

NEW MILITANT

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Lift Strike to Tie-up New Areas if Realty Board Stays Adamant

Militant Spirit and Action Pervades Workers' Ranks in 2nd Week

The Building Service Union enters the second week of the strike with ranks firm. The strike has been extended by stages until forty thousand workers are now affected. James J. Bambrick announced today that if the Mayor's peace proposals are not accepted unconditionally by the Real Estate bosses—twenty-five thousand additional service workers in four thousand buildings including department stores will be called out.

Many conferences of Union representatives and bosses have been held in Mayor LaGuardia's office, sometimes with the attendance of Edward McGrady of the U.S. Department of Labor. No progress toward a settlement was reached by these conferences until today when the proposal made by the mayor was accepted unconditionally by the union and with many conditions and strings attached by the bosses.

La Guardia's Proposal

The mayor's proposal provides "(1) Acceptance of the tentative definition herein below quoted in reference to union recognition. It is the same definition which was tentatively accepted the other morning, provided an increase of wage would be granted. (2) The matter of wages, hours, conditions and duration of contract be submitted to arbitration, both sides agreeing to abide by the decision. (3) The arbitrator to be agreed upon by representatives selected from each side. (4) All employees to return to work on the selection of the arbitrator. Arbitrator to be selected within twenty-four hours."

The formula referred to above provided for no discrimination against union members and vacancies created by the discharge or withdrawal of a union member are to be filled by other members of the union.

Enthusiastic young union members battled with strike-breakers and bosses thugs in innumerable clashes. Many strikers have been arrested, many injured but the spirit of the union rises above difficulties.

Large numbers of tenants are giving their support to the strike. In some cases tenant organizations join with the strikers on the picket line. Others supply pickets with refreshments and still larger numbers withhold rent from the landlords.

The union has repeatedly announced its willingness to arbitrate differences but the Real Estate operators determined to smash the union once and for all have rejected all overtures. At the same time numerous individuals have signed up with the Union as have also several companies owning strings of apartment buildings.

Statement of Local 22

A vigorous statement, pledging support to the building service strikers and denouncing the "ruthless" attitude of the realty interests, was issued today by Dressmakers Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., an organization of 30,000 members.

"The strike of the thousands of building service workers of New York deserves and must get the full and wholehearted support of the entire labor movement, of the tenants and of all fair-minded people generally. These workers, including some of the most exploited elements in the city, toiling long hours under intolerable conditions for miserable wages, have at last come to realize that organization is their only salvation, that only through a strong union can they hope to achieve standards more fit for human beings. That is why the realty interests, organized in the Real Estate Advisory Board, determined to maintain the inhuman conditions of exploitation in the building service trades, are so savagely set upon smashing the building service union and depriving the men of their only protection. The outright refusal of these interests even to listen to the more than reasonable proposal of the building service union for arbitration, shows that their attitude is one of ruthless disregard of everything, but their own profits, of cynical indifference to the rights of their employees or the welfare of their tenants."

The New Militant calls upon all workers to give every possible support to the strike. Tenants should bring every pressure upon their landlords for quick settlement. All workers should be ready to assist on the picket lines whenever such assistance is requested by the union.

574 Pledges Aid to Milwaukee Strikers

More than 2,000 pickets, drawn from all the leading sections of the labor movement in Wisconsin, marched last Saturday in a mass line around the plant of the Hearst Wisconsin News where the American Newspaper Guild unit is fighting a courageous strike battle against Hearst sweatshop conditions.

Farrell Dobbs, secretary-treasurer of Minneapolis Local 574 called on Heywood Brown in New York early this week to offer the full cooperation of the Minneapolis truck-drivers to the striking guildsmen. Specific plans for organizing Minneapolis support for the Milwaukee struggle were discussed.

Labor organizations throughout the country will make this fight against the Fascist Hearst their own and back the men on the picket-line with a national boycott of the Hearst press.

Boycott Hearst!

Support the American Newspaper Guild in its fight to organize Hearst editorial employees!

IW A Leader Is Framed on Fake Charge

Auto Accident Used as Blind for Four Months Sentence of James Cross

By GERRY ALLARD

GILLESPIE, Ill., Mar. 1.—James Cross, youth director of the Illinois Workers Alliance and a member of the national committee of the Spartacus Youth League, is at the Vandalla Penal Farm beginning a four month sentence on a charge which indirectly grew out of his labor activities.

Cross gained the enmity of the Macoupin county Democratic machine because of his courageous leadership in several strikes. A year ago he led a strike of six hundred high school students against a member of the faculty who had carried a gun against striking steel workers at Alton. The scab teacher was removed from his job. Later, Cross, as chairman of the Hod Carriers Union, led a strike which compelled the contractor of a local post office job to grant union recognition and 75 cents an hour for common labor.

These incidents, and the fact that Cross had been arrested at Belleville, Ill., along with A. J. Muste and C. H. Mayer, on charges of criminal syndicalism, were made use of both by the presiding Judge George and States Attorney Seyffert.

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Hold Ohio WPA Meet

TOLEDO, O., Feb. 23.—Representatives of WPA workers groups from twenty Northwest Ohio cities and towns participated in the Northwest Ohio WPA Workers Conference held here today to lay the basis for a wide spread unified movement of the WPA workers and unemployed. The conference was sponsored by the WPA Workers Union of Lucas County and the Lucas County Unemployed League.

Fraternal delegates from Detroit, Southwestern Michigan and Indiana attended the conference and indicated their intention to push for organization similar to that of Lucas County which would be coordinated with the general unemployed and WPA movement.

The conference went on record to call another enlarged conference before March 30 as the beginning of a drive to organize throughout the entire state of Ohio. It also launched a campaign for the organization of WPA unions throughout 24 N. W. Ohio counties and into southern Michigan.

There is widespread opinion here that there will be a complete fusion effected shortly between the WPA Workers Union, Unemployed League and Workers Alliance. The disruptive tactics of the Communist Party in joining the local Workers Alliance to prevent unity between it and the Unemployed League is now thoroughly exposed.

Hearst News Gripped in Milwaukee

Bottom Drops out of Advertising as Guild Continues Strike

MILWAUKEE, Wis., March 6.—The Milwaukee Newspaper Guild in its strike against the Hearst owned Wisconsin News won an important victory in the circuit court here Friday when Judge Charles L. Aarons held that the guild under certain conditions could continue its secondary picketing of department stores, theaters and other advertisers of the News.

The News management had petitioned the court for a blanket injunction forbidding all secondary picketing, relying on an earlier decision of the court holding that such picketing was illegal.

Judge Aarons held, however, that such picketing could continue, if the picketing was not directed at the advertiser. The court said the pickets could carry signs stating that the News was unfair to organized reporters but not signs urging customers to cease buying from advertisers of the News.

Advertising Drops

Gene L. Green, attorney for the guild, argued that the intent of the secondary picketing was to influence the advertiser to cease patronizing the News, not to harm the business of the advertiser.

The presence of guild pickets in front of places of business is not expected to ease the difficulty of the News management in keeping its advertisers in line. Many of them have already ceased advertising in the News for the duration of the strike and others will follow suit.

Although a municipal primary election is only four days away and hundreds of candidates are in the field, not a line of political advertising has appeared in the News, except for an ad of the Electric Co. which is opposing a municipal ownership referendum.

The News circulation continues to drop and the management has resorted to the device of free copies to stem the tide. Some of the readers have made bundles of the free copies and dumped the bundles in the circulation office.

The feeling of organized labor against Hearst's refusal to bargain collectively with his reporters and photographers has compelled the News to display the label of the Allied Printing Trades Council in one ear of the front page. The management by printing this label is hoping to escape the anti-labor brand that has been placed upon it.

The strike will enter its fourth week Monday, unless the News publisher has a sudden change of heart and agrees to bargain. The striking reporters and photographers are holding firm.

2,000 On Picket Line

MILWAUKEE, March 4.—The strike of the Wisconsin News Newspaper Guild against Hearst today reached its 15th day. Last Saturday's mass picket demonstration, when more than 2,000 marched behind a brass band provided by the Musicians' Union showed the extent to which labor organizations of this whole region have lined up in solidarity with the 29 Wisconsin News editorial workers who are striking for a closed shop contract and an agreement for a living wage and decent working conditions.

The strike has already cut so sharply into the circulation of the Wisconsin News, which is one of Hearst's less profitable ventures, that unofficial "feelers" have already been extended toward the strikers with a suggestion of a settlement.

Hearst has gone to Madison Wisconsin looking for scabs and offered newspapermen \$75 and \$100 a week for jobs which he pays his regular workers \$15 and \$18 for! Not a single newspaperman would touch the scab money. A few journalism school students were found to function as strikebreakers—showing that the Guild will have to reach down into those schools to prevent the growth of newspaper scabs instead of newspaper workers.

Wide-Spread Support

Advertisers are already cutting down under the pressure of mass popular support for the strike, and the support of the Milwaukee labor movement in particular. Financial pledges are pouring in from Guilds and other labor organizations throughout the country.

The New York Guild alone has pledged and is sending nearly \$400 a week paid out of the pockets of the New York Guildsmen. Support has been pledged and is being given

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Hitler Makes Bid for Anti-Soviet Alliance

Jail French Bolsheviks in Class Fight

Solidarity with Brest-Toulon Strikers Evokes Repression by C. P. Allies

(From Revolution, Paris, France)

PARIS—On February 6th, three of our comrades were placed on the docks of bourgeois justice. Their crime? One of them, Brun, was the former business manager of Revolution, organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Youth (J.S.R.) and the Bolshevik-Leninist Group. The two others, Maria Craipeau and Jean Meichler had sold the special issue of Revolution which proclaimed its solidarity with the heroic fighters of Brest and Toulon, which branded as assassins the radical-reactionary ministers and called upon the young soldiers not to fire upon their working class brothers.

The reply was immediate. The police were ordered to tear down our posters entitled "Brest and Toulon"; the T.S.F. (government radio station) announced that Fred Zeller was wanted by the police; the Minister of Justice confiscated Revolution (or at least tried to!), issued orders for its confiscation all over France, searched for it in the barracks, arrested two salesmen and prosecuted the paper.

That is why although the trial was held during working hours, a large number of young people crowded into the courtroom of the 14th Chamber and a long line of others, who could not get in, crowded into the hall.

The Trial

The press box was filled. The judge summoned the accused. He lingered on the case of Maria Craipeau, 19 year old member of the J.S.R. "So young and already so noted for her revolutionary propaganda!" Her husband already sentenced by the same 14th Chamber for a similar motive," he said in astonishment.

Then the witnesses were called. Of the cited witnesses only Maurice Thorez, secretary of the C.P., and Malraux, novelist were absent. Malraux excused himself by letter. As for Thorez how could he solidarily himself with the revolutionary defeatists when his party at this very moment is preparing the defense of "its fatherland"?

The Reformists' Defense

Marceau Pivert took the stand. He greeted the action of Revolution and of our comrades "led on by the impetuosity of youth (!!) The J.S.R.," he said, "have left our socialist party; but they have held to the same doctrine, which is socialist and not anarchist." We are grateful to Marceau Pivert, but the solidarity of the Socialist Party with revolutionary defeatism is indeed a little too much! At the very time the bourgeoisie was houn-

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New Japan Gov't Tool of Army

'Moderate' Cabinet Stop-Gap Until Road Is Clear for Final Lunge

By LO SEN

After being coddled and coaxed for three days while they held public buildings in the heart of Tokyo, the military insurgents who last week assassinated three Japanese government leaders were politely ushered back to their barracks and jittery chancelleries all over the world were assured that the crisis in Japan was "over."

On March 5 Koki Hirota, Japanese foreign minister, was named premier to succeed Keisuke Okada, who calmly rose from the grave to which the world had consigned him, thinking him assassinated, but who had to make way, nevertheless, for a premier more acceptable to the High Command.

Koki Hirota is essentially the army's man. He is known as one of the leaders of the ultra-nationalist Black Dragon society and is entirely persona grata to the generals. During the past two years, as foreign minister, he pursued with particular skill the policy of combining diplomatic with military pressure upon China. His results were far from negligible. All of North China came in this period under the direct sway of the Japanese Empire. The time was well employed, meanwhile, in Manchuria in completing the strategic net of railways and roads branching north, east and west toward the borders of the Soviet Union and Outer Mongolia.

The Stop-Gap Solution

As premier, Koki Hirota represents a temporary compromise between the "aggressive" and the "moderate" representatives of Japanese imperialism. He will unquestionably be more subject to War Office pressure than his predecessor, who was not precisely at loggerheads with the chancelleries of Empire. Internal contradictions, as the whole episode of the military coup showed, will sharpen and the whole forward pace of Japanese imperialism toward new military adventures on continental Asia will be accelerated. Hirota will be no better able than Okada to deal with Japan's insoluble contradictions. His very accession to power indicates that the time for the inevitable explosion has drawn nearer.

The delay of six days between the surrender of the insurgents in Tokyo and the appointment of Hirota was by no means accidental. Having shot one bolt, Japanese imperialism watched, poised, the reaction on all fronts.

Clearly for long, surcharged hours the whole world waited for the thunder to break. In those

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Invasion of Rhine Drives Nail into Versailles Coffin

Italy Holds Trump Cards as Powers Face Alternative of United Front Against USSR or Anti-German Bloc

Nazi Germany this week ripped the paper bottoms out of the Versailles and Locarno treaties by marching troops, guns and tanks into the demilitarized Rhineland.

This move, long heralded and sedulously prepared, brings French and British imperialism face to face with the alternatives of mobilizing once more against Germany or accepting Hitler's offer of a united front against the Soviet Union.

Faced with the Italian threat to support the Reich in its denunciation of the Locarno pacts, Britain, which has just launched the mightiest armament program the world has ever seen, has given ample indication that it would far sooner make terms with Hitler than risk war at a time when it could have little confidence in the outcome.

French imperialism, uncertain of British support, desperately desirous of winning Italy back into the concert of Powers, is meeting the crisis with hesitation and indecision. All its careful years of diplomacy designed to keep Germany vanquished and impotent have come to naught. Across the border a mighty, rearmend Reich has once more hurled its challenge for a place in the imperialist sun.

In this explosive situation, Mussolini holds the whip hand. It was with Mussolini's encouragement that Hitler unilaterally denounced the Locarno treaty and marched across the Rhine. At the same time, almost to the moment, Mussolini accepted Geneva's "peace" proposal—which is only a formula for bringing the Powers once more to the negotiation table for a division of the spoils and a choosing of sides. In demanding his pound of flesh, Mussolini holds over London and Paris the menace of an Italo-German alliance drawing Austria, Hungary, Poland and Bulgaria into its orbit, demanding as his price a complete relaxation of pressure on his East African conquests.

F.D. Sharpens Ax for WPA Relief Men

Hunger Only Solution of Capitalist Politicians for Unemployment Crisis

By JAMES EVANS

Half a million relief workers will receive the axe at the hands of Federal Administrator Harry L. Hopkins within the next four months. This vicious onslaught against the impoverished and destitute indicates the extent to which the Roosevelt administration takes its orders from the larger taxpayers and the commercial associations. It is a positive indication of the government's determination to cease all relief by gradual stages.

The immediate effect of this decision will be to increase the ranks of the unemployed by a substantial percentage. Every such action demonstrates that the political agents of the capitalist class have no solution for the problem of unemployment except slow starvation. And not alone will these luckless half-million be directly affected. The proportionate increase in unemployment decreed by Roosevelt and Hopkins means proportionate decreases in the wage and living standards of those workers still hanging on to ill-paid jobs.

Hopkins expresses the hypocritical desire that the majority of those fired from the WPA will find private employment. This reminds one of the custom of some primitive tribes who beg the bear's forgiveness before they apply the knife to his throat. It must be remembered that the spring and summer crops are soon to be harvested; and in this connection, Hopkins is simply following the time-honored procedure of forcing workers into the fields at below subsistence wage-levels. But this time there will be no relief set-up to take care of these workers after they have finished gathering the oranges and picking the cotton. In order not to make the wholesale revision of the rolls too flagrant, Hopkins declares, of course, that some of the discharged workers will be returned to direct relief.

There is but one answer to this attack couched in terms of statistics and slobbery sentiment. That answer is struggle on the part of all workers' organizations so that not one relief client shall be dropped from the rolls, not one WPA worker discharged! During the next four months, the unemployed struggle must draw in greater masses and reach greater heights. Otherwise, every working-class district in America will become an inner city.

Hitler made a passionate appeal for European "cooperation," with Germany functioning on a basis of complete armed equality with all the other Powers. He offered cooperation to all Europe on a straightforward anti-Soviet basis. "I refused and refuse cooperation, not with Russia, but with Bolshevism. . . . I tremble for Europe and the thought of what would happen to our old, over-populated continent if the chaos of a Bolshevik revolution should be successful. . . ."

He appealed directly to France on the basis of a threat of proletarian revolution in that country to drop its alliance with the Soviet Union and joined that appeal to an open threat of independent action "in Germany's own interests" if his terms were not met.

Hitler extended the hand of friendship to Britain, congratulating the "realistic sense of an English administration" which resulted in the conclusion of the Anglo-German naval accord last year.

Fire on Franco-Soviet Pact

He centred all his fire on the Franco-Soviet pact, marking it off

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Reichstag Fire Defendants Persecuted THE CASE OF POPOV-TANEV New Light Shed on Comintern "Helmsman"

On the second anniversary of the Leipzig trial, which was forced to exonerate the communists accused of the Reichstag fire, the Comintern press of the entire world is publishing memoirs dedicated to "the heroic Dimitroff." Dimitroff's achievements before the fascist court will not be disputed by anyone—not even by us, his political opponents. Had the Comintern press restricted itself to recalling, on this second anniversary, the courageous defense put up by Dimitroff, it would remain within the framework of a revolutionary task. And it would be shabby of us to polemize with it on this occasion.

Unfortunately, however, there is more than mere memoirs involved in this case. The Comintern itself links these up to something entirely different, to which it attributes the very greatest significance. This other something is—a confession of error on the part of Popov and Tanev and a resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Bulgaria regarding this confession of error. Quite the ordinary thing, one might object, and as old as the Stalin regime itself. Most assuredly. But Kolarev—who stands at the present time in the good graces of the Comintern because he is alleged to have led, together with Dimitroff the Bulgarian September uprising—thinks differently. In the last issue of the Communist International he writes, "The two documents published herewith are of extraordinary international interest: not only because they deal with the Leipzig trial and the role of the comrades involved in it, but also because the questions dealt with are of tremendous importance for our struggle against fascism in general and against German fascism in particular."

What Is Their Crime?

In short, we are concerned here with something of extraordinary international interest, of tremendous importance. Modest question: Can the confession of Popov and Tanev really acquire such importance? Not at all. Popov and Tanev merely defend and explain their position before the court. They condemn Torgler and praise Dimitroff because he executed his Bolshevik line calmly and courageously. Besides that they do not say anything that could in the slightest soil them. Yet despite the editing of the top bureaucrats, Popov's and Tanev's declaration betrays an unbroken pride. Such characteristics are not very pleasing to the bureaucrats. Confessions of guilt which do not drag those condemned to them in the dust and the mud, have a low rating with those gentlemen. Whoever risks such a course, nevertheless, faces complete disgrace or else a new declaration of guilt which has to make up for whatever was omitted. And to be sure Kolarev issues just such a threat: "Popov's and Tanev's confession of guilt can in no case be considered as satisfactory."

What are Popov and Tanev guilty of? Along with Dimitroff they were accused in the Reichstag arson trial. Tanev, a robust peasant type, arrived in Berlin only several days before his arrest. He literally did not speak a single word of German. Popov, a sickly, chronically tubercular man, had been there for some time previous. But he spoke only broken German. In no case could he be considered capable of even a short speech in the German language. They were thus restricted in advance in their defense.

Tanev's Attempt at Suicide

In the first few months, in the course of the investigation, they were placed in chains, just like Dimitroff and subjected to the most excruciating cross examinations. The Gestapo knew very well that the three Bulgars had nothing to do with the Reichstag fire. It was therefore their intention all along to link them up under all circumstances with German contacts, in order to at least make possible a juridically motivated conviction on the grounds of high treason. If the Gestapo did not succeed in this case, that was not so much because of Dimitroff but of Popov and Tanev. Because during the months long hardships of the investigation they remained mum about everything. Tanev for instance, surrendered the address of his rooming house only after three months, and then only because it was necessary from the point of view of the conduct of the trial and because he could be sure by then that he would endanger no one by it. The Gestapo had a much easier time with Dimitroff: They found the address of his rooming house in his pocket.

But suppose the Gestapo methods in the course of this investigation were to destroy the power of resistance of the Bulgars? It was probably in consideration of such a possibility that Tanev made an attempt to evade it by suicide—he slashed his wrists.

We do not defend suicide, but what repulsive bureaucratic arrogance it is to accuse Tanev of act-

ing thus out of petty bourgeois, romantic sentiment. This insufferable cynicism may be found literally in the resolution of the C.C. on the Popov-Tanev case. Popov and Tanev are further accused of not having understood the political significance of the trial. They had not declined the services of the two official defense attorneys and two more such trifles which are not worthy—two years after the trial—to even be mentioned.

Kolarev Sheds Some Light

And all this shall arouse today extraordinary international interest? Perhaps the bureaucrats do not know what they are writing! Perhaps this is just a lot of big talk! No, that is not the case. The real interest begins at another point, where simple-minded persons would never suspect. To be sure, there is not even an indication of it in the resolution of the Bulgarian C.C. But Kolarev in his commentary, and naturally with the approval of Dimitroff, is much more informative. He writes:

"The significance of the resolution of the incoming C.C. of the Communist party of Bulgaria lies not in the condemnation of the un-Bolshevik conduct of comrades Popov and Tanev but in the sharp criticism of the sectarian position which the previous C.C. of the C.P. of Bulgaria had adopted in conducting the campaign in the Leipzig trial. The sectarian course, aggravated by the factional blindness of the party leadership, made it impossible for it to utilize the effective weapons furnished by comrade Dimitroff not only by his conduct in the Leipzig court, but by his whole long revolutionary struggle at the head of the Bulgarian workers."

These, then are the crimes of the old Bulgarian Central Committee; in the course of the entire long revolutionary past of Dimitroff these communists in a sectarian blindness did not even dream that Dimitroff would become the helmsman of the Comintern at the 7th World Congress. This and this alone is the whole nub of the complaint against Popov and Tanev. That is why they are being spat upon. That is why the new central committee, by the grace of Dimitroff, decided "to remove Popov and Tanev from their leading functions." The criticism of Popov and Tanev's conduct in court only furnished the pretext that was needed to give Dimitroff satisfaction against the old Bulgarian central committee which many years ago once dared to be against him. That to be sure is an experience which really should arouse international interest.

Dimitroff as a Leader

What was the occasion for the old Bulgarian Central Committee's opposition to Dimitroff? It is necessary to go into this even though it does not fit into the whole Dimitroff cult. Before the sessions of the Leipzig trial, that is to be exact, before Dimitroff made his mark,

influential members of the Balkan parties were of the opinion that Dimitroff should be expelled because of conspirative unreliability. Popov and Tanev's arrest were undoubtedly due to Dimitroff's unheard of light-mindedness. Besides that many addresses were found on Dimitroff's person upon his arrest. At any rate the Balkan parties took the conspirative work very seriously. Dimitroff's light-mindedness in this work was not accidental. Long before Hitler took power it had become a veritable system with him. That's why people used to speak even at that time with a certain amount of contempt of Dimitroff's methods. Today naturally these same Dimitroff methods are the purest Bolshevism and the critics of these methods are called sectarians.

As chairman of the Comintern Dimitroff did not want to forego his petty revenge. Bureaucratic luck had fallen into his lap and he made the most of it. That it was precisely the Bulgars who delayed in showing the customary subordination to the "beloved leader" was something his pride could not stand. The old Bulgarian Central Committee was sloughed off.

The Methods of the "Helmsman" This is the Dimitroff they call their "great and remarkable leader." They know why. Dimitroff is just as responsible for the bloody defeats of the Bulgarian proletariat as for the defeats in Germany, China, etc. For he was a member of the highest organ of the Comintern. Not a word of protest has ever come from him. On the contrary. He slandered and persecuted the oppositionists who warned them just as much as Stalin's other henchmen. We can recall here an occasion which is not unimportant for a characterization of Dimitroff. With his approval (most likely also at his instance) a raid was arranged in the house of a well known Yugoslav Communist of great revolutionary integrity, because he was suspected of being an oppositionist. Two "functionaries" forced their way into his Berlin lodging with police credentials, searched his trunks and drawers in order to furnish the Balkan leadership with the suspect oppositionist documents. These are methods which were not strange to Dimitroff even at that time. (By the way, whoever knows the method of selection in the Comintern, knows that Dimitroff was advanced to the rank of "leader" precisely because of those characteristics, and not at all because of his conduct at the Leipzig court.)

And today? Today Dimitroff not only bears an equal share of responsibility but a very highest kind of responsibility for the openly treacherous course of the Comintern. Can a serious person believe—that is one who understands the meaning of the proletarian struggle—that revolutionary cadres for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie can be created with peoples' fronts, class truce, approval of the military budgets, support of the imperialist

armaments (France), etc.? Not even Bernstein had such illusions. For he did not even want a revolution.

Many workers, even some intellectuals, understanding the revisionist course of the Comintern, have placed all their political hope upon a man who did his duty as a revolutionist in a trial. Poor hope! What devastation that ten year era of Stalinist policy must have cost if such patent hopelessness can be called hope.

This is the truth: The Comintern is morally, politically and organizationally destroyed not in spite of but because of the Dimitroffs.

The top bureaucracy had hoped to assure itself of papal infallibility with the aid of Dimitroff. The tremendous propaganda serves this purpose unmistakably. It is used as a means of stifling the very last oppositionist voices at a moment when the policies of the Comintern are becoming open betrayal.

2,000 in Guild Picket Line

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to the strike by the Milwaukee Trades Council and the State Federation of Labor. Even Bill Green has pitched in with a letter calling for support of the strike.

Strike Morale High

The spirit of the strikers and supporters has been magnificent. Picketing goes on at freezing temperatures. Last week a call for mass pickets was answered one morning at 7 A.M. by 150—although the temperature was 16 below zero!

This strike, which involves 29 editorial workers of the News is teaching the Guild a mighty, demonstrative lesson about the value of affiliation to organized labor. Here the Guild is winning for itself the actual concrete support of the organized labor movement, outside of which it could never hope to move forward a step.

There is another lesson—what industrial union organization would mean to this strike. The technical workers, split into craft organizations can do little more than offer moral encouragement. A statement was issued over the signatures of the typographers, pressmen, photo engravers, mailers and stereotypers' unions (all in one plant) expressing sympathy with the strikers but pointing to existing contractual relations with Hearst as a reason for the absence of any more substantial support.

Together with the Guild there are six unions among the workers in all categories and departments of the Wisconsin News. United in a Wisconsin News Union they could dictate their own terms—even to a Hearst!

A National Fight

This has created a somewhat embarrassing position involving mutual recriminations between some of the non-striking union printing workers and strike sympathizers, requiring the Milwaukee Guild to come out with a statement that "no member of the Milwaukee Newspaper Guild has ever expected or asked for more than the moral support of the Allied printing trades union in this struggle of editorial workers."

Trade union support for the Wisconsin News strike must extend beyond Milwaukee to all parts of the country where newspaper and all other workers know Hearst as the labor-hating Fascist who symbolizes everything rotten and reactionary in American life. The Guild is fighting a finish fight. Supporters everywhere must aid by fighting Hearst too—by boycotting Hearst papers, conducting anti-Hearst meetings, collecting money for the Wisconsin News strikers and helping the American Newspaper Guild to win its battle.

GRAND AFFAIR

given by the
LUMEN CLUB
Dance, Entertainment, Refreshments and Good Jazz Band.
Saturday, March 14, at 8 P.M.
94 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C.
I.W.W. Hall
Subscription: 25c in advance;
35c at door.

Hitler Seeks Anti-Soviet Alliance

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from France's other alliances which he said were perfectly acceptable to him because these other states, like Poland and Czechoslovakia, were only serving their own national interests and it was reasonable that they should be doing so.

"Germany does not desire to attack these states..." he went on. But the Soviet Union was quite another matter. First of all, representing Bolshevism, it is "the constitutionally organized exponent of the revolutionary philosophy of life"—and, of course, Germany does desire to attack it. The Franco-Soviet pact was therefore a thing apart which had to be done away with if "peace" was to be preserved in Western Europe.

Hitler thus evidently does not share the notion of the Stalinist bureaucracy that there is a profound contradiction between the democratic and fascist states of Europe. He boldly envisages a united front of capitalist nations, fascist and democratic alike, directed at the heart of the Soviet state. Britain always has and still does nurture this same notion. It was the central tenet of France's foreign policy up until 1933 and it is not at all beyond the realms of possibility that France may revert to it tomorrow.

Hitler sees one fundamental contradiction in the modern world, the contradiction between the capitalist states and the Soviet Union. He also sees what Stalin sees far less clearly and with far less interest, the contradiction between the proletariat and capitalist classes of all nations. His appeal is against Bolshevism and on that appeal he has staked his whole regime.

"That I... pass for one of the greatest enemies in the eyes of the Bolshevistic international world of oppressors is for me a great honor and justification for my dealings before posterity," he said.

The Logic of Hitler's Position

For capitalism there is a profound logic in Hitler's point of view. It is possible that his logic may be unable to surmount the complicated tangle of inter-imperialist contradictions at the outset but when tomorrow or even in the course of the imperialist war that may finally break, the Third Reich, Britain, France, Italy and their satellites sit around a table to decide on the destruction of the Soviet Union, this logic may be finally driven home, even for Stalin, Browder and Gil Green.

What is the immediate prospect? Hitler's move into the Rhineland may drive the imperialist powers helplessly into the cauldron of war. But that an effort will be made to arrive at some compromise is already unmistakably clear.

Either way, the Workers State is in mortal danger.

The whole sweet dream of national socialist security founded upon a system of European alliances is crumbling before our very eyes. The utter bankruptcy of the League of Nations, once again revealed in Italy's war of aggression against Ethiopia, the brittle character of the promises made by the Soviet Union's allies, the imminent threat that these promises will be washed away and withered in the storm, must be driven home, even to the hopeless bureaucratic centrists, who today rule the destinies of the Soviet Union.

New Turn in Preparation?

There is ample evidence of a new turn by the bureaucracy under the pressure of these events. About two months ago Radek, in Izvestia, regretfully admitted the futility of the League of Nations' sanctions. His conclusion: Russia must rely upon its own national forces. Included in these "national forces" are the border patrols abroad.

In the last few weeks the Stalinist International, which threw all its forces behind the League, whose sections in all the "allied" countries fervently promised complete support of capitalist armies, and offered support in advance to any nation which would line up with the Soviet Union, has now, in classic centrist manner, staggered back another step. Kuusinen comes

back upon the scene; Dimitroff, the doughty hero of social-patriotism, fades a little (a Prague Socialist paper even reported he had gone off to the Crimea for a "rest cure") and the Stalinists are reminded that the struggle for bread has not exactly been entirely suspended in favor of the struggle for "peace" and "democracy."

The Stalinist hesitates. The fate of the bureaucracy's system of capitalist alliances will determine whether this slight leftward lurch will turn into a rout.

Our Policy is Unmistakeable

Germany's reoccupation of the Rhineland is the latest and loudest explosion in the furnace of imperialist contradictions. Twenty years ago it took far less to precipitate a war. Today the imperialists are infinitely more conscious of the price that is to be paid for a new conflagration. The rise of the October Revolution out of the ashes of the last one still haunts their harried dreams.

Only by working to guarantee the October of tomorrow, by guaranteeing irreconcilable and consistent struggle against all imperialist ruling classes, will we in the crises to come preserve the conquests of the October of yesterday.

What does this mean to every revolutionist? To every worker? It means that he must quicken his pace, just as the imperialists are hastening theirs. It means that we must unite all those committed to the overthrow of capitalism, generator of wars, in the ranks of a firmly knit revolutionary party, united in a revolutionary international, free of the social and national reformist and patriotic garbage of the existing internationals, dispel all illusions of "democratic" security, carry on the struggle to organize the workers for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and if war overtakes us, to fight against all odds and with the utmost clarity to defeat our own imperialist ruling classes, to turn imperialist war into civil war.

Nippon Army Holds Reins

(Continued from Page 1)

hours the men who guide the destinies of the Japanese Empire decided that for the moment a stop-gap arrangement which in reality strengthened the hand of the Fascist and military elements while giving the appearance of attenuating the crisis was needed. The answer was—Hirota. The tactic of the moment will be—consolidation.

Gen. Kawashima, who was relatively "moderate", has retired from the War Office in favor of Gen. Chuichi Terauchi, who is relatively "aggressive." Gen. Sadao Araki, the real leader of the ultra-nationalists, has retired again for the moment into the background.

"Incidents" Cease Temporarily

All this does not take place with Michayevian smoothness. There can be little doubt that the "moderate" pressure on the Emperor was great. It was great enough to bring about the appointment of Hirota rather than Baron Hiranuma, who is the outspoken leader of a frankly Fascist organization. It was not great enough to enable Prince Konoye, a "moderate" to take the reins of power which the Emperor offered to him.

Meanwhile on the actual potential war fronts another temporary shift has taken place. The series of incidents on the Outer Mongolian frontier, which we described last week as provocative "feelings" by the Japanese military who wanted to know the extent to which Moscow would back Mongolia, have abruptly ceased. Stalin, in his own way, gave Tokyo the answer when he flatly told Roy Howard that the U.S.S.R. would come to the support of the Outer Mongolian republic in the event of a clash.

Support for Outer Mongolia

Potential support for Outer Mongolia is coming from another direction as well. An army of 10,000 Reds under Mao Tse-tung has marched northward from Szechwan and Shensi into Shansi, with the apparent intention of making its way into Suiyuan and there providing a military buffer on Japan's left flank and hindering the too-easy advance of Japanese-controlled forces into Inner Mongolia.

These Red forces, dislodged from any permanent base and more than ever cut off from the Chinese proletariat in the urban centers of the Yangtze Valley and the South, have been converted into another instrument of the politico-military tactics of the Soviet bureaucracy. Under the "new line", which involves the return in China to the disaster-ridden concept of a bloc of classes to "fight" imperialism, Stalinism has cynically abandoned even its lip service to the hope of proletarian revolution in China, which will alone ensure the forging of an alliance in Asia stronger than the Japanese imperialism which is now sharpening its sword for the inevitable clash.

Jail French Bolsheviks

(Continued from Page 1)

ding us for our anti-militarist propaganda the S.P. was expelling us from its ranks for our struggle for revolutionary defeatism.

Challaye followed, declaring his solidarity. His remaining arguments were those of a pacifist. "The army," he said, "must not be diverted by national defense. These young people are acting in the best tradition of Jaures, that is to say, of republican defense."

"Hold on!", the judge interrupted, "the accused do not want the soldiers to remain at the service of national defense outside the conflict. They are against national defense and call upon the soldiers to join ranks with the proletarians."

Revolutionists on the Stand

The bourgeois judge is very well aware of the class struggle.

Then a few words from Deglise, revolutionary socialist, in which he described the misery of the soldiers in the barracks: the judge interrupted him, cutting him off and calling upon the attendants to remove him from the stand.

The floor was then given to the accused, all of whom affirmed their revolutionary will.

G. Brun, former business manager of Revolution, admitted his responsibility. "I am a socialist," he stated, "and not an anarchist." Melcheur read a statement admitting guilt for his revolutionary action.

Marla Craipeau declared that even if she had known that the paper was banned, she would have sold it. She defended the right of young workers to call upon their brothers in uniform to fraternize, to refuse to serve the capitalists and proved that this is a fundamental doctrine of communists. That is what the Revolutionary Socialist Youth fight for today under the banner of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. She concluded with the slogans:

"Long live the J.S.R.
"Long live the Fourth International!"

After a plea of Leo Lagrange for G. Brun, Rous and Gerard spoke of the bloody policy of the decree-laws.

On Thursday February 13th, the judges rendered their verdict. Fearing the spread of the affair they sentenced our three comrades to one month in prison and 100 francs fine each.

Cross Framed in Ill. Court

(Continued from Page 1)

Technically, Cross was arrested and charged with "driving an auto while intoxicated." Cross was arrested in a car accident which occurred Christmas Eve of last year. The total damages amounted to \$7. The damages were paid. No one was injured; not one of the persons whose car was damaged complained or prosecuted. Yet States Attorney Seyffrit, notorious for his "red-baiting" and frame-up of unemployed workers brazenly stated he would "get" Cross.

The "getting" is not one sided, however. Labor is aroused and they are out to get Cross out of prison by appealing his case to a higher court; more than that—the militant workers of Macoupin county will render a verdict in the coming elections for states attorney by retiring Michael Seyffrit for his anti-labor activities.

Organize Defense Committee

A committee has been organized composed of members of the miner's union, Illinois Workers Alliance and other labor organizations. Local 1, Progressive Miners of America has already pledged its support after John Battuello, left wing leader, delivered a fiery speech flaying Michael Seyffrit for his anti-labor activities.

The defense committee has retained two local attorneys, but a desire that Albert Goldman, noted socialist attorney, be retained for the case was expressed by the majority of the committee. "The reactionaries put Cross in jail," one of the defense group said, "but it'll take the radicals to get him out. So we don't want to take any chances. We want this case to be handled along the real labor, class struggle lines."

Cross can be contacted at Vandallia Penal Farm, Vandallia, Illinois.

Funds Needed

The defense committee urges the sympathizers and members of the Workers Party and SYL to immediately rush funds to Tom Sorbie, Treasurer, James Cross Defense Committee, 1406 South Macoupin St., Gillespie, Ill. Joe Burrell, left wing mine leader, is chairman of the committee.

At least a hundred dollars is needed for the initial expense of the defense. Cross is in jail because he fought for labor. Tomorrow the Macoupin county reactionaries may imprison our brave left wing miners. Let's all put our shoulders to the wheel by raising money and getting Cross out of jail and eventually absolved of the rotten frame-up.

Two Pamphlets

"THE ROAD FOR REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS"

War and the Workers is written by John West. He needs no introduction to you. The Road for Revolutionary Socialists is written by Fred Zeller. He is the acknowledged leader of the French Socialist youth.

Fred Zeller was expelled from the Socialist youth organization by the agents of Leon Blum and his Old Guard some time ago, together with twelve other youth comrades. The young Socialists, however, remained supporters of the revolutionary position presented by Fred Zeller and his co-workers. They remained supporters in the continuation of the struggle for this position. How this struggle has been carried on and how comrade Zeller and his co-workers came to a revolutionary position, and came to be supporters of the Fourth International, is described in this little pamphlet. The introduction is by Leon Trotsky.



"WAR AND THE WORKERS"

The pamphlet, War and the Workers, presents a searching analysis of the nature and causes of modern war. It deals with the problem of sanctions, neutrality, and the rôle of the League of Nations. It presents a scathing indictment of the various forms of pacifism and social-patriotism and outlines a concrete program of struggle against imperialist war.

The price of this pamphlet is 10c per copy; in lots of ten or more, 7c per copy. The price of the Zeller pamphlet is 5c per copy; in lots of ten or more, 3c per copy. Here is an opportunity. Take advantage of it.

READY SOON The Third International After Lenin

By LEON TROTSKY

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- THE PROGRAM OF THE COMINTERN—
- 1. A Program of the International Revolution or a Program of Socialism in a Single Country?
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CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS

Adopted by 2nd National Convention of the Workers Party

Statement on the War Crisis

(Adopted Unanimously)

1. For the past six months, after more than a year of deliberate preparation, the armies of Italian Fascism have driven their attack against the Ethiopian peoples. Impelled by the intolerable strains of internal social and economic contradictions, Mussolini and the Italian bourgeoisie have sought a solution in open imperialist aggression against the last of the independent nations of Africa.

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

The war in Ethiopia must be understood as the prelude to the new imperialist world war.

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

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

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

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

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

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

6. One of the most dangerous

illusions fostered by the diplomacy of the Soviet Union, in company with demoralized liberals, reformists, pacifists of all shades, and Roosevelt himself is the notion that the world is now divided between "peace-loving democratic" nations and "war-loving fascist" nations. This notion is part of the preparation for support of the "peace-loving nations" in the coming war. Marxists reject and dispels this illusion or any form of it. The idea that there are peace-loving as opposed to war-loving capitalist nations, like the idea that one or another nation is "guilty" in an imperialist war, is at best formalistic ethical sentimentality, not political realism. The causes of war are to be found in the internal structure of world capitalism, operating within all nations. The national state of every capitalist nation, without exception, is the political instrument of the class enemy, the first and implacable enemy of that nation's proletariat. The revolutionary party can make no distinction between "good" and "bad" capitalist states. It is the enemy of every capitalist state, to the death.

7. Equally illusory and disastrous is the belief that the struggle against war can be aided by support of governmental "sanctions against the aggressor", whether applied by individual capitalist states directly, or indirectly through the League of Nations, which is nothing else than the puppet instrument of the imperialist powers. Support of governmental sanctions in any form—no matter what the "modifications" and "criticisms"—necessarily means collaboration with the sanction-applying capitalist state. Such collaboration, in turn, necessarily means support of the war policy of the given capitalist state. The revolutionary struggle against war is always the struggle against the capitalist state. Collaboration of any kind is always, and must be, social-patriotism and betrayal.

8. The same conclusion holds with equal force with reference to the support of "Neutrality Legislation" in this country. Once again, support of Neutrality Legislation necessarily means the attempt to conduct the struggle against war in collaboration with the imperialist government, and thus can be conceived as nothing else than a form of social-patriotism. Imperialism, which makes wars, can never be an ally in the struggle against war. The struggle against war must be everywhere and always the independent revolutionary struggle against imperialism itself.

9. At the outbreak of the last imperialist war, the Second International revealed its internal degeneration by betraying the working class to the class enemy, by espousing the cause of national defense and patriotism, by a truce with the bourgeoisie in the interests of "national unity", by going over to social-patriotism and social-chauvinism. Already, before the outbreak of the new war, the leaders of the Socialist and Labour International, together with the major repetition of the betrayal, are already preparing to turn over their following to the war-makers. In England, the Labour Party, by calling for government applied sanctions and the closing of the Suez Canal, and by supporting the main line of the Baldwin government, has once again taken the position of national unity (that is, solidarity with the class enemy) before the war danger, and of fully developed social-patriotism—to defend the interests of the bourgeoisie

against "Hitler aggressions, and to 'implement the League Covenant' by government sanctions. The Bauer-Dan-Zyromski Thesis openly advocates support of the wars of "democratic nations" against "fascist nations". As early as August of last year, the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labour International adopted a program of full-blooded social-patriotism.

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

10. During the past two years, the Communist International has passed from a policy which weakened and disoriented the revolutionary struggle against war to an active espousal of the policies of class truce and social-patriotism. By the Franco-Soviet Pact, the Stalin-Laval communique, the conduct of the Soviet Union representatives in the League during the Ethiopian crisis, and above all by the Seventh Congress of the C.I., the Communist International stands unmasked as the heir of social-democracy's betrayal on the issue of war, announcing itself as ready to do the hangman's job of turning over the proletariat of England, France and the U. S. to their national bourgeoisie in the coming war, in return for paper promises of protection for the borders of the Soviet Union. In England, the Communist party applauds the position of the Labour Party; in France, the Communist party supports enthusiastically the worst betrayals of Blum and Herriot; in Czechoslovakia, the Communist party votes for Benes and openly calls on the masses to fight for the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie and thus for its master, French imperialism; in the U. S., the Communist party repeatedly declares its pledge to support the government in a war against Japan. The C.I. and its sections take the lead in demanding League and governmental sanctions against "aggressor" nations; in calling for support of democratic nations against fascist nations; in fostering the most degraded forms of pacifism; in pushing "vigorous" Neutrality Legislation on the part of the U. S. government. Throughout the world the Communist International prepares the sacrifice of the working class on the altar of imperialism.

The struggle against imperialist war means everywhere the relentless struggle against the Third International.

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

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

The Workers Party places no reliance on the "peaceful" intentions of bourgeois-democratic nations, nor upon spineless "united fronts" of liberals, ministers, bourgeois wo-

men's clubs and "anti-war" professionalists; on the contrary, it attacks the whole conception of such reliance as aiding and promoting, and not in any way hindering the preparations for war.

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

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

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

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

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READ THE NEW MILITANT

THREE EDITIONS -- THREE VERSIONS

BIOGRAPHY A LA STALIN

First Edition . . .

"L. D. Trotsky (N. Trotsky): born in 1879, active in the Workers' Circles in the city of Nikolayev; in 1898 exiled to Siberia, soon after escaped abroad and participated in the Iskra. Delegate from the Siberian League at the Second Congress of the Party. After the split in the Party, adhered to the Mensheviks. Even prior to the revolution, in 1905, he advanced his own and today particularly noteworthy theory of the permanent revolution, in which he asserted that the bourgeois revolution of 1905 must pass directly into the socialist revolution, being the first of the national revolutions; he defended his theory in the newspaper *Nachalo*, the central organ of the Menshevik faction published during November-December, 1905, in Petersburg. After the arrest of Khrustalev-Nossar, he was elected Chairman of the First Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies. Arrested together with the Executive Committee on December 3, 1905, he was sent into life exile to Obozersk, but escaped en route and emigrated abroad. Trotsky chose Vienna to live in, and there he issued a popular labor newspaper, *Pravda*, to be circulated in Russia; he broke with the Mensheviks and attempted to form a group outside of all factions; however, during the factional struggle abroad he made a bloc with the Mensheviks and the Vperedovists against the bloc between Lenin and Plekhanov who fought against the Liquidators. From the very beginning of the imperialist war he took a brilliant internationalist position, participated in the publication of *Nashe Slovo*, and adhered to Zimmerwald. Deported from France he went to the United States. On his return from there after the February revolution, he was arrested by the English and set free only on the demand of the Provisional Government, which was forced to intervene under the pressure of the Petersburg Soviet. In Petersburg he entered the organization of the 'Mejrayonski', together with whom he joined the Bolshevik Party at the Sixth Party Congress. After the July days, he was arrested by the Government of Kerensky and indicted for 'leading the insurrection', but was shortly freed under the pressure of the Petersburg proletariat. After the Petersburg Soviet went over to the Bolsheviks, he was elected Chairman, and in this capacity he organized and led the insurrection of October 25. Standing member of the C.E.C. of the C.P.S.U. since 1917; member of the Council of People's Commissars, first holding the post of People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, then People's Commissar of War." (Our emphasis)

The above brief biography of Trotsky appeared in a note to the first edition of Lenin's *Collected Works*, Volume XIV, part 2, page 481. Lenin was then still alive.

Second Edition . . .

After Lenin died, a second edition of his *Collected Works* was issued by the Lenin Institute. We give below the "biographical note" of the Stalinist historians as it was slashed up after Trotsky's expulsion, in Volume XXI, page 571:

"L. D. Trotsky, (born 1879): worked in the city of Nikolayev, participated in the South Russian Workers' League. In 1898 was arrested and exiled to the Irkutsk province, from where he escaped abroad in 1902. In 1903 participated in the Second Party Congress, and after the split in the Party, while remaining with the Mensheviks, he participated closely in the Iskra. During the first revolution in 1905 he worked in Petersburg. Adherent of Parvus's theory of the permanent revolution. When the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies was organized, he entered into its Executive Committee and later became Chairman. After the arrest of the Petersburg Soviet, he was exiled to Siberia but en route to exile fled from Berezov and participated in the London Congress. Living in Vienna, he formed his own group, the ideological expression of which was a paper he published, *Pravda*. In 1912, participated in the so-called 'August Bloc', created for the struggle against the Bolsheviks. During the imperialist war he was a member of the editorial board of the internationalist organ, *Nashe Slovo*, published in Paris. He took part in Zimmerwald, holding a 'centrist' position, and not adhering to the Zimmerwald left. In 1916, on the charge of carrying on internationalist propaganda he was deported from France to Spain, and from there, after his arrest, he was again deported to America. In 1917, upon his arrival at Petrograd, he joined the internationalist organization of 'Mejrayonski', and together with them entered into the Bolshevik Party at the Sixth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and was elected to the C.E.C. After the Bolsheviks had conquered the Petrograd Soviet in September, 1917, Trotsky became its Chairman. After October, he became People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs. During the controversy over the Brest-Litovsk Peace, he was a staunch opponent of the latter, favoring the tactic 'No Peace, No War'. After the Brest Peace, he became People's Commissar of War and Chairman of the Revolutionary War Council of the Republic, up to 1924. During the discussion in 1920-21, he headed one of the factions formed at that time, defending the necessity of 'statifying' the trade unions. In 1923 he went over to the Opposition; from 1926 the leader of the 'United' Opposition. In 1927, expelled from the party." (Our emphasis.)

The above quoted and "improved" biography was to be found even in the 'Third Edition' of Lenin's *Collected Works* up to 1931, and thereafter, until another 'Third Edition' was issued by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in 1935.

Third Edition . . .

In this latest Stalinist falsification of history we find the following "biography" in the same volume XXI, on the very same page 571:

"L. D. Trotsky (Bronstein) born 1879—social democrat who headed a 'Centrist' tendency (Trotskyism) in the ranks of the Russian Social Democracy, and who subsequently slid down to the role of the 'advanced troop of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie'. Participated in the Second Party Congress, after the split became a rabid Menshevik. Chairman of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies in 1905. Adherent of the semi-Menshevik Parvus's theory of the permanent revolution. In 1912, organized the so-called 'August Bloc' for the struggle against the Bolsheviks. During the war rejected slogan of civil war, defeatism, and the necessity of breaking organizationally with the social chauvinists. His slogan 'No Victories, No Defeats' was a paraphrase of the slogan 'defense of the Fatherland.' In 1917, upon his arrival at Petrograd he joined the 'Mejrayonski' and together with the latter entered the Bolshevik party at the Sixth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and was elected to the C.E.C. After October—People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs. On the question of the Brest Peace, first expressed himself in favor of the tactic 'No Peace, No Wars,' and after the offensive was resumed,—for a revolutionary war. After the Brest Peace—People's Commissar of War, and Chairman of the Revolutionary War Committee of the Republic (up to 1924). In 1920-1921, defended the necessity of 'statifying' the trade unions, and organized a faction on this platform. In 1923-1924 headed the opposition; from 1926, leader of the 'Oppositionist Bloc' (Trotsky-Kamenev-Zinoviev). Waged a sharp factional struggle against the C.P.S.U. and the Communist International. In November 1927, together with his adherents, he attempted to stage anti-Soviet demonstrations in Moscow and Leningrad. Defended the views of the impossibility of building socialism in the U. S. S. R., of the inevitability of the degeneration of the Bolshevik party and the Soviet power, and the probable return to capitalism. At the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. expelled from the party. In 1929, exiled abroad for underground anti-Soviet activity. Abroad, side by side with the White Guards he became one of the polarizing centers of the counter-revolutionary forces inside and outside of the U. S. S. R." (Our emphasis.)

In the Museum of the Revolution* in Moscow in a dark corner there is hung and, perhaps, is still hanging, a modest tablet. It bore the following inscription:

"In the nature of things, it is impossible to argue with Trotsky, for he has no views of any sort."

"It is necessary and obligatory to argue with confirmed liquidators and Otzovists but there is no arguing with a man who plays the role of a screen for the mistakes of both the former and the latter—such a man must be exposed as a diplomat of the worst type."

If one were to take Stalin at his own words, a tablet should be hung in his memory with the inscription:

"He never argued, he only falsified."

*In this museum there is supposedly preserved the record of each and every participant and event in the Russian Revolution (even prior to 1905). The above mentioned tablet is the only record of Trotsky's participation in the revolutionary struggles of the Russian proletariat. It was copied by a tourist.

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The Spanish Elections And the People's Front

By MAX SHACHTMAN

People's Front Acts as Brake on Upward Movement of Masses

A singular unanimity marks the reception accorded the election victory of the People's Front by labor papers which are otherwise antagonistic to each other's views. The Jewish Daily Forward and the equally octogenarian New Leader vie with the editors of the Daily Worker in saluting the victory with an intoxicated enthusiasm which they do not allow a single critical comment to mar.

That the outcome of the elections reveals a distinctly gratifying advance by the Spanish working class is, of course, beyond debate. One must search far and wide in the modern history of the working class of the world to find a parallel to the amazing recuperative powers of the Spanish proletariat. What neither the social democratic nor the Stalinist press have obliged us with, however, is an explanation for the contrast between the resurgence of the formerly defeated Spanish working class and the continued paralysis of, let us say, the also defeated German working class. Unless one is to ascribe the causes of the startling contrast to some mysterious national superiority of Spanish proletarian physiology or intellect over the German, the difference must be sought for in another domain. Neither social democrats nor Stalinists are particularly anxious to probe for an intelligible answer to the question for the simple reason that it would fly in the face of their respective political philosophies.

The Great Value of Struggle

Both your regular social democrat and your official Stalinist placed the seal of approbation on the failure of the German labor parties—S.P. and C.P.—to lead the proletariat in direct struggle against the Fascist bandits before they came to power in 1933. At the same time, they "deplored" the armed struggle of the Spanish workers against the advancing reaction in October 1934 and more than hinted that it had all the intolerable aspects of a futile putsch. How many times did they both say—often in so many words: It would have availed the German proletariat nothing to struggle against insuperable odds; and the Spanish defeat in 1934 showed how fruitless was such needless bloodshed as would have been involved by a similar attempt in Germany.

Yet, the lesson of the Spanish labor revival in not only unambiguous, but it speaks out conclusively against these present-day plagiarists of Plekhanov whose solitary contribution to the summary of the 1905 revolution in Russia was the lament that "they should not have taken up arms". The difference between Germany and Spain lies essentially in this: The German working class was defeated without a struggle. The Fascist thugs found that they could come to power without encountering any resistance from the proletariat. The ruling class was therefore able to say to itself: If I could bring this gang of semi-armed mercenaries to power for the purpose of crushing every vestige of labor organization, without labor even attempting to fight them off, how much less have I to fear from the workers now that the Fascist mameukes are equipped with the complete arsenal of state power? I can therefore be more arrogant and brutal: I can therefore have greater self-confidence. The working class could only say to itself, if I (read: if my parties, my leaders) was not able to lift a finger against the Fascist trash when it was armed with little more than knives, how shall I be able to fight them now that they are armed with the whole repressive machinery of the state? And if my leaders stood petrified in their tracks when they still had the vast "legal" possibilities of fighting the Fascists, before we were dispersed and driven underground or under the yoke of Hitler, what reason have I to believe that they will be anything but less effective now, when Hitler has two machine-guns for every dagger he had yesterday?

In other words, just because they were not led into struggle in Germany, the workers have less confidence in themselves and, contrarily, the bourgeoisie has far greater self-assurance, firmness, solidity.

Reasons for Resurgence

In Spain, however, just because the workers fought, their mood and the corresponding mood of the bourgeoisie, are different. The workers think: Yes, we were defeated in one battle, but we showed the Fascists that we can and will fight, even under adverse circumstances. We have proved to ourselves that if only we organize ourselves better in this, that and the other respect, we possess an invincible power. The bourgeoisie thinks: We are not playing with a toothless old bound here, whom we can kick around contemptuously. This working class is a lion which showed his teeth and claws and inflicted some serious wounds upon us. And even if his leap was not well prepared and his retreat not so well ordered, we did not terminate the fight by skinning his hide. In other words, in Spain the bourgeoisie emerged from the October with respect for the work-

ing class and an idea that a measure of prudence was needed; the workers emerged from the battle with a high spirit of self-assurance and confidence in their ability to retrieve their losses in the very next battle.

Essentially, this is the explanation for the remarkable showing made by the Spanish workers in their speedy comeback. At the same time it is a pitiless indictment of the cowardly capitulation of the Second and Third Internationals in Germany in 1933, of their effrontery in attributing to the working class their own despicable cowardice. ("We would have liked to fight, but the masses were not ready.")

If the reader draws from the above conclusion that the Spanish masses did and do have the kind of leadership that offers an additional assurance of the final victory, he will have misread the situation badly. After having remained firmly asleep at the switch and deprecating the revolution of 1931 as a mere nothing, the Stalinists ended up, in October 1934, by grudgingly entering the united front of the working class organizations against which they had inveighed up to the last minute. As for the socialist leadership, it kept the Spanish working class in leash for as long as it could, tying it as firmly as possible to the "democratic" capitalist republic, demoralizing it month in and month out by the practice of coalitions with the bourgeoisie, and "organizing" the October insurrection for the grand purpose of "forcing" the capitalists to restore the socialists to their inglorious position of captives in the government of the "republic of the working classes".

People's Front—A Lightning Rod

Then, as if this record were not sufficiently ignoble, they—both socialists and Stalinists—called it by performing the function of lightning rods, grounding into the harmless soil of "democratic" capitalism the increasingly menacing flashes of working class resurgence which has been rising for months like a black cloudbank that might inundate the rule of the bourgeoisie in Spain for all time. This not very laudable function was performed through the mechanism of the Spanish People's Front. To pass uncritically over the pompous phraseology of the People's Front in Spain would be just as criminal as it was to beat the drums for these other "victories" which were gained in Germany by the "Iron Front" in its time—and would lead to just as complete a calamity for the Spanish working class and any other that would emulate it, as it did for the German proletariat a couple of years ago.

The first question that arises in connection with the Spanish People's Front is: Is it correct for the workers to seek and arrive at an agreement with a bourgeois democratic party in the struggle against bourgeois reaction, even an agreement on the parliamentary field? Absolutely correct! But only under certain conditions and in certain ways. The principal condition, especially in elections, is that the party of the proletariat which makes the agreement with the bourgeois democrats, retains, absolutely, its political and organizational independence. It may not merge itself into the bourgeois party. It may not write a "common program" with the bourgeois party. In this or that district, the proletariat party, may vote for the candidate of the bourgeois party, in exchange for similar votes for itself in other districts. But from its own platform—and it must have one of its own—it must always point out why it has a program of its own, why it speaks from its own platform, why it has arrived at a temporary agreement with a bourgeois party, why the agreement is only temporary and cannot be permanent, and why the proletariat class and its party can never write a common program with the bourgeois class and its party or parties. Otherwise the workers' party loses its reason for independent existence; it has wiped out the irreconcilable struggle of the classes.

What was inexcusably criminal on the part of the Socialist party, the Communist party and the Maurin-Nin party of "Marxian Unification" was not only that they wrote a "common program" with the discredited bourgeois parties—which was bad enough—and that thereby, politically speaking, they appeared before the masses in one party with the bourgeoisie, but that this "common program" was dictated and written by the bourgeoisie, and that in every other respect the joint party—under the pseudonym of the "People's Front"—was dominated by the bourgeoisie. In other words, if the class criterion which Lenin loved so much to apply—"Who? Whom?"—is employed in this case, the result is clearly this:

Bourgeoisie Discredited

The "republican" bourgeoisie was so badly discredited in the eyes of the masses that it required a protective covering. In the "united

front", it was not "used" by the workers' parties—but the workers' parties used by it. It was not taken in tow by the socialists and communists—it dragged the latter in its wake. The payment which it made (the amnesty of the thirty thousand which leaves unaffected all those labor fighters who were imprisoned prior to the insurrection) was extorted from it by the overwhelming pressure of the masses who were storming the penitentiaries themselves. The payment which the workers made (restoration of bourgeois democratic power, new credit to the discredited, "republican" parties of Azana and Martinez Barrios, etc.) were voluntarily, unnecessarily and unwarrantedly given to the bourgeoisie as a gift by the labor leaders.

It is not so much the workers who needed the support of the bourgeois politicians, as the bourgeois politicians who urgently required the support and protection of the workers. They received the latter in the form of the complete subordination of the labor parties to the bourgeois parties in the "People's Front".

Program of People's Front

Take the question of the program, for example. Even assuming for the moment the admissibility of writing a common program with a bourgeois party—which we reject in principle—it is worth while examining the "program" that was finally adopted. In the January 16, 1936 issue of the Comintern publication, Rundschau, of Basle, we read that "in the minimum program of the Communist party for this electoral bloc stand the following demands: Amnesty for all the 30,000 political prisoners and for the more than 100 revolutionary fighters who are condemned to death; abolition of the reactionary laws, reestablishment of the rights of democratic liberties; national constitution for Catalonia; confiscation of the landed property of the aristocracy, the monarchists and all enemies of the people; dissolution of the Fascist and monarchist organizations, purging the army of Fascists; rehiring of all the workers discharged from factories after October 1934."

Thus the minimum program of the C.P. for the People's Front on January 16. Miserable enough, it will be said, and rightly so. But even this, which the Stalinists announced with such apparent intransigence as their rock-bottom, below which they would not move, is not to be found in the program of the bloc after it was formed—that is, with the exception of the proposal of amnesty for political prisoners and the promise to rehire workers discharged after October 1934. But in place of the "minimum" demands which the bourgeois allies (read: bosses) refused to include, the latter inserted a number of planks underneath which the three labor parties shamelessly signed their names. The People's Front program which makes the French People's Front platform and even President Roosevelt's program look like substantial Left wing documents, is summed up by the very same Rundschau of a week later (January 23, 1936), as follows: "Support of small industry and small commerce. . . In the field of financial reform the most important is the proposal to work for the 'Bank of Spain' so revising its activity that it may fulfill in reality its task, the regulation of credit. Unfortunately, the Republicans could not decide (!) to accept the more far-reaching proposal which demanded the nationalization of all banks. In the field of improving the lot of the workers it is promised . . . 2. The reorganization of the labor courts and the establishment of their independence." (Not only are the class collaborationist "labor courts" to be "reorganized" but their independence—from whom and what?—is to be established!) We forbear from quoting further. The program is simply inferior to the average petty bourgeois radical election platform. Compared with it, the average German social democratic party platform, even of the period of the "Iron Front" and "comrade" Hindenburg, is a significant social document. In so far, therefore, as the program of the "People's Front" is concerned, the question of "Who? Whom?" is answered: The bourgeoisie wrote it; the proletariat accepted it. More accurately, the treacherous leadership forced it on the proletariat.

Relationship of Forces

On the distribution of candidates, the complete subordination of the proletarian wing of the Front to its bourgeois wing is also clearly evidenced. Bear in mind, first, that in the 1931 elections, following the revolution, the socialists were returned as the largest party in the Cortes. Most of the "Republicans" got in by the skin of their teeth. Since that time, the "Republican Left" parties have been considerably weakened and even more discredited among the masses. Since that time, also, the communist party has grown and the proletarian

forces in the country (also on a parliamentary scale) have been strengthened absolutely and relatively by the fact that women have the vote and that, this time, many anarchist and syndicalist workers decided to cast ballots. In face of these indisputable facts, the bourgeois wing of the Front was given the decisive predominance in the division of candidacies. With Catalonia having a list of its own, the division stood as follows: the Republican Left parties in the bloc were granted 170 candidates and the labor candidates only 143 (127 socialists, 14 communists and 2 syndicalists). Elected were more than 120 members of the bourgeois parties and some 100 members of the labor parties.

To what relationship of forces in the country does such a division, which patently gives the bourgeoisie the upper hand, correspond? To absolutely none! It corresponds only to the contemptible attitude of groveling before their bourgeois allies—in whom they have more confidence than they have in the forces of the proletariat—which is shared equally by the socialist and Stalinist leadership. The Maurin-Nin party which signed the People's Front program and supported it in the election, is nevertheless obliged to acknowledge in the post-election number of its periodical, La Batalla (Feb. 21, 1936): "Catalonia apart, it is certain that, in the rest of the country the republican movement, as a force, is a veritable fiction, as it proved to be in the elections of 1933." This veritable fiction was given the leadership, the majority and the programmatic control of the People's Front by Caballero, Uribe, Maurin and Nin.

Treacherous Stalinism

And even though the masses, some deliberately, some instinctively are fighting to break away from the leading strings of Azana and Co., of the astute demagogues of the bourgeois parties—even though the masses are groping, in elementary ways, towards class independence, and showing that by themselves they are infinitely more powerful and effective than they are when held under the bourgeois yoke, the labor leaders seek to fasten it only the more firmly around their throats. Typical and characteristic is the Madrid dispatch to the Daily Worker of Feb. 25, 1936, that is, after the elections and the stormy movements of the masses: "Without consulting the Azana forces (Oh Heinous crime!) many Left local governments are active in Asturias province and other parts. A stupidly premature (not only premature, but stupid to boot!) attempt is being made to divide Azana from the Left allies, the socialists and the communists." A more truly classic picture of social democratic treachery of the Scheidemann-Wels type could hardly be furnished than what is reflected in the two sentences quoted!

Is it surprising therefore that in addition to the hysterical praises sung to the Spanish 'People's Front' by the Stalinists, the Right wing of the social democracy should also give it the accolade of approval? Everything the Stalinists stand for is contained in the comment on the "victory" contained in the February 25, 1936 issue of the Jewish Daily Forward, written by its foreign expert, D. Shub, a biological Menshevik: "The present victory over the reaction was made possible thanks to the fact that all the progressive parties and groups united in a democratic People's Front which put forward a joint list of candidates in most of the districts of the country. Into the People's Front entered the socialists, the syndicalists, the radical bourgeois republicans and also the communists, who gave up their own communist program in favor of the moderate (Hear! Hear!) democratic program of the People's Front. . . What the Spanish socialists did not succeed in attaining by means of a general strike and a bloody armed uprising sixteen months ago, which cost hundreds of human lives, has now been attained in a peaceful way by means of the usual methods of democracy."

Shub rolls off these formulae with ease, because he has been repeating them for years. He hailed the victory of the social democrats in electing Hindenburg to the German presidency in exactly the same terms and spirit. In essence, it was just the same kind of victory, too. That he can now include the Stalinists in his comments, that he now agrees line by line with their evaluations, is no sign at all that he has moved closer to Marxism. It only means that the Stalinists have moved all the way to Shub. On these grounds, he has every right to felicitate himself. The Spanish workers have not.

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BETTER CONDITIONS**

READ THE NEW MILITANT

"Speed Up or the Scabs Will Take Your Jobs--" Straw Boss? No, West Coast C.P.

O enamoured have the smaller American editions of Stalin become, that Stakhanovism has been introduced, or rather an attempt at introduction to the longshoremen, in San Francisco, has been made.

The C.P. Waterfront Worker of February 3, 1936 (p. 8) contains the following choice morsel intended, no doubt, to warm the cockles of the hearts of all stevedores—"Laxness must be eliminated, working-class discipline must be enforced."

"Today, we face a new problem—a problem if not met squarely and honestly will wreck the organization we sacrificed so much for and fought so hard to build. That problem is the amount of work performed per gang per day. In the Blue Book days, 30 or 40 tons per gang per hour was considered an average hours work. Today, 30 or 40 tons is considered a good 4 hours work. Everyone will admit 40 tons is too damned much cargo to move in one hour, but at the same time 40 tons for 4 hours is not a helluva lot. After all, we still live in a capitalist society, the shipowners still own the ships and

he must take profit; if he cannot, he will refuse to operate. Or if operating costs become too high, when it would prove cheaper for him to use scabs and look out the Union men, that is exactly what he will do." (My emphasis, B. M.)

Let the shipowners tremble at the roar of this militant blast from the Stalinists!—"Toe the mark, boys, or we'll anger the bosses." "After all, we still live in a capitalistic society!"—"the speed-up isn't as bad as it might be"—etc.

We have no doubt the longshoremen will give these capitalist lackeys the answer they so richly deserve. These workers who saw their striking comrades shot by the bosses' thugs, will turn to these Stakhanovite henchmen of Hearst, Plant and Giannini and say, "You can fawn upon the ship-owners—but for us union conditions were won by strike action, not by class-collaboration with finks and bosses. We intend to stand our ground, and fight for union conditions won at the cost of working-class lives. Working class discipline—hell! You mean the speed-up!"

Sharecroppers Take Vote on General Strike

By H. L. MITCHELL

Executive Sec'y, Southern Tenant Farmers Union

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—Members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in an effort to bring some measure of justice to the workers on the cotton plantations of North-eastern Arkansas are now taking a vote on a proposal to call every one out on strike throughout the entire area.

New evictions of union members are reported daily. Most of them are made without any sort of settlement of wages due the workers. Government payments or subsidies are also refused. Planters offer Yellow Dog contracts in an attempt to force sharecroppers and tenants, as well as day laborers, to accept worse conditions than ever before—with the provision that each worker accepting shall give up union membership.

Efforts by interested people such as Brooks Hays, Resettlement Administrator of Washington, and citizens of Arkansas to act as mediators in the intolerable situation now existing have been repulsed by plantation owners. They refuse to deal with the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, and threaten widespread violence. Reports from reliable sources, union and non-union, indicate that bands of outlaws are being formed to wipe out the Union. Continual threats to stage another "Elaine Massacre" (massacre of Negroes, Elaine, Arkansas, 1924.) are being made by the planters. This time they plan murder of white as well as black Union men.

The Union has offered to meet a committee of responsible plantation owners and attempt to get a settlement of the controversy which cannot go on forever. We are ready at any time to negotiate a fair and just contract. Our demands are as follows: Just and adequate settlement at end of season, legal rates of interest on advances made sharecroppers and tenants, wages of \$1.00 per 10 hour day with 15 cents per hour overtime for all work done by day laborers, and a written guarantee binding owners not to interfere with Union organization or to discriminate against Union members.

Mass Evictions Continue

The mass eviction of Union families continues from many plantations with no let up in sight. Men, women and children are set adrift on the highways. When they find a place of refuge in tents (supplied by the Union), churches, owned by themselves, in homes of other Union members they are hounded by threats and warnings, many of them saying, "leave the state or be lynched". Dynamite was recently placed in the tent colony near Parkin. A few days later a mob led by the County Sheriff served notice on the homeless people gathered there to leave within 48 hours. The governor of the State of Arkansas, J. Marion Futrell, made a "so called" investigation and with a bucket of white wash exonerated his friends the planters.

Relief from all governmental sources is effectively blocked. State relief administrators at Little Rock, Arkansas, of the various agencies set up to provide for people, flatly refuse to carry out orders from Washington. The control of the plantation interests extends to the very doors of the capitol. Planters and Peace Officers have sent guarded threats that they are prepared to prevent the Union relief committee from distributing food and clothing contributed by sympathizers and supporters of the sharecroppers cause.

Help is needed. Postest those conditions to the President of the United States. Ask your senators and congressmen to demand a congressional investigation. All contributions should be sent to Box 5215, Memphis, Tenn.

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St. Louis Retail Clerks Ask Aid in Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

ally and in spreading the boycott of Kroger stores since very early in the strike have been the Progressive Miners of America and the United Mine Workers of America (District 12). Both of these organizations have placed Kroger on their "we don't patronize" lists and all of their locals in the state of Illinois have posted notices to this effect. In some cases locals of these unions have placed a fine of \$25.00 on any member of their organization caught dealing with Kroger. Many other unions here are helping financially and by having their members refuse to buy Kroger goods.

Issue Strike Bulletin

To answer the lies and slander that the Kroger company is putting out over the radio, in the newspapers and through their other paid mouthpieces, the union has gotten out a strike bulletin in which they tell their side of the story. In the February 28th issue of this strike bulletin we read that after almost four months of hunger, hardships, and privation the union is standing pat on its original demands, and furthermore that their ranks are holding firm and not a man has deserted.

The union with only 146 men is fighting a gigantic chain grocery store which has thousands of stores all over the country. In order to make this fight effective they must hit Kroger in the heart, i.e., the pocketbook. This can be done only by acquainting the people and particularly the union men and women who normally trade with this labor bating corporation that Kroger is unfair to organized labor so that they can buy their groceries elsewhere. Any individual or organization desiring to help the progress of this strike can do so by placing a picket in front of the Kroger store in their community, by having their organization put Kroger on the "we don't patronize list," or by sending a donation to Oscar T. Wiles, Secretary, Warehouse Workers Union, No. 667, 4046 Folsom Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri. (Note: If you can picket a Kroger store in your community write to this organization and picket signs will be sent by return mail.)

Arrest 14 in NY WPA Protest

Fourteen workers, members of the Workers Alliance of America, were arrested at the Port Authority Building, Thursday, March 5th, while demanding the Asst. W.P.A. Administrator, Mr. Ring, see them regarding their reinstatement on W.P.A. jobs from which they were arbitrarily dismissed. For the second time Ring broke his engagement with the workers. In the meantime, these workers, who have families to feed, were given the famous "runaround" by the city authorities and the W.P.A. officials. While shouting such demands as: See our Committee—Give us Jobs—And Feed our Families, guards ordered the workers to leave the building. The order was ignored and the shouting continued. The group was placed under arrest.

Following this, a messenger from Ring arrived, promising an appointment with his assistant. This was rejected and an appointment was wrung out of Ring.

As the workers proceeded peacefully to leave the building the guards attacked them brutally. Office workers on the floor, numbering about three thousand, who had witnessed the whole affair and had expressed themselves in sympathy with the workers demands, jumped in at this moment to protect them from the brutal assault of the guards. About five thousand people employed in the Port of Authority Building gathered outside to see the workers taken away by the police.

Among these arrested were Henry Rourke, M. Fleischmann, Harry Winthrop, Harry Shepard, M. Liebowitz and others.

This is the "Security" promised to the workers by Roosevelt and carried out by his office boy Victor Ridder. Workers are now being laid off by the thousands,

Demands Pres. Act on Cal. WPA Layoffs

BERKELEY, Calif., Feb. 27—Faced with mass dismissals on WPA projects delegations of the Professional Workers Union sent representatives to the city managers of Berkeley, Oakland and the Board of Supervisors of Alameda County and forced the officials to allow the use of the long distance phone to one of its representatives, George Grayden, who depicted the local situation and presented the union demands to Pres. Roosevelt.

The union is seeking affiliation to the Gov't Employees organization of the A.F. of L. and has the support of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County in this request. It is also planning a mass meeting on the WPA situation in the latter part of March.

The text of Grayden's speech follows: Mr. President:

I am a spokesman for a committee of the Union of Professional Workers of the East Bay, speaking from the Alameda County Court House, California.

The thousands of us now working on WPA projects are concerned about the large number of men and women who are facing discharge within a few weeks.

Those of us working on the National Guide, a Federal Project are reaching a state of panic as March tenth approaches when 66 per cent of the Personnel are to be discharged.

New projects are not being set up rapidly enough to take care of these now working on WPA projects and most serious of all is the situation of the rapidly increasing unemployed who are forced to ask for relief and by your ruling denied opportunity of assignment to WPA projects.

We submit that the relief allowance in California is inadequate to maintain a family above a slow starvation level, with the payment of rent, service bills and medical care beyond the slim dole allowed.

We ask that you assure us of continuous employment at wages sufficient to maintain our families on a basis of health and decency. We submit that as American citizens, in this marvelously rich country, that we are entitled to an abundance that we are anxious and willing to produce.

We demand that the Federal government provide work for all the unemployed and at once:

That the meagre allowance given the unemployed in California be eliminated in favor of work at decent wages.

Mr. President, we are determined to end the misery we see about us. This suffering that is sending our friends and neighbors to the insane hospitals, to the taking of their own lives, condemning our children to illness and forcing many to lives of crime.

We demand security of employment. The withdrawal of your order discharging the thousand workers from WPA in California, each month, and we demand the immediate setting up of new projects to care for all these to be released March 10 or thereabouts and the immediate setting up of a program that will provide employment for all the unemployed.

F. D. Sharpens Relief-cut Axe

(Continued from Page 1)

ferno of famine. Beyond the immediate perspective of struggle, there lies also the necessity of revolt. Every worker in this country has felt acutely the distinct contradiction between modern property relations and human relations. As workers, we do not have the time to build Farmer-Labor parties in order to elect reformist dog-catchers and congressmen. The choice during the next few years is not between reform and reaction. The choice lies between revolution and starvation!