mailing list built up. But this question is too often lost sight of elsewhere.

If all of these branches which are still not in the running, and also those which have made only a small beginning, now speed up on their activities to get new subscribers, we will reach the goal set

in this campaign. Since our last report the new subscriptions received together with the quota of the various branches stand as follows:

City	Quota	Turned in
Akron, Ohio.....	20	6
Albert Lea, Minn....	10	—
Allentown, Pa.....	30	—
Austin, Minn.....	10	—
Berkeley, Cal.....	10	1
Boston, Mass.....	25	3
Charleston, W. Va....	5	—
Chicago, Ill.....	50	14
Cleveland, Ohio.....	25	8
Columbus, Ohio.....	10	—
Davenport, Iowa.....	10	—
Detroit, Mich.....	25	1
Dickson City, Pa.....	5	—
Fargo, S. Dakota.....	10	—
High Point, N. C.....	5	—
Kansas City, Mo.....	10	—
Los Angeles, Cal.....	25	7
Minneapolis, Minn....	75	5
Mount Carmel, Pa....	5	—
Newark, N. J.....	20	2
New Castle, Pa.....	10	—
New Haven, Conn....	10	—
New York City.....	400	135
(Branch 1	90	58)
(Branch 2	40	8)
(Branch 3	75	31)
(Branch 4	30	7)
(Branch 5	20	12)
(Branch 6	15	2)
(Branch 7	15	1)
(Branch 8	10	7)
(District	100	14)
Northampton, Pa....	5	—
Pateron, N. J.....	10	—
Philadelphia, Pa.....	20	8
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	25	1
Plentywood, Mont....	10	—
St. Louis, Mo.....	10	—
Salt Lake City.....	10	4
San Francisco, Cal....	20	—
San Diego, Cal.....	10	4
Springfield, Ill.....	5	—
Toledo, Ohio.....	25	1
Utica, N. Y.....	5	—
Washington, D. C....	10	1
Williston, N. Dakota	10	—
Youngstown, Ohio...	10	—
Received from cities not listed above...		22
Total	1,000	223

In the late Mr. Holland's pamphlet, should dispel any illusions that may be held about New Zealand democracy.

"We, of course, sympathize with the exploited people of Abyssinia and strongly resent both the contemplated military attack by the Fascist government of Italy and the contemplated selling or dividing up of their country among British, American and other capitalist interests. We sympathize with them just as we do with the Indian frontier tribes, who are being bombed by our British Royal Air Force, but we definitely assert that the way to free the Abyssinians or the Mohammedan or Indian masses is not to participate with British or New Zealand governments in a peaceful cutting up of their territory or in its administration under the League of Nations or to take part in a national war against the Italian workers, 'our gallant allies' only a few years ago. Our duty is not to fight our foreign fellow-workers, but to call on all workers in all countries to resist their own exploiting and war-making governments with the object of obtaining political power for the working class, of instituting social ownership of the means of production, and thus in the only possible manner putting an end to wars by removing their causes.

"We therefore oppose any war-making activities of the present government, declaring that the present situation does not differ fundamentally from that of 1914 and we refuse to be again deceived. We will in no circumstances transport war materials or troops or in any way assist any war governments and we call upon all working class organizations to join with us in resistance to this shameful League of Nations phrases, once again to set the working classes of the world at each other's throats in order that capitalist profits may be protected and to ensure the continued exploitation of labor."

Illinois Project Strike Postponed

(Continued from Page 1)

upon them to return to work Monday and "be loyal to the government."

Police and sheriffs were already organized for strike-breaking activities and jobless workers who happened to be idle the morning following the conference were questioned. Secrecy as to the definite time the strike will be called still has the politicians and WPA officials jittery. On many projects workers report that there is a let-up in the slave-driving tactics used by the bosses. Discharged WPA workers are also being placed back to work.

Pledges Support of P.M.A. Local
Jack Battuello, president of local union 1, Progressive Miners of America, in a fiery address, pledged the support of his local union in the fight of the I.W.A. against the "coolie wage."

The League of Stalinist Agents for Social Patriotism

A Political Analysis of the Lovestone Group And its Reactionary Role

Some comrades are inclined to view the present Brandler-Lovestone group's whitewashing of Stalinist social-chauvinism as merely the latest of the long series of situations in which Stalinism has found a loyal attorney in this so-called "Communist Party (Opposition)." They see in the present Lovestone "line" nothing more than a continuation of six years of Lovestone attempts to return to the Communist International at any price. They consider the Lovestone apologies for the new Stalinist line as similar to that group's defense of the Anglo-Russian Committee's role in defeating the British General Strike of 1926; to its defense (even today!) of the Stalinist line in China which has been so successful that, with not even a glance at the disorganized masses, Chiang Kai-shek gives up North China to Japan; to the Lovestoneite alibi that the Stalinists were justified in capitulating to Hitler without a struggle since the previous mistakes had resulted in a situation that made it inadvisable to fight, etc., etc.

To those who take such a view, we wish to point out that all the necessary conclusions must be drawn from the fact that the 7th Congress was an open break with revolutionary principles, and particularly with a revolutionary principle tested on an international scale in 1914: the revolutionary struggle against war.

The Test of Events

It is true that the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country" (and no other!), which became the official doctrine of the Comintern, and sharply separated the Left Opposition from both the Stalinists and Lovestoneites, was also a break with the revolutionary internationalism of Marx and Lenin. Nevertheless, the full practical consequences of this theory were not immediately apparent to even the most advanced workers. For many years it seemed to them a highly abstract issue. It took ten years of defeats and downsliding under Stalin's leadership, culminating in the German catastrophe, before the revolutionary faction of the Comintern could announce the death of the Comintern as a revolutionary instrument, and the necessity of building a new international.

Even after Germany, many advanced workers said to us: "Your analysis is still only a hypothesis. After all, the Comintern has not formally broken with those fundamentals of Marxism which are generally viewed as the revolutionary position—such as the revolutionary struggle against war."

The Seventh Congress marked the formal and explicit passage of the Comintern over to social-chauvinism. There is no longer anything "abstract" about our differences with the Comintern. In gory pages, the role of social-chauvinism is written into the history of the working class during the last war. Those who continue to support or apologize for social-chauvinism, either as C. P. members or as "loyal oppositionists" like the Lovestone group, are acting as social-patriots and agents of social-patriots.

The Seventh Congress

The official blessing given to social-patriotism by the Seventh Congress confronted the Lovestone group with an inescapable decision. The Seventh Congress was not merely another incident. They had to choose: Either break with the social-patriotic Comintern or capitulate to it. Capitulation meant, this time, capitulation on fundamental principles with no nonsense about "disagreeing but continuing our work for unity." The Lovestone group had either to say that the Comintern had gone over to social-patriotism and was no longer a revolutionary organization, to break with it and take the road which, in spite of their past, would lead them toward unity of all revolutionary forces. Or, if they remained a faction of the Stalinist, having capitulated on the fundamental question of social-chauvinism, they would thereafter have to perform even greater prodigies of betrayal as agents of the Stalinist chauvinists.

This all-important question produced a crisis in the Lovestone group. The proof of the significance which we attribute to the issue of the Seventh Congress for the Lovestoneites, is supplied by their own testimony. For a few weeks, they teetered back and forth on the edge of breaking with Stalinism. In those few weeks, they clearly indicated what the issue was. Then—they turned back and, ever since, as we shall show, they demonstrated that to remain a "loyal opposition" after the Seventh Congress, requires an entirely new level of subservience to Stalinism; requires, in fact, nothing less than a whitewash of social-patriotism and to play the role of Stalinist agents for organic unity. We shall demonstrate this in detail.

Lovestoneites Caught Unawares

The Stalinist turn to social-patriotism caught the Lovestone group unawares. Their diagnosis of what was wrong with the Com-

intern was that it was ultra-leftist. We, on the contrary, have always contended that the ultra-left swing of the C. I. (1928-1934) was only one side of Stalinism, that Stalinism veers right or left in obedience to the temporary requirements of the Soviet bureaucracy. Witness the right-wing zigzag of 1924-1926. Denying our contention, the Lovestoneites were left open-mouthed when the chauvinist actions of the Comintern began to pile up. The Lovestoneite paper had, in fact, been full of gleeful items about the gradual improvements in the Comintern line when, overnight, they had to face the fact that the Comintern had gone over bag and baggage to social-chauvinism.

The first spontaneous reactions of the Lovestone group was to estimate the Comintern actions in fairly accurate terms. Even Lovestone himself gave a speech on July 12, 1935, entitled "Shadows of 1914 Hover Over the Comintern." The same title served for a report from Brandler. The difference in character between previous differences with the Comintern and the latest was put quite sharply by Herbert D. Wolfe, on August 10, in an article entitled, "The Comintern in Danger of Degeneration." Under the heading, "A Question of Principles," Wolfe declared:

"Here are no more tactical differences such as separated the Comintern and the Opposition till now. The International is actually in danger of breaking with revolutionary principles. . . . If it does not speedily, decisively reverse its path, it is headed for the gravest crisis in the history of the International, so grave that 1928-1935 will seem insignificant in comparison."

In the draft thesis for their national convention, the National Committee of the Lovestoneites characterized the Comintern line in these terms:

"Such a policy would be open social-chauvinism no matter under what banner it would be conducted."

In the Workers Age of August 24, M. S. Mautner said:

"Dominant in the Comintern today is the Social Democratic (chauvinist) trend. This policy has not yet been sanctified by decision of the Seventh Congress, nevertheless all arrows point in that direction. . . . There is left no doubt but that this program of opportunism and social-chauvinism has become the line of the Comintern."

"The leadership of the C. I. is deserting the most elementary principles of class struggle," declared Barney Herman.

Presumably in consonance with these estimates of the social-patriotic degeneration of the Comintern, the National Committee of the Lovestoneites proposed that the coming convention drop the name of "Communist Party Opposition" and, striking out independently, adopt the name "Communist Labor League."

Drawing the Conclusions

None of the leaders of the Lovestoneites explicitly drew any conclusions from the situation. It remained for a younger member of their group to put the problem in clearer terms. After summing up what all the others had said, Jesse Lane declared (August 31):

"All of this is true but not one takes up the question of this desertion of principles in relation to the future of the C.P.O." Now, Lane pointed out, unity with the Comintern would first require that it repudiate chauvinism. If the Seventh Congress line is carried out, said Lane, "we will have to declare that the Communist International is no longer the revolutionary international."

But in the same issue in which Lane's article appeared, it was already clear that Lovestone himself had no intention of breaking with the Stalinist. In an article whose cynical legalism has seldom been paralleled in the labor movement, Lovestone began to build a bridge back to Stalinism over the unfortunate remarks about "chauvinist degeneration," "social-patriotism," etc. Naturally, after what he himself had said about "shadows of 1914," he had to retrace his steps slowly. But what he said was plain enough:

The Road Back

"To conclude that the beginning of this tendency, on the part of the Comintern, towards a Social Democratic position in regard to democracy is already the full adoption by the C. I. of the attitude of the Second International, would be the worst of folly."

There was a struggle in the Lovestone group, but Lovestone had his way at the convention, even the opposition voting for his shameful resolution on the Seventh Congress. This resolution explicitly denies that the Stalinist has become social-chauvinist, and in fact gives it a clean bill of health, saying that "there can be no talk of

1914 for the Communist International." As a face-saving device, there is a perfunctory remark in the resolution that if the Comintern line is continued it is "bound to lead to outright social-chauvinism and reformism." The convention also dropped the idea of changing the name of the group to Communist Labor League, and continued the old name.

If the remark that the C. I. line was "bound to lead to outright social-chauvinism" were seriously meant, rather than the main line of the resolution's defense of the Comintern, this would have expressed itself in systematic, sharp polemic against the social-chauvinist line, as it continued and deepened. Instead, however, the issues of the Workers Age published since the convention resolution appeared on September 14, have shamelessly continued to build the bridge back along the line that Lovestone began. A few examples must suffice.

Wolfe's Somersault

B. D. Wolfe, who, on August 14 had spoken of "chauvinist degeneration," has the brass, by November 30, to politely term the Stalinist line a "modification by the Communist International of certain aspects of its traditional position!" The same Wolfe declares, on Dec. 7, "Stalin's actual stature, if truthfully reported, is gigantic enough without falsification." Lovestone develops the theory that the "sole" deviation of the C. I. is on the question of "mixed wars," and that even this deviation arises from the laudable desire to protect the Soviet Union! As if every chauvinist did not declare that he supported capitalist governments from the laudable desire to protect working class organizations from the foreign enemy; and as if there could

be any but "mixed wars" (involving the Soviet Union) in this epoch!

The most ludicrous aspect of the Lovestone somersault is their attempt to lay a theoretical foundation for their capitulation, based on the false analogy from mechanics of a swinging pendulum. They assert that the Comintern's chauvinism is merely a compensating extreme right swing from the previous left swing. As Lovestone puts it (Nov. 16): "opportunistic deviations now being made by the Comintern sections in their panicky flight from ultra-left sectarianism." This preposterous idea of a swinging pendulum pervades all their material on the Comintern.

Another theoretical buttress for the bridge back beyond those unfortunate few weeks when the Comintern line was characterized in near-accurate terms, is the invention of the "uncertainty" of the Seventh Congress. Lovestone discovers non-existent distinctions between what Thorez and Cachin said before the Seventh Congress and what Dimitroff said at the Seventh Congress! This deception goes so far, for example, as a headline in the Nov. 9 issue asking (about some particularly flagrant Stalinist chauvinism): "Is This Dimitroff's Political Line?" and concluding the article by saying, "No, it isn't Dimitroff's line." Wolfe (Nov. 9) says the Seventh Congress has not "spoken clearly on the French and Czechoslovak errors" and that the Seventh Congress has "tried to correct some of them by just dropping them without analysis." What could be clearer than the brazen affirmation, deepening, and universal application by the Seventh Congress of the chauvinism of the French and Czechoslovak C.P.? What errors

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

GERARD ON RADICAL

"DOG-HUNT"

James W. Gerard, former U. S. Ambassador to the Kaiser's Germany, wants to introduce the terrorist methods of German Fascism into America. This agent of the capitalist ruling class sees the class struggle assuming more open, more sharpened form here too in no distant future. Hence he takes the opportunity in an address of "welcome" to some newly naturalized citizens in Jersey City to inject the proper note of terrorism against the militants of the working class. He warns that "those who will not conform to the institutions of this country, who seek to overthrow our government and substitute some foreign communism, will soon be hunted like mad dogs in our streets." What the upholder of American capitalism means by "conforming" is obvious. He means that the employed workers shall submit to the wise guidance of the bosses when they deem it necessary to cut wages and lengthen hours; that they shall not attempt to better their lot by daring to organize into unions and to strike against the oppressors and exploiters. He means that the eleven million unemployed shall starve patiently on the miserable dole given in a spirit of Christian Rooseveltian charity, without making too much of an organized nuisance of themselves to disturb the parasitic upper crust of capitalist society. Gerard would exterminate the Marxian vanguard, those "mad dogs" who might spread the virus of revolt among the other "dogs," the working and toiling masses. Gerard's fears, needless to say, arise not because of any foreign importation of communism into America from abroad, but because the same struggle for power by the proletariat is inherent wherever the capitalist system exists, in the United States as well as in Europe. And when the struggle becomes clear to the workers, they will know how to defend themselves against the "dog hunters," how to answer the Fascist white terror of the Gerards. They will set up their own institutions and their own standards of conformity.

slightest interest in the Ethiopians or in anything but the power and the pocketbooks of English capitalists. The resignation of the Foreign Secretary does not mean in any sense that the intentions of Baldwin have changed or that the actual proposals to give Italy half of Ethiopia were "wrong." All it means is that the necessary amount of diplomacy, i.e., of sham and fraud, will have to be used to cloak these real designs and to cloud them in secrecy. The game will be played with greater astuteness by the left-over Edens and Chamberlains as a result of the fall of Hoare. He is symbolic of the power of British cant and hypocrisy whose roots extend deeply into the labor movement as well as into bourgeois circles. Only those who really represent the deepest interests of the masses are not interested in fooling the masses. Only, that is to say, the Marxist vanguard.

OUTER MONGOLIA

The visit of important officials of the Soviet government of Outer Mongolia to Moscow is but a sign of the ominous nature of the situation in the Far East. However extended the theater of war, when it breaks out, between Japan and the Soviet Union, Outer Mongolia will be an important part of it. The Japanese army has long declared its intention of strangling the Soviet maritime provinces by cutting off their communication with Russia and the Ural region. This could be best accomplished by means of a campaign through Outer Mongolia to cut the Trans-Siberian Railroad. In self defense against the Japanese bandits the Soviet government has been laying tracks parallel to those of the Trans-Siberian, but further north. In addition railroad lines are being laid by both Japan and the Soviets to be ready to pour troops into the Mongolian sector. The seizure of North China by the Japanese robbers has the two-fold aim of laying the basis for the further gobbling up of China, and for more extensive preparations for invading Siberia. War in the Far East seems only a matter of the briefest time. If Japan invades Outer Mongolia—and this seems to be the intention of the Japanese army—the incident will be provided that will set the world ablaze in a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. European repercussions would not be long in following. All the moves made by England with respect to Italy have as their dark background the next stage of developments, with Hitler Germany preparing to strike at the Ukraine. England would like to see a solid front of Germany, France, Italy and herself against the Soviet Union, with Hitler acting as the spearhead of conquest and reaction. Workers must be on the alert to aid in the defense of the Soviet Union.

HOARE'S FAUX PAS

The ex-Foreign Secretary of Great Britain has been sacrificed by the reactionary Baldwin government to prolong the life of the present cabinet. Hoare failed to act with that proper savoir faire, that hypocritical ease in saying pleasant nothings while committing evil deeds that is the recognized hallmark of bourgeois diplomacy. The great crime of Hoare is to have revealed in brutal nakedness just what the Baldwin government meant all along. The elections having passed, Hoare felt it unnecessary to pretend any further that British imperialism has the

were corrected? None, of course; this is merely a dishonest attempt to build up a fake distinction between what the Communist parties are doing and what the Seventh Congress said.

We began this article by saying that the present Lovestoneite whitewashing of Stalinist social-patriotism cannot be viewed as merely a continuation of the old Lovestone line; that, instead, it means that by capitulating on these fundamental principles, the Lovestoneites stand ready for the most nefarious services on behalf of Stalinism. This we can now prove to the hilt.

Explain This Away—Lovestone!

On June 15, in the period when the Lovestoneites were undecided on what position to take toward the C. I. chauvinist line, a long article appeared in their paper, by George F. Miles, certainly an authoritative spokesman, on the question of organic unity. The article vehemently denounced the French Stalinist proposals for organic unity. It speaks of the principle of the organizational independence of the revolutionists, and will have nothing to do with those who wish to destroy this principle. It speaks passionately of the differences between revolutionists and chauvinists, "principled differences which expressed themselves in veritable rivers of blood." It describes the fundamental gap between reformists and revolutionists, and concludes: "As long as this condition remains, he who comes before the proletariat and promises organic unity is a charlatan, is misleading the working class, for such is impossible."

Once the Lovestoneites capitulated to the Stalinists on the question of the Seventh Congress line, however, the opposition to organic unity disappears, and instead, these gentlemen, who have so often in the past stressed the distinction between unity and the united front, and demanded precise terms on these questions, now are developing a barrage for "unity." "Working Class Unity is Need of the Hour," says Will Herberg (Nov. 9), and declares that "the movement for unity is forging rapidly forward, making great headway on every front." The article is a fantastic confusion of the problem of organic unity and the problem of united fronts; and deliberately so, since the Stalinist line on war makes it impossible to speak of a united front between pro-sanctions Stalinists and anti-sanctions Socialists. Herberg throws overboard the whole theory of principled united fronts on specific issues, and calls for united fronts on the war question between Socialists and Stalinists; and Herberg has the gall to do so without once mentioning the social chauvinism of the Stalinists! How is it possible for two utterly different lines on war to be reconciled in one united front? Herberg supplies an answer which deserves to be printed in acid on his brassy forehead; like the attorney for Stalinism that he is, he advises the Socialists that it is not necessary to unite on a correct or revolutionary program, and for this unprincipled position he offers as bait the backwardness of the masses.

Herberg's "Mastery" Contribution

"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.)

On the key question of revolutionary policy, the war question, Herberg does this! Who can he possibly be serving, except the Stalinists who, knowing that the backward workers, imbued with bourgeois ideology and otherwise unassisted, would move toward social-patriotism, desire to stifle the revolutionary Socialists in a "broad, united front" in which they could propagate their social-patriotism.

The Tacit Admission

When we published an article exposing the political role of the Lovestoneites as Stalinist agents, in which we emphasized the development of the line exemplified by Herberg's article, the Lovestoneites hysterically denounced us. But their very denunciations provide additional proof of their role as Stalinist agents. They say the Trotskyists aim "to obstruct all efforts aiming at the unity of all class-conscious elements as a basis for a broad and all embracing united labor front." Since the second half of the sentence speaks specifically of a united labor front, presumably something else is meant by "unity of all class-con-

scious elements." The same idea appears several times. They speak of our "savage hostility to the Communist Opposition for its effective work in championing the cause of unity in the labor movement." It is clear that these are no mere references to united fronts! The Lovestoneites tacitly admit our charge that they are championing the cause of organic unity between the C. P. and the S. P.

Who is served by such a "cause"? Not the Socialist Party, which has taken a position against the war-provoking sanctions which the Stalinist supports. Not the revolutionary Socialists who, slowly and haltingly but nevertheless definitely, are taking a course in fundamental opposition to the chauvinism and support of bourgeois democratic governments of the Stalinist. Not the historic interests of the proletariat, which require the smashing and the systematic isolation of the degenerate Stalinist apparatus from the revolutionists and the questing masses. Not the international revolution, to which the Stalinist is the most vicious obstacle. No! The Lovestoneites, by their whitewashing of the chauvinism of the Stalinist, by their role as its agents in its campaign of poisoning the progressive tendencies in the Socialist movement by smothering them in one party with the Stalinists—the Lovestoneites stand revealed for what they are: the League of Stalinist Agents for the Social-Patriotic Betrayers of the World Revolution.

Proved to the Hilt

On November 23 we published an article analyzing the Stalinist role of the Lovestone group. The Nov. 30 issue of the Workers Age replied with characteristic abuse but with no answer to our political arguments. Apparently, however, our article has created some sharp questioning within the Lovestone ranks and their contacts who became suspicious of the Lovestone leadership because of its perfunctory answer of three paragraphs. On December 14, therefore, the Lovestoneites print a long article, hysterical in tone, denouncing once again our Nov. 23 article. Their second article is, however, no more illuminating than the first; it maintains a strict silence about all the political questions we have raised, and attempts to cover up this silence on the political questions by its howling and yowling (except as we have pointed out above, that it tacitly admits the C.P.O.'s role as Stalinist brokers for an unprincipled marriage). In a familiar enough method, which in law is termed "entering a general denial," that is, a method of denial which does not come to grips with the actual charges made, the Lovestoneites demand that we reveal to them our sources of information on negotiations carried on by them with Comintern representatives and negotiations of Herberg and Zimmermann with Socialists. We have no intention of revealing to Lovestone our sources of information, who feel they can be more useful to the revolutionary movement by remaining for the present in the Lovestone group. Precisely because he knows that our sources are there, Lovestone raises his cry for proof, because if we reveal our sources he will be saved from future exposures, and if we do not, he can attempt to rest on his general denial. But, as we declared in our first article, one has only to read the Workers Age to find all sufficient independent verification of our confidential information. Our present article, without going outside the boundaries of the Workers Age itself, has proved to the hilt our original contention: The Lovestoneites are Stalinist Agents, to be treated with the same contempt and to be fought as intransigently, as Stalinism itself.

FRED B. BROOKLYN—

Question: What principled argument is there against the slogan of a "labor party" if the latter is really composed of honest, militant elements?

Answer: Even were it possible to grant the abstract thesis concerning the "honest, militant elements" which contradicts the reality as to who would dominate a labor party in this country today, the slogan would still remain false.

Insofar as it would not stand for revolution but would fight for the interests of the workers, a "labor party" must necessarily be a political party which confines its struggles to the immediate demands of the workers, and to the achievement of reforms for the latter, within the framework which capitalism will permit. Such a party could realize its aims and justify its existence thereby, only if capitalism were still in its progressive stage, and thus capable of granting such reforms. To advance the slogan of the "Labor Party," therefore, is to put forth the concept that capitalism is still in its progressive stage and the international revolution a thing of the distant future.

We proceed from the Leninist thesis, however, that capitalism, imperialist in character, is in a state of decline; that the capitalists, far from being able to grant "reforms" to the workers, can exist only by increasing the latter's misery; and that even the "immediate" needs of the workers can be attained only by an overthrow of capitalism. From this flows the necessity, not of a party of "immediate demands" but, as against the latter, a revolutionary party for the struggle for power.

The slogan of a "Labor Party" is the negation of the slogan of a "Revolutionary Party," and it is no accident, therefore, that the adoption of the "Labor Party" slogan by the Communist Party coincides with the latter's adoption of a reformist position generally, and correspondingly, a move for organic unity with the Socialist Party.

CANNON SPEAKS ON LABOR WAR IN MINNEAPOLIS

James P. Cannon, who has just returned from a stay in Minneapolis, will speak on the labor war in Minneapolis and the struggle in the A. F. of L. He will give a first-hand account of the heroic struggle of Local 574 against Green's "Red Purge."

The meeting will take place Sunday evening, Jan. 5, at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street. We call to the attention of our readers in New York that there will be no public meeting held on Sunday, Dec. 29.

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

M.F., BOSTON—

Question: Does not the granting of independence to the Philippines by the Roosevelt government show that there is a fundamental difference between American imperialism and European imperialism?

Answer: The question itself indicates that the Roosevelt strategy, which is that of deception, and is intended to aid him in the coming election, has a certain measure of success. What essentially is changed by the "independence" of the Philippines? Control of the island in both an economic and military sense remains as firmly entrenched as before in the hands of American finance-capital. The formal rights which have been granted the Philippines may be compared to the formal democracy which the workers have under capitalism: Every so often they cast their ballots for certain people, but nothing is essentially altered, regardless of how they vote; the real control remains in the hands of the masters, the finance-capitalists.

Because its economic and financial superiority and control is in itself sufficient to cope with competitors in its colonies, American imperialism is able to forego direct military and political control of such spheres of influence, e.g., Cuba. (A large navy deters other imperialist powers from attempting to offset their economic deficiencies by military means, and the same guns can be used against revolting masses.) This particular circumstance, the absence of American troops from certain of its colonies, permits Yankee imperialism to take on a liberal coloration which it attempts to use in its own interests. At the present time the strategy is to use the formal "independence" of its own colonies as a stepping stone towards advancing the slogan of the "independence" of the colonies of the other imperialists, particularly those of Great Britain, i.e., to make these colonies independent of British but dependent upon American capital. "Independence" was thus granted the Philippines because American imperialism, attempting to establish a territorial base in China, is preparing to advance the slogan of the "liberation" of India in case of a conflict with Great Britain.

The weapons and methods may vary but there is no fundamental difference between Yankee and European imperialism: bandits remain bandits.

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Labor Defense Unity Vital!

The Herndon mass meeting in New York City Friday night turned out to have a deeper meaning than most defense rallies. At the same time that it was a greeting to Herndon on his temporary escape from the chain-gang, and a pledge of renewed support to his fight, it was also important for what some of the speakers said about the need for defense unity in general.

Those political groups supporting the Non-Partisan Labor Defense have always stood for defense unity. They have tried to collaborate with the I.L.D. since the N.P.L.D. was organized almost two years ago and, despite the I.L.D.'s sabotage they have compelled the I.L.D. to collaborate in several instances. The N.P.L.D. has also collaborated with the General Defense Committee of the I.W.W. With the Socialist Party it carried on extended negotiations when it was in a provisional stage, trying to get the S. P. to join with other forces in launching a non-partisan defense.

The N.P.L.D. and its supporters have never abandoned the fight for unity. Indeed, they have been the only ones to work seriously and concretely toward this. What was said about unity at the Herndon meeting, for example, came on the heels of an editorial in these pages advocating defense unity. And at the Herndon meeting itself, Julius Hochman's words on behalf of defense unity were more than echoed by the N.P.L.D. representative, who got a rousing reception when he stressed the need for a militant, unified class struggle defense organization.

Anna Damon of the I.L.D. also seconded Hochman's suggestions for unity. But Damon did not speak at all about policy. She would be content to have unity, and pay no attention at all to the question of program, principles, policy and tactics.

No Gratitude to Dorsey

That is not our idea of class struggle defense policy. Nor is it our understanding of defense that we owe any gratitude or honor to the judge who turned Herndon loose. How devoted Judge Dorsey is to "liberty" and "justice" may be seen from the fact that his decision includes a recommendation to the legislature that it enact a law which will be ironclad so that future Herndons may be sent to the chain-gang without any technical difficulties. As we see it, Dorsey let Herndon go because the exigencies of the Talmadge-Roosevelt faction brawl in the Democratic Party of Georgia make it uncomfortable to have a political prisoner on the chain-gang now that the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense has succeeded in making the Herndon issue popular with broad masses of work-

ers and sympathizers. The decisive factor in freeing Herndon was the organized mass campaign which made a popular—and politically important—issue of the case.

It is important that things like this be understood in order that defense be properly planned, with its roots in a mass movement of trade unionists, unemployed and sympathizers. Only such a movement, backing up able attorneys (not professional admirers of the existing order), can win victories for the workers when they are attacked by the capitalist state. A unified defense movement must have such an attitude, be founded on such a program of class struggle—or the unity will be worthless to the class.

It is, of course, well understood that when we speak of the need for a militant class struggle program in defense work, we mean nothing like what passed for that with the Stalinists during their unlamented Third Period. Our comrade, Norman Mini, now prisoner 57906 in San Quentin, is paying every day for the kind of disruptive, provocative tactics which the I.L.D. brought into the Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial. There the I.L.D. attorney was neither able nor militant: he was a wild ranter who told the jury to its face that he did not speak for their benefit, but for the benefit of the four-score Stalinist spectators in the courtroom. There the broad masses brought no pressure because the C.P. drove them away . . . and the I.L.D. substituted for mass pressure the antics of a bakers dozen of its members who came into the court.

Avoiding intemperance and provocation on the one hand, simple legalism and opportunism on the other, a unified defense movement would be a great boon to the working class in these days of intense class struggle.

Questions of organizational steps are important. Hochman, for example, speaks of basing the unified defense movement on the trade unions. It is, of course, most desirable that unions affiliate to a defense body. But what is essential is a mass of individual members of the defense organization. The latter must be based on local branches of active militants, including trade unionists and others. Once such an organization is started, broad support may be sought and won from unions which affiliate, collectively. This and other organizational problems must be thrashed out.

But before organizational discussion is begun, questions of program must be clarified. In this connection we cannot do better than quote from the program of the

N.P.L.D., the section on activities and methods:

The N.P.L.D. Program

1. **Defense in Courts.** The Non-Partisan Labor Defense will provide counsel who will serve under the direction of the organization, and will be formally bound to accept its direction. Defense in the courts will be conducted according to the following principles:

a. **Legal Aid.** The full utilization of every legal right and action for the benefit of the defendant. Here, as everywhere in its activities, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense will fight to secure and extend every democratic right granted under the present social system. It recognizes fully the great limitations of these rights as applied to workers; it will neither condone nor foster any illusions concerning them. But it will not commit the folly of being contemptuous of such rights as workers have, or of surrendering them—recognizing that they represent partial victories wrested from those in power by long and bitter struggles.

b. **Presentation of Basic Labor Issues.** The courtroom defense will be planned to bring out, as far as possible, the fundamental labor issues involved. Every effort will be made to reveal the role of the defendant as a fighter and victim in a cause in which all workers have a stake, and his persecution as a blow aimed against all. This will be done for the purpose of winning the sympathy of the jury for an acquittal and for providing inspiration for the organization of mass support and defense outside the courtroom.

2. **Organized Mass Support.** The Non-Partisan Labor Defense will conduct systematic campaigns to organize the weight and influence of masses of workers and others to secure the release of the defendant, through protests, public meetings and demonstrations, etc. United front bodies will be built, wherever possible, in which organized groups will be united on a commonly agreed program of action. Throughout, the chief organizational objective in building the mass defense will be to secure the active support and participation of the trade unions, fraternal and other labor organizations.

3. **Publicity and Educational Activities.** These will include promotion of defense aims and activities in the press, lectures, speakers' bureaus, publication of a bulletin, etc.

4. **Aid to Prisoners and Defendants.** Systematic campaigns to protect the rights, improve the living conditions and give material comfort to labor prisoners and other imprisoned victims of reactionary persecution; and to provide aid for their dependants.

movement." Reply by Lundberg: "Job action is never indiscriminate, unorganized or unjust. As long as the men mutually agree, they have a just grievance which cannot be adjusted otherwise than through job action."

Objection: "Job action, like any other spontaneous elemental effort on the part of men goaded to extremity, has its drawbacks. Where emotion and antipathy can occasionally dilute cool reason, mistakes are bound to occur."

Reply: "Job action is not spontaneous. Neither is it emotional. The men who use job action are the men on the job who are discriminated against. Who knows better than the man on the job. Surely not the committee which in most cases slowing up or holding back the progress of the seamen."

There are elements within the Maritime Federation who fear the organized mass movement of the workers. These are the right wingers who, basing themselves upon some of the better situated sections of the maritime workers, now find themselves in the position where they are in deadly fear of any disturbance of the status quo and their position. In answer to the demands of the underpaid, overworked elements for better conditions, they lift an admonishing finger. That there are dangers in job action is true, but these dangers must not blind us to the correctness (as proven by the effectiveness) of the seamen's position for job action.

Stalinists on Reactionary Side Opposition to job action is perfectly understandable from the point of view of a right wing bureaucrat who fears motion of the masses as the devil himself. The Stalinists, however, have also come out against job action, by coming out for "organized" job action. (The seamen stood for "unorganized" job action according to these worthies.) In the final analysis, this means no action at all, as proven by their attacks upon patrolmen (stewards) of the seamen, who had come out in favor of crews taking action. For their pains the Stalinists received the following reply by Chas. Cates, second patrolman of the Seamen's Union:

"The editor of the Waterfront Worker, the anonymous organ of the C. P. on the waterfront, has taken it upon himself to ridicule and condemn the actions taken by the patrolmen of the Sailor's Union."

Objection: "They (opponents of job action) believe that indiscriminate, unorganized job action will prove a boomerang. That it will not only fail, but that it will definitely harm the maritime workers' front Worker) also states that this

Prepare to Don Khaki For 'Our U.S.'-C. P. Says

By M. JOERGER

According to Bittleman of the C. P., "The Left Socialists are endeavoring to arrive at a revolutionary policy of peace. We must try to help them overcome these difficulties." (Daily Worker, Dec. 6, from recent plenum of C.C. of C.P.)

Left Socialists may well question the authority of Bittleman to expound on this question. Isn't it a fact that in the special address of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, to the membership of the Communist Party of the U. S., in 1929, the minority faction and Bittleman in particular were accused of "sliding down to petty bourgeois pacifist slogans," in connection with the war danger?

It could however be pointed out that much that was pink and shady in 1929 has been graduated to become the official line in 1935. This is true to such an extent that the latest pronouncements of Bittleman reeking with the vilest chauvinism, are typical of official Stalinism.

In line with coalitionism, sanctions, and the other fruits of the Seventh Comintern Congress, the C. P. has just discovered the dangers of "isolation." The liberal pacifist illusion is propagated that pacts between American imperialism and other powers are progressive steps for the maintenance of "peace"

Bittleman expatiates abstractly on this question of "isolation", as if it meant one and the same thing to all classes. He develops the essential implication that the C. P. hopes for a pact between American imperialism and the Soviet Union, on the style of the recent Franco-Soviet Pact. In doing this, Bittleman lumps together the interests of the masses and the exploiters of this country.

He tries to convince the left Socialists and the masses generally of the "defensive" position of "this country", in the Far East. He says that it is clear "that the present war in the Far East directly threatens the peace of the United States." (My emphasis, M. J.) This is counterposed to "Japanese aggression."

"The peace of the U. S.!" As if American marines in the Yangtze are there to compete in an Olympic contest!

The best indication of the extent to which the Comintern has fallen into the mire of social patriotism is the frequency and regularity with which jingo phraseology appears in its official statements and resolutions.

For example, Bittleman says: "Every American knows that the Far East concerns this country very closely." Also . . . "or that Africa is still less of concern to us." (My emphasis—M.J.) "Every American," "this coun-

try" and "us" are terms deliberately used to bury the class struggle and replace it by class-collaboration.

The old trickeries that Lenin mercilessly exposed when they were manifested by the heroes of the 1914 betrayal are now being revived by Stalin's faithful lackeys.

The defense of the "Fatherland" against a foreign invasion is further developed. Bittleman points also to the possibility of an Anglo-German imperialist front "against the U. S." And come to think of it, poor American imperialism, which only recently paraded its huge naval forces in the Atlantic and Pacific, . . . "is not yet ready for war," according to this Stalinist parrot!

For the enlightenment of the Left Socialists who have "not yet understood" it, the Leninist slogan of "transform the imperialist war into civil war" is now "shelved" by the Stalinists.

General Line of Betrayal

Under the slogan of "Defend the Soviet Union" and "Defend the peace of the U. S.," the C. P. becomes the recruiting agency for Wall Street.

To the masses of Great Britain the C.I. issues the war slogan, "Support the sanctions policy of the government."

To the exploited of French imperialism is issued the call to arms "to defend the republic against Hitler."

To the oppressed masses of the Central European vassal states—"Fight for your national independence against the German aggressor." . . . This, and more, ad nauseum.

Thus in unison do the Stalinists and the Second International prepare the mass basis for a new world imperialist carnage. All this in the name of "Defend the Soviet Union."

Lenin Castigates Bittleman

Lenin long ago asked, "How was it possible that the most eminent representatives and leaders of the Second International betrayed Socialism? . . . The most primitive theory," says Lenin, "seems to be the one that points at an 'offender' state. 'We have been attacked,' 'we defend ourselves'; 'the interests of the proletariat demand resistance to the disturber of European peace.'" (Page 16, "War and the Second International.")

Instead of "European peace" substitute Bittleman's "peace of the U. S." and you have the American edition of 1914.

Bittleman has the gall to link Lenin's name to this Stalinist formula of applying "Marxism to the present world situation." He dubs

this latest expression of social-patriotism the "Lenin-Stalin" method.

The unconditional tie-up of the proletariat to the chains of the capitalist state forces is precisely what is meant when Bittleman and Browder exclaim: "... the Communists of all countries will call upon the toilers to insure the victory of the Red Army over the armies of the imperialists by all means and at any price."

Gold—Recruiting Sergeant No. 1 Michael Gold is quick to dramatize the official line in his column in the Daily Worker of Dec. 9: "If the line-up is such, they," the Socialists, says Gold, "will fight in the American army if it is allied to the Soviet Union."

The next imperialist slaughter has thus found its masks in these valiant defenders of the "peace policy of the Soviet Union!"

Bittleman comes to his climax. He waxes dramatic . . . "the left Socialists," he says, "should ask themselves: 'Are we going to be neutral?' 'Will we advocate a policy of 'staying out' or will we say: 'Work by all means and at any price to insure the victory of the Red Army?'"

Hearst, Cahan, and now Bittleman. The logic of social betrayal has tied them into one knot. Can one discern a shade of difference in their appeals?

"Phoney and funny," says Bittleman in reference to Hearst. "Phoney" but not funny is the social content of the scribbles of the Bittlemans and their ilk. Such hypocrites and war mongers rant and howl at "Trotskyism."

Build the Fourth International is the answer to them.

The Workers Party alone uncovers the layers of this social demagoguery in this country by pointing to the only path of struggle against war, the way of Lenin and Trotsky. Only the road of revolutionary defeatism, the relentless civil war against "our own" imperialism, is the way of struggle for peace, and the "defense of the Soviet Union." "This is our base, our starting point, understand this and the rest will follow. . . ."

Russell Gets Four Months

(Continued from Page 1)

several sheriffs' cars. On Friday morning the testimony was again resumed before a packed courtroom. Police officers testified against Russell, claiming that he had deliberately broken a milk bottle on the driveway leading into the plant. Late in the morning came some of the most interesting testimony, presented by Capt. Martin Steffen, acting, he claimed, for Adjutant General Walsh as an observer. Under cross-examination by Attorney Green (who is defending Ellis and Swanson) and Attorney Heister, Steffen admitted that he had been a member of the National Guard for 17 years; that on Nov. 29 he mingled with the crowd of pickets; that he went into strike headquarters; that he talked with every police officer at the scene; that he went inside the Strutwear plant and asked the janitor, a labor spy named Carl Hanson, for the names of some of the pickets in the crowd. Despite the efforts of the judge, it was clearly brought out that Steffen is a common stool pigeon working under the guise of a "military observer." His testimony against Russell conflicted at several important points with the testimony given by the police officers. Late Friday afternoon, Judge Molyneux announced that the trial would be continued over to 9:30 Monday morning.

Strike-Breaking Courts

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense has announced that it means to fight this case to the end. The issue at stake is: are employers now to be permitted to use the federal courts and United States marshals as strike-breaking agents, through the granting of fraudulent writs of replevins and similar actions? To permit such an act to go unchallenged would be a crime against America's working class—for if the Strutwear bosses got off scot-free in this particular case, it would be no time at all before bosses all over the country would resort to such dodges in their attempt to crush the growing union movement. Certainly there has been a tendency on the part of the reaction in this country for the past year or so to resort more and more to the courts in order to hold the working class in its monstrous poverty and bondage.

The work of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense—its mobilization of wide-spread interest and support of the Russell case—together with the courtroom work of attorneys Francis Heister and Gilbert Carlson, has unquestionably won many friends for the N.P.L.D. in the past week. Labor leaders who formerly have been rather cool to the idea of a nation-wide labor defense organization have been frank in expressing their admiration for the effective manner in which the N.P.L.D. has functioned in the Strutwear case.

Class Struggle Issues Arouse West Coast Maritime Unions

(Continued from Page 1)

average pay of \$60 per month. No holidays for the seamen. It is only natural and just that they have a demand to claim overtime pay after working these long hours instead of time back.

"The living and eating quarters of the seamen as a rule are in terrible condition, poor heating and ventilation systems, rotten sleeping quarters, messrooms so small that men must wait in turn for another to eat. This condition and many others exist on most of the ships. The only way these conditions were remedied was by the action of the men themselves, refusing to live and work under such conditions. This action the men were forced to take, as the new existing labor relations board never was able to get anything for the men. The shipowners always manage to stall and block action."

The Portland local of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, for example, in a letter sent to the "Voice of the Federation," organ of the Maritime Federation, has the following to state, in part:

Job Action Gets Results

"After the 1934 strike the men were forced to job action practically all of the time, in order to force the shipowners to give them their due rights. On the strength of the united action of various shipcrews, the owners and the government were finally forced to hand down the present award, which they so recently have broken by denying the men collective bargaining. Job action forced the American Hawaiian, the Shepard Line, and various other companies to recognize the I.S.U."

"We could name hundreds of other cases where job action was the only weapon whereby the seamen got their just rights."

Let us quote from another letter sent into the "Voice," this time by a member of the American Radio Telegraphers Association, and approved by the Seattle local of that union.

(These articles were written in answer to an editorial published in the "Voice" giving the pros and cons of job action. The editorial was entitled "Job Action, or Else!")

"Job action is not the spontaneous demonstration of the will of the crew as the author of 'Job Ac-

tion or Else' states. It is rather the last resort of men who have fully acquainted the ship operators or owners with a condition they do not care to sail under. After being refused the request, the crew has no alternative but to use job action."

"Following is the case of the crew of the S. S. Suweid of the Nelson Line. The crew of the S.S. Suweid knowing the ship not to be any too seaworthy, decided that they wanted the added protection of radio in the event an S.O.S. should have to be sent. For the information of those who do not know, the Nelson line has been operating a fleet of ships in the intercoastal trade. It has carried as many as nine passengers on a ship without radio equipment. None of the Nelson ships are very modern seacraft. Out-moded laws have no jurisdiction over the specific case mentioned above. The steamship companies will tell you that they do not carry radio on ships where there are less than fifty lives aboard. In point of law they are right. But how about the crew? Have they no right to state under what conditions they will take chances with a watery grave?"

"The case of the Suweid is no isolated one in job action. The crew were granted their just demands. Wireless apparatus was installed and a competent radio officer was placed in charge of the equipment."

One thing becomes clear from the above extracts, and that is that in the opinion of the men themselves (and who should know better than they) JOB ACTION GETS RESULTS.

Yet job action has been under steady attack by right wing elements as well as by Stalinists, who under guise of being for "organized" job action, steadily oppose the virile action of the seamen, and emasculate job action.

Lundberg Answers Conservatives

Harry Lundberg, representative of the seamen, in answer to the editorial "Job Action or Else!" has the following to state:

Objection: "They (opponents of job action) believe that indiscriminate, unorganized job action will prove a boomerang. That it will not only fail, but that it will definitely harm the maritime workers' front Worker) also states that this

job action was taken without the consent of the rank and file.

"Now this action was taken right on the job by the men themselves with one idea in mind. And that idea was to get the full support of the Sailor's Union, and not a lot of scares and threats that they would be breaking the award and probably be the cause of a coastwise strike."

"It was proven that job action is bringing results."

"I say instead of discouraging such action, steps should be taken to encourage job action."

About the same time as the article appeared in the Waterfront Worker an editorial appeared in the Western Worker, organ of the Communist Party, attacking Harry Lundberg, leader of the elements standing for job action. The heading of this editorial is entitled "We Need Maritime Unity—Not Beef Squads."

Workers Slam Stalinists

Harry Lundberg answered this editorial in an article that was unanimously endorsed by the Sailors' Union.

The following is the heading of this statement by Lundberg. "Sailors' Union Condemns Editorial."

"The following answer to the vicious attack appearing in the Western Worker received the unanimous and enthusiastically acclaimed endorsement of the Sailors' Union at their last meeting."

The statement then went on to sharply condemn the attack on Lundberg, giving a picture of what actually took place rather than the distorted piece of fiction of the Western Worker.

In reply to this sharp statement made by the sailors, the Western Worker published a snivelling, creeping, crawling article of which the main theme was that an attack on the Western Worker is support for the shipowners.

In answer to this hypocritical statement let us refer that paper to an article written by two seamen, panning the little brother of the Western Worker, the Waterfront Worker:

"The San Francisco Chronicle, the American Seaman, organ of the official right wing in the Seamen's Union, both took the same stand as the editorial in the Waterfront Worker in condemning job action. SO WHAT? In our opinion this is certainly no compliment to the Waterfront Worker, or any other so-called rank and file publication. Instead of questioning the sincerity of the writers of these three men

(patrolmen who pushed job action) we believe that the sincerity of the writers of the article in the Waterfront Worker should be questioned."

The Stalinists in this crucial question are following the logic of their extreme right turn. Within the mass movement they are a fetter upon its development. The Stalinists will have to be removed as well as the right wing in order for the union to make any further steps in advance.

Maritime Federation Resolution Ambiguous

A number of weeks ago the controversy was laid over for solution to a specially called convention of the Maritime Federation. The Maritime Federation has issued an ambiguous resolution, which generally supports the Stalinist version of job action—organized job action. Let us quote the resolution:

"Whereas, we believe and have demonstrated on numerous occasions that job action rightly used, with proper control, has been the means of gaining many concessions for the maritime workers on the Pacific coast, and

"Whereas, in as much as job action is and should be action taken when any group of maritime workers desire to gain a concession without openly resorting to a strike, and

"Whereas, in order to eliminate confusion and insure coordination of efforts in the best interests of all maritime groups concerned, it is apparent that an organized method of procedure for job action be laid down by this convention, therefore be it.

"Resolved, that the term job action shall mean only action taken by any maritime group in attempting to gain from their employers some concessions specifically provided for in their respective agreement or awards and shall also mean action taken to enforce the award or agreement to the best interests of the maritime groups concerned, or to prevent employers from violating agreements or awards, and be it further

"Resolved, that job action should be confined to a job such as a ship, dock, shop, or warehouse, unless otherwise agreed by all maritime groups affected or liable to be affected should be notified and the issue in question be placed before them, and be it further

"Resolved, that a committee of all maritime groups affected on the job be formed on the job to consolidate action and prevent misun-

derstandings; such committees' authority not to exceed the constitution of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast, and be it further

"Resolved, that when job action reaches a point in the opinion of the majority of the maritime groups affected by having their members pulled off the job, and that to go further may jeopardize the Maritime Federation as a whole, the matter shall be referred where and when possible to the district council for further action or adjustment."

Instead of a sharp statement endorsing any action taken by the seamen in order to maintain and better their conditions, this resolution, endorsed by the Stalinists, comes out with a lot of ifs and whereases. In reality, this resolution does not answer any question and leaves the important question still open: will the maritime leadership wholeheartedly support job action or will it try to spend its time proving to the San Francisco Chronicle, and the "good" shipowners how level-headed and sane they are.

For a Class Struggle Policy

Unqualified support of any group of workers struggling to better their conditions! No conditions must be given to this support! A class struggle policy, not a class-collaborationist policy will benefit the worker on the waterfront as a whole. And as part of the solution of this question we must present the following: the need for an industrial union on the waterfront instead of a federation of unions. The Maritime Federation was a progressive step over the lack of unity previously the rule on the waterfront. The first step should be followed by a second one: the organization of a Marine Transport Industrial Union. The conflict between one section and another section of the workers will then be done away with. The present situation with a number of agreements and awards, instead of one agreement, is a source of many of the drawbacks of craft unionism.

It is necessary to also point out that the role of the Stalinists as progressives is a false one. Posing as left wingers, as rank and filers, their action has proved that in the final analysis they are an obstacle in the workers' struggle. In reality they are closer to "progressives" of the John L. Lewis and Gorman type than to the rank and file. The creation of a genuine left wing union movement, free of Stalinist influence, is on the order of the day.