

NEW MILITANT

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

VOL. 2, NO. 14 [WHOLE NO. 66]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 11, 1936

PRICE 3 CENTS

Launch United Unemployed Organization

Klan Pays Defense Attorney

Whitewash Planned in Tampa Flogging Trial

TAMPA, April 6.—The appointment of two outstanding Florida attorneys to strengthen the prosecution in the flogging murder trials is being asked of Governor Dave Sholtz by labor, religious and civic groups that are fighting Ku Klux Klan terrorism here.

These groups are dissatisfied with the conduct of the state's case up to now by State Attorney J. Rex Farrow. The addition of new counsel, they feel, is essential to the vigorous prosecution of the cases and to resist the introduction of false and extraneous issues by the defense.

When the first of the trials opens next Monday in Bartow, Polk County, the defense will be bolstered by two additional criminal lawyers, Luke C. Johnson and E. A. Borsage, whose record of acquittals is among the highest in Florida.

The hiring of Luke Johnson in a criminal trial in Polk County constitutes the nearest thing to buying an acquittal. Johnson is reputed to have compiled a highly informative file of all the eligible jurors in the county. He knows the life history and prejudices of every man on any given venire and he usually wins his cases right after the jury box is filled and before any witnesses are called. Such a convenience should bring great relief to the defendants and explains further the anxiety of Pat Whitaker, chief defense counsel, for a change of venue which meant moving to Polk County.

Attorney Paid in Cash

Johnson is said to have demanded and received \$5,000 in cash before consenting to help acquit the 11 ex-cops and Klansmen who are indicted for the murder of Joseph Shoemaker and the kidnapping and flogging of Eugene F. Poulnot and Sam D. Rogers. Whitaker himself is also said to have received an initial payment of \$5,000 in cash as chief defense counsel.

While the defendants may have (Continued on Page 4)

Unions Flay Grand Jury

The following telegram was sent to Mayor La Guardia, Governor Lehman, and to Borough President Robert Ingersoll by the Conference for the Defense of the Rights of Organized Labor in Brooklyn:

April 2, 1936
The Kings County December Grand Jury presentation of April first is definite challenge to organized labor in Brooklyn. They charge that the strike at May Department Store conducted by Local 1250, Department Store Workers Union, American Federation of Labor, was organized by "certain uninformed persons neither patrons of Brooklyn stores nor residents of Brooklyn consisting of a disorderly rabble of some two or three hundred young radicals aided, abetted and encouraged by the responsible heads of the Union." The recommendation of the Grand Jury calling upon city magistrates to deal with the situation with a firm hand is direct encouragement to all anti-labor forces to crack down upon picketing in Brooklyn. Our organization, a firm supporter of the May department store strikers, and representing twenty-six Brooklyn American Federation of Labor unions with a membership of one hundred fifty thousand Brooklyn workers, maintains that the decision of the Grand Jury is in direct line with the desires of the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce and other anti-labor forces in Brooklyn. We demand you take action with regard to investigating the personnel of the Kings County December Grand Jury.
Conference for Defense of Rights of Organized Labor in Brooklyn,
Jesse Lane, Secretary.

Tokyo - Berlin Alliance Against USSR Reported

Adequate Soviet Defense Made Extremely Difficult By Stalinist Manoeuvres With Chinese Bourgeoisie

By LO SEN
Germany and Japan have struck a virtual bargain for joint action against the Soviet Union.

This alliance, in preparation for several years and often reported consummated, was the outstanding development this week in an international diplomatic situation crammed with plans and counter-plans, notes and threats, offers and promises, under cover of which the powers of Europe are jockeying into position for war.

News of the Berlin-Tokyo pact, while not official, came through August, a White Russian emigre close to the British Foreign Office and one of the best-informed correspondents in Europe. If not yet embodied in a formal document, the understanding between these two Powers is complete as to military details. The frequent exchange of military and economic commissions between Japan and Germany during the last three years has not been for purposes of courtesy or mere display. Now that Germany has upset the European apocryphal by marching into the Rhineland and the crisis brought nearer, it is logical that Japan should seek means of correlating its own plans against the Soviet Union more closely with similar arrangements in Europe.

It has become increasingly clear that the Hirota Government is carrying through on all fronts intensive preparations for war in the East while presenting to the world at large a "liberal" and "moderate" front. The Ministry of War in Tokyo on April 6 asked for a "special budget" of \$300,000,000 for the purpose, frankly stated, of strengthening the Japanese military ma-

FACTS ON TAMPA

The Background

Tampa is famous for cigars, gambling and flogging. Labor in the cigar factories and in the surrounding citrus groves is mercilessly exploited. Unemployment is widespread. Relief is pitiful. In Tampa, the unrestrained gambling racket is worth a million dollars a month. As in the rest of Florida, politicians fight each other for the privilege of sharing in the booty. Anyone who tries to buck this combination of capitalists, racketeers and politicians, either by organizing workers—employed or unemployed, or by forming opposition political groups, is branded as a "red," kidnapped, flogged and sometimes murdered. The official flogging agency for the combination is the Ku Klux Klan, a secret band of cowardly, sadistic degenerates unsurpassed by anything Hitler has yet produced. The police and most government officials, high and low, are directly connected with the Klan. Nobody knows how many floggings and murders have taken place. They occur regularly. Their perpetrators have never been punished by law because in Florida the Ku Klux Klan is the law.

The Crime

On the night of Nov. 30, 1935, the constitution-drafting committee of the Modern Democrats met in a private home in Tampa. In spite of any threats, they were going ahead with their plans for a progressive party opposed to the local swindlers. Joseph A. Shoemaker, formerly a member of the Socialist Party, was chairman. Others present were: Eugene F. Poulnot, former president of the Pressmen's Union, A. F. of L., Chairman of the Florida Workers' Alliance and a member of the Socialist Party; Sam D. Rogers, a member of the Socialist Party and an officer of the Florida Workers' Alliance; Walter Roush and Charles E. Jensen, chairman and secretary, respectively, of the Socialist Party of Florida, and John A. McCaskill, a city fireman. Suddenly, without warning and without warrants, seven policemen entered the home, confiscated all papers and arrested the six men present. They were taken to the police station, questioned for "communist" activities and "released" one by one. Roush and Jensen were permitted to return to their homes. McCaskill turned out to be a stool-pigeon. Shoemaker, Poulnot and Rogers

were "released" by the police into waiting cars in front of the police station. They were driven to a lonely spot 14 miles outside of Tampa. There, they were stripped, flogged with chains and whips and covered with hot tar. Shoemaker was tortured and his right leg held over a fire. After nine lingering days, during which time his leg developed gangrene and was amputated, Shoemaker died. The others recovered.

The Protest

When the news leaked out, a roar of protest descended upon Florida—"where life at its best costs less." Thousands of organizations and individuals expressed their horror to the Governor and to Tampa officials. Committees for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa were organized in New York, with Norman Thomas as chairman, and in Tampa, with the Rev. Walter Micalf, pastor of the First Congregational Church, as chairman. Protest meetings were held in Tampa at one of which Norman Thomas addressed 3,000 enraged workers and many thousands more over the radio. President William Green announced that the American Federation of Labor convention would be withdrawn from Tampa unless those guilty were properly punished. It seemed impossible to ignore this act of terrorism as scores of similar acts before it had been ignored. State and county officials were forced to act.

The Indictments

After three weeks of investigating, the arrests began. Within two and one-half months, a series of indictments were returned against eleven policemen and members of the Ku Klux Klan. The indictments were for second degree murder, an assault with the intent to murder, kidnapping, conspiracy to kidnap and accessory after the fact. The information filed on the murder indictment declares that the defendants "with force and arms did unlawfully and by an act imminently dangerous to Joseph Shoemaker and evidencing depraved minds, regardless of human life but without premeditated design to effect the death of Joseph Shoemaker, an assault did make in and upon the body and limbs of Joseph Shoemaker, with deadly weapons, to wit, whips, straps and tar, a fur-

(Continued on Page 4)

Sentence Chambers, Mini, et al.

Calif. Prison Board Sets Sentences for Sacramento Defendants

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., April 10.—The California Board of Prison Terms yesterday set sentence for five of the Sacramento criminal syndicalism prisoners. Pat Chambers, Martin Wilson and Jack Crane were given five years, Albert Hougardy three and a half years, and Norman Mini three years. Both Mini and Hougardy will serve 16 months of this period on parole. Assuming time off for good behavior, since both have already served one year; the two have about four months more to serve in prison.

Of the 18 defendants tried, Caroline Decker, Pat Chambers and Norman Mini were special targets for the prosecution's mendacious wrath. The first two had led the strikes which won \$2,000,000 additional wages in 1933 for the exploited migratory workers of the State. In Mini's case what particularly infuriated Sacramento reactionaries was the spectacle of an educated, intelligent native son spurning all evasions and, in the face of threats and pressure, reaffirming in open court his devotion to the idea of a new social order and a particular road to it. It was because he so defiantly affirmed that "the future belongs to us" that the Sacramento Bee and other reactionary institutions have hounded Mini and the National Sacramento Appeal Committee ever since its creation.

That Mini has, nevertheless, received a relatively short term is a tribute to the effectiveness of the work of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee. Although its activities were all aimed at the setting of minimum terms for all the prisoners, the Board of Prison Terms knew that the N.S.A.C., Mini's chosen representative, spoke for a vastly broader force than did the International Labor Defense, representing the other prisoners. The Board has no desire to prolong the activities of a body which rallied ten International Unions, five State Federations, two-score city central labor bodies and a group of Senators and Congressmen to its support.

Compared with the sentences given the Imperial Valley C.S. prisoners in 1931, the Board has been harsh. The fact that a great reactionary drive is under way, financed—by the State Chamber of Commerce which aims to smash unionism through the C. S. law, underlies this harshness. Many persons expected 7-year terms.

A partial victory has been won, but the fight is not ended. The N.S.A.C. aims to upset the Mini verdict and to fight for the freedom of all the prisoners. The three women in Tehachapi have yet to appear before the Board. Prisoners now denied parole will be eligible for parole later. Even after Mini is free, there will still be prisoners in whom the N.S.A.C. is interested. Pressure must go on, as well as legal moves.

Tribute to Sacramento Committee

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Muste to Speak On April 19th

A. J. Muste, National Secretary of the Workers Party, who has just completed a tour through the mid-west and is at present attending the Unity Convention of the Workers Alliance in Washington, will speak at Germania Hall, 8 P.M. Sunday, April 19. Comrade Muste will speak on present trends in the labor movement, political and economic, dealing particularly with the strike of the Akron rubber workers and the Labor Party ballyhoo of the Communist Party.

Azana Speaks Firmly For Conservative Spain

Loudly Applauded by Stalinists and Monarchists--Cabellero Cautious; Swing to Right Apparent

By ALFREDO ROJAS

The Azana government took another big step to the right this week. On April 4, only eight days before the municipal elections were to be held, Azana issued a decree indefinitely postponing them. The rightists—Monarchists and Catholics—had declared they would abstain from the elections and had called upon Azana to postpone them. This leaves bourgeois-republican majorities, elected in 1931, still in control of the local governments.

Azana's postponement of the elections was preceded the day before by a significant speech by Azana before the Cortes, and which was greeted with praise by all sections of the bourgeoisie and by the Stalinists.

Azana's Speech
The tenor of Azana's speech is summarized by "Ahora," republican daily, as follows:

"The fear that the recent disorders (i.e., strikes and peasant seizures of land) would continue, should be dispelled by Azana's speech. In it he declared, first, that he will go no further than the limits fixed by the electoral pact of the Popular Front; second, that he, heeding the dictates of experience and responsibility, would keep control of the execution of the (electoral) program, which is equivalent to regulating the rhythm, circumstances, possibilities and consequences of it; third, that everything will be done by legal methods and within the law, punishing all who violate it. These statements are satisfactory and reassuring and demonstrate that Azana knows that it is expected of him that

he stop the excesses of the lefts which have resulted in disorders the last few weeks."
For Azana—Monarchists, Stalinists
Jimenez Fernandez, spokesman for the reactionary Catholic Ceda, said: "I support ninety percent of the speech." Gil Robles, after praising Azana's attitude, declared: "I cannot understand how some paragraphs of the speech could have been applauded by the Communists and the extreme Socialists." Even the arch-monarchist, Count Romanones, declared that Azana's speech would undoubtedly facilitate re-establishment of tranquility and calm in "public opinion." Calvo Sotelo, leader of the monarchists, said: "It was the expression of a true conservative. His declaration of respect for the law and the Constitution should make a good impression on public opinion."

The Stalinists were equally fulsome in their praise, the general secretary of the Communist party issuing a statement saying:

"We were pleased with the speech. In Azana we see the (Continued on Page 2)

Croppers Swindled Akron Guild Man Fired

By BLAKE LEAR

AKRON, O.—Branko J. Widick, hard-hitting chairman of the Ohio district of the American Newspaper Guild and leading militant of the Akron Beacon-Journal unit of the Guild, was summarily fired on April 4.

The action came as the first blow of the industrial reaction after the recent Goodyear strike, and preceded by four days the opening of negotiations between the publishers of the Beacon-Journal, the Times-Press and the Guild unit.

Widick has a fine record in the labor movement. He was instrumental in organizing Ohio for the Guild, and was a leading advocate of affiliation with the A. F. of L. On Thursday preceding the company's action Widick spoke before the C. L. U. on the Hearst-Guild strike in Milwaukee.

As a consequence of his record, the C.L.U. has indicated its support of the move for his reinstatement. Powers Hapgood of the C. I. O. addressed the Beacon-Journal unit on the Widick case.

Sherman Dalrymple of the United Rubber Workers, and Wilmer Tate, president of the Central Labor Union, are throwing the weight of their organizations solidly behind Widick.

The charge against Widick is "incompetence," but the real reason obviously lies in his pro-labor activity. As was observed, "at the time in Akron labor union circles, 'If it took three years to discover that Widick is incompetent, charges ought to be preferred against the publisher instead!'"

Akron is recognized as one of the strongest Guild centers in Ohio. This has come about largely through the efforts of Widick together with other progressives in the Akron organizations.

It is openly admitted that the attack on Widick, if successful, will be a heavy blow to the Guild here. In view of the fact that Akron is the main spring of the Ohio organizational campaign of the Guild, the successful conclusion of this attack will seriously menace the life of the Ohio Guild.

Labor circles generally and especially the rubber workers recognize this a blow to the A. F. of L. The National Office of the Newspaper Guild has also stressed the importance of this case.

(Continued on Page 4)

March on Capitol Is Last Act

Johnson's Rump Convention Folds Up--A Fiasco

Uniting three separate and oft-time warring organizations the organized unemployed are now concluding their business in the nation's capital by creating the most powerful fighting machine the million-headed jobless have seen since the crisis began.

With the Workers Alliance, the National Unemployed League and the unemployed councils merged into one cohesive body, the unity convention will wind up its stay in Washington with a mass demonstration around the White House and the Capitol.

More than a thousand workers, representing a force of unemployed some 200 times their number are expected to take part in the planned march which will protest the scheduled layoff of over 700,000 WPA workers. They will demand job and social insurance and a 6 billion dollar appropriation for relief.

N U L Well Represented

At this writing with details not yet available, representatives to the National Executive Board of the United Workers Alliance of America are being selected in caucus by the various participating organizations for ratification by the convention.

Preliminary reports indicate that the National Unemployed League, which merged with the WAA prior to the opening of the convention was represented by close to 150 delegates, coming from their battle grounds of struggle in Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia and other parts of the country.

Rump Convention Fizzles

The rump convention of the NUL organized by Arnold Johnson, Stalinist stooge, proved to be a complete fizzle. With hardly as many delegates as can be counted on the fingers of your hands, this "convention" had to abandon the pretext of representing the NUL. We learn from a Daily Worker Washington dispatch that the traitor Johnson has been placed on the Executive Board slate as an "independent" from Kentucky (!). Placing Johnson as a "representative" from Kentucky, which the real NUL was unable to contact, the Stalinists have confessed failure to realize their wretched scheme to capture the NUL by a too-elephant maneuver. The leagues throughout the country quickly realized that Johnson was acting in their midst as an agent of the Unemployed Councils, and sabotaging unity in the interest of the latter, turned a deaf ear to his appeals and convention calls.

Ted Selander and Anthony Ramaglia, former officers of the NUL, were speakers at the convention. Ramaglia came to the convention fresh from the picket lines of the Lehigh County WPA strike. Selander, whose name is intimately associated with the famous Auto-Lite strike of Toledo, spoke to the assembled delegates on the community of interests between unemployed, describing the cooperation rendered striking workers by the leagues in his district.

Militant Note in Speeches

Other speakers included Ray Cooke of New Jersey, who led a demonstration of unemployed into the legislature of his state where they presented their demands in an emphatic manner; Charles Rossio of the Illinois Workers Alliance which includes thousands of jobless miners in its ranks, W. K. Patrick, one of the 1932 bonus marchers and others from Maine to the Golden Gate.

The militant note struck by the orator-delegates, the applause which greeted all fighting proposals to advance the interests of the jobless, including a resolution for a mass hunger march of 50,000 to Washington this summer presages a great future for the new organization.

A complete account and analysis of the sessions, resolutions and work of the convention will be given in the next issue of the New Militant by our reporters.

AMERICAN LABOR AT A GLANCE

(From Northwest Organizer)
By FARRELL DOBBS

The most pleasant surprise experienced by the Local 574 committee which was sent east to visit the national leaders of the industrial union movement was to learn of the popular national support which 574 enjoys. Wherever we called—and we talked with many important labor figures—we found that the General Drivers' Union was known and admired. All inquired not about what we have done—this they knew—but what the union intended to do next. They expressed satisfaction with our account of the present healthy condition of 574 and its excellent prospects.

In every big industrial center we found the workers and the progressive union leaders in very good spirits. All are highly enthused over the new possibilities of effective union organization now opening up for them through the strong movement for industrial unionism. Every sincere, intelligent leader and the overwhelming majority of the workers in the heavy industries are completely convinced of the ridiculousness of craft unionism. They tell you convincing stories to show that their beliefs are not based on pure theory.

Craft Unionism Disastrous

A union is created in a steel plant, an automobile factory, a rubber plant—it matters not where, for the story is the same. All the workers band together in one embracing unit. They prepare to do battle with the employers, to fight for higher wages, shorter hours, a decent living. Then, on the eve of action, the craft union officials sweep down with their paper claims of jurisdiction, their program of division. It matters not that they have been unable to organize in these plants. They pose, motionless, like birds of prey, until they see a good opportunity, and then they swoop down for the kill. It is a sorry sight that they leave in their wake. They gain a few members for the various crafts, but most of the workers are driven back into the ranks of the unorganized, embittered by the experience.

The bosses seize the chance and intensify their anti-union campaign. Active unionists are fired. No organization remains to defend them. The cloak of a special "labor board," which the government has obligingly provided for the craft union officials, quickly proves its impotence. The union is gone and with it the rights of the workers. We were shown the spot where a year ago the Akron rubber workers made a huge bonfire of union cards after such an experience.

But now the whole picture is changing. Hope has taken the place of despair. "Get these craft union leeches off our backs," say the workers in the basic industries, "give us a free hand to organize industrially, and we will show the world a union movement the likes of which has never before been seen."

Workers Want Action

And these are not mere words. Beginning with a series of sit-down strikes, the workers in the Good-year plant at Akron have shattered the fetters which restrained them, and, swarming to the picket lines by the thousands, they have demonstrated the value of industrial organization combined with militant struggle. Nobody scabbed on a craft union card in this strike.

Southern Illinois Unions Back Kroger Strike

BELLEVILLE, Ill. Southern Illinois and Missouri union men, assembled in conference, were aflame with anger at the treatment accorded St. Louis warehouse workers, whose strike against the Kroger Grocery and Baking Co. extends over an unbroken period of five months, by C.C. Coulter of the International Retail Clerks. Their resentment was expressed in renewed and vigorous support.

45 delegates from 24 unions, unemployed and fraternal organizations and over a hundred fraternal delegates and visitors heard a report from Oscar T. Wiles, secretary of Warehouse Union 667 and unanimously decided to broaden the anti-Kroger boycott movement, to prepare for a general strike movement in St. Louis and to further aid the strike by soliciting strike funds.

Wiles' Report

In a stirring speech, punctuated by vigorous applause, Wiles reviewed the long, hard-fought struggle of local 667. He reviewed the rise of the union under NRA, the attack made on it by the employers, the resistance of the workers and the outbreak of the strike on Nov. 6, 1935. One hundred and forty-six men manned the picket lines and kept the strike going, battling two detective agencies, the Pinkerton and the Ahner, and the steady importation of scabs and strike-breakers. Kroger's best ally has not been the detective agencies, however, but the leader of the In-

574 Leader Gives His Impressions of Industrial Union Movement in the East

One union for all and all on the picket line. The craft union leaders would have liked very much to pluck this union, but they did not dare. All eyes were on this strike. The lessons to be drawn from this action would have been too obvious.

The strike of the building service workers in New York is a second example. Here again the sweep of the movement was tremendous. The strike spread like wildfire. Elevator operators, caretakers, janitors, over one hundred thousand workers fighting as one, and fighting very effectively, against the real estate czars.

The craft unionists do not like these manifestations; they do not like the zest with which the workers take to the ideas of industrial unionism; they do not like the manner in which the workers apply the power which is theirs when they are organized industrially. But the workers do like it; they have enjoyed the thrill of the first taste; they hunger for more. The craft unionists are finally beginning to understand that they are sitting on a powder keg. The discovery has shocked them deeply.

"Rule or Ruin"

The craft union controlled Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has ordered the Committee for Industrial Organization to dissolve. The C.I.O. has refused. What action will the Executive Council take at its next session? Will it expel the International Unions affiliated with the C.I.O.? This is very doubtful. As a matter of fact, the order to dissolve was issued to the C.I.O. only with great reluctance on the part of most of the members of the Executive Council. Not because of any sympathy they might have for industrial unionism, but because they were well aware that the demand would meet with refusal, that their bluff would be called, had to be called, by the C.I.O.

Daniel J. Tobin came into the Miami session of the Council with his usual self-centered, narrow-minded, hard-boiled attitude. He demanded the immediate expulsion from the A. F. of L. of the affiliates of the C.I.O. (Tobin, the charter revoker, who probably still thinks that 574 is smashed because he revoked its charter. 574 has done better without him than it ever did with him. The A. F. of L. will probably some day enjoy the same pleasant experience.) There are other Tobins in the Council who also believe in "rule or ruin," who are drunk with imaginary power—Hutchinson of the carpenters, for example. They support him. The slightly more intelligent of the craft unionists opposed this program. They understood better than Tobin the weakness of their position. The order issued was a poor compromise which will return to haunt them at the next session of the Executive Council. There will be much bluster and tall talk, but their efforts to "purge" the C.I.O. will be as ineffective as were Meyer Lewis' efforts to "purge" 574.

Another development in the fight at the top is the quiet, unadvertised and methodical manner in which the International Unions are paying per capita tax to the A. F. of L. on additional members. It has long been a recognized custom for International Unions to pay a tax on only part of their membership. Even Tobin that

great exponent of the sanctity of per capita tax, has followed this practice. Voting strength in the A. F. of L. convention is based on the paid-up membership of the International Unions. Hence the campaign to pay in for every possible member. There is a vital issue at stake; the jobs of the craft union office holders vs. the welfare of the workers of America. Every vote counts.

Role of the C.I.O.

To properly understand the role of the Committee for Industrial Organization, we must first recognize the background of the committee members. None of these men can boast of a clear record of progressivism. Some of their past actions are downright reactionary, and to say the least, undemocratic. This is a matter of record. True, they are now supporting a progressive cause: the movement for industrial unionism. But their prime motive is one of personal ambition.

The members of the C.I.O. have one distinct advantage over their fellow officeholders, the craft unionists: they have been able to correctly estimate the mood of the working masses. They realize that the workers are determined to have industrial unionism, that they will sooner or later unseat every leader who stands in the way of this objective. Understanding this, the members of the C.I.O. have declared themselves for the industrial form of organization. They are assuming the leadership of this movement in a cautious and hesitant manner. They stand with one foot firmly planted on the old; with the other foot they feel gingerly about for a safe place to implant themselves in the new.

Many workers look upon the C.I.O. as a messiah. There is a strong tendency to render it blind allegiance. This is a dangerous attitude which can very well detract in a large measure from the ultimate gains to be made through industrial unionism. We need something more than industrial unions. We need a democratic freedom of action to apply the power which this form of organization creates.

Craft Union Blocks Shirt Workers' Organization

By ALBERT DANE

PHILA., Pa.—The men's shirt industry is the most sweat-soaked industry in the country. It is in these factories in the coal mining sections of Pennsylvania and in the South, in particular, that pay envelopes were as low as \$4, and less, a week, before the N.R.A. Since the N.R.A.'s demise these low wages naturally have retpped.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers in 1933, then not affiliated to the A. F. of L., started a campaign to organize the shirt workers on a national scale. The workers eagerly responded to the Amalgamated wherever it went and by 1935 it had entered practically every shirt factory district and organized most of the shops. The one area it left for last was the Philadelphia district, which is the biggest shirt factory production center with the possible exception of Troy, New York.

The Amalgamated had entered Philadelphia at the start of the campaign but selected the strongest factory as the first for organization and lost a drawn-out, violent strike. This probably made it change its tactics to organizing the small town factories first.

Amalgamated Progress

When the Amalgamated entered Philadelphia again about eight months ago, with a big staff of organizers and plenty of money, it was a member of the A. F. of L. This A. F. of L. affiliation is important because the U. G., the United Garment Workers, which had original jurisdiction in the A. F. of L. over the shirt workers, had signed an agreement with the Amalgamated to avoid such a jurisdictional quarrel, one part of which said that the Amalgamated could organize any dress shirt area (the Amalgamated had first right in organizing the work-shirt factories) which the U. G., for whatever reason it had, would not try organizing.

The U. G., a disintegrating organization, made no attempt to organize any area and so the Amalgamated had the shirt industry for itself.

From the very start of the campaign in Philadelphia the response was gratifying and it looked as though all the bosses would capitulate without much of a fight.

When the A. F. of L. convention ended, as rumor has it, a Mr. Polson, organizer for the U. G. in Philadelphia, received a telegram from his President to "shoot the works."—in other words to smash the Amalgamated campaign and, if possible, get the workers in the U. G.

"Organizing" with Bosses Aid
Whether this rumor is true or not, the effect was the same. Despite the promise from the Amalgamated that it could organize the

The workers should support the C.I.O. in its stand for industrial unionism, but, at the same time, they must constantly put forward demands for the elimination of the machine control which now exists in the A. F. of L. and the restoration of true democracy in the local unions.

Our long conversation with John Brophy, director of the C.I.O., gave us a very comprehensive picture of the present activities of this group. The principal work of the committee is confined to the educational field. Books, pamphlets, news releases and editorials sent to labor editors, speeches, and other mediums of expression are being used to clarify the issues throughout the national labor movement. The C.I.O. has not, however, taken the initiative in solidifying the industrial union groups in the various industrial centers and co-ordinating the movement on a national basis.

As yet the strong feeling of the workers is only a seething ferment, evidencing itself in sporadic heat lightning, which give warning of the impending storm. Organized action to rid the movement of the evils of craft unionism is yet to come.

Through the medium of its participating International Unions, the C. I. O. has lent aid and direction to the local unions in important strikes; a notable example is the Akron rubber strike. The proposals to organize the steel industry put forward by the C.I.O. proved a great embarrassment to the craft unionists.

On the other hand, the craft unionist Executive Council has set about a deliberate campaign to eliminate the Federal Unions. This type of local was created in an attempt to forestall industrial unionism. It has since become a staunch supporter of and a potential springboard for the industrial union movement. Federal Union charters are no longer issued. The Federal Unions are being dissolved into the craft Internationals wherever this can be done. These charters are being revoked on a wholesale basis on the slightest pretext.

Philadelphia area without the U. G.'s interference, this Mr. Polson went around to all the bosses, told them the Amalgamated was a radical organization, and would make excessive demands and strike to get them; and in order to keep the Amalgamated out for good, the workers would join the union, as nothing but a union could satisfy them.

The bosses, seeing his logic, permitted him to enter the cutting rooms (being a craft union official he only sought the cutters and, incidentally, without them no strike could be successfully called by the rest of the workers) where he made speeches denouncing the Amalgamated and told them it was foolish to stick to it, as the bosses would never recognize that union but would recognize his organization which was "responsible and sensible." Those workers who balked were called into the office of the boss and threatened with the loss of their job.

Naturally the workers joined, particularly because the Amalgamated had strangely failed them. All the Amalgamated did was to tell the workers to remain loyal to it, but if their jobs were thereby jeopardized they should sign up with the U. G. The workers did not hesitate to follow this advice, especially because the Amalgamated O.K'd it, which they figured foolishly was a clever maneuver by the Amalgamated, and also because they got a \$2 raise (but that was all the U. G. got them in improved working conditions).

Polson Finishes His Work

Polson then went around to several other shops and put the fear of the Amalgamated in the hearts of the bosses and by showing the agreements of the other shops to the cutters, made them feel it was useless to fight the U. G. and the boss alone.

The Amalgamated soon left town with the lame alibi that if it continued organizational work, the rest of the shops would be forced by the bosses into the U. G., and it didn't wish to organize for the U. G.

The bosses in the other shops did not even bother to get their workers into the U. G., as it would mean a raise of \$2 to all the cutters. Polson did not object, probably because he was already so well rewarded for his efforts.

With the Amalgamated definitely gone and the U. G. rejected by the workers, the only perspective of the cutters, who should enlist the support of the operators, pressers, etc. in their shops, should be one of individual shop organization, and of striking when strong enough. In that way the Amalgamated help can be demanded, as it could not claim then that the workers are not assuredly behind it.

The very air is charged with a feeling of impending change. Events are moving at a rapid pace. The next period will see many significant happenings. Labor is preparing, in its gigantic, lumbering way, for a tremendous stride forward. Local 574 can look ahead with complete confidence. We are on the side of progress.

Azana Speech Conservative

(Continued from Page 1)
firm intention of carrying out the People's Front pact, and the Communists will loyally support him throughout (en todo momento)."

This is true enough: the Stalinist "Mundo Obrero" has been more lavish with praise of Azana than even the government's own papers dare to be.

Largo Caballero, whose strength in the Socialist Party rests on the growing Left Wing, was wiser than the Stalinists. Asked to comment on Azana's speech, he reserved decision: "It's much too soon to give an opinion on the speech." When Azana, twenty-four hours later, called off the municipal elections, Caballero, speaking the next day to the Young Socialist meeting in Madrid, in a speech bristling with revolutionary phraseology, served notice on Azana that if his government does not solve the political and economic problems, "the road will remain open" for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Caballero declared that the Azana government will not solve the problems "easily." Azana was right, said Caballero, in terming his government the last bulwark for the defense of the right of the bourgeoisie, and that the government could not rule by cannons and soldiers.

At every step of Azana against the masses, Caballero delivers himself of such "left" oratory, but takes no action toward breaking with the bourgeois-republicans. So far, this has enabled him to ride the wave of undoubtedly genuine revolutionary feeling which animates the Socialist ranks, especially the youth. But other leaders, with a more consistently militant position, like Javier Bueno, Socialist leader of the Asturian rebellion, are being heard more and more by the Socialist masses.

Threats of a split by the Right Wing Socialists, led by Indalecio Prieto, are reported by the conservative republican organ, "Ya," which states that Prieto and twenty other deputies plan to unite with the left Republicans. The split, it states, will take place before the Socialist convention, which takes place in June in Asturias. "Ya" says that Prieto considers himself "virtually expelled from the party" because Spanish socialism is transforming itself into revolutionary communism. Since the Right Wing Socialists actually have a majority at present on the National Executive Committee, and control the daily "El Socialista," Prieto's threats are undoubtedly merely a maneuver to scare into line wavering elements who are impressed by the growing strength of Left wing sentiment in the ranks.

Stalinists, Right wing Socialists and the bourgeois republicans joined together to peddle to the masses as an extraordinary and significant victory the ousting of President Zamora, which had been a foregone conclusion after the February elections. Under the Spanish constitution, the President has no power comparable to that of the American, or the German under the Weimar republic. He is similar to the French president. Zamora has been succeeded by Martinez-Barrios, who was elected Speaker of the Cortes by almost unanimous vote, including the rightist deputies.

The American Daily Worker, which receives the United Press service, suppressed the full U.P. dispatches describing Azana's speech and its friendly reception by the rightists and Stalinists. Their only story this week on Spain was one hailing the ousting of Zamora.

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Ferrero-Sallito Denied Writ By Federal Court Judge

After two months of procrastination, Judge Francis G. Caffey of the Federal District Court of the Southern District of New York finally handed down his reactionary decision in denying an application for a writ of habeas corpus by Vincent Ferrero and Dominick Sallito. The hearing was held on Feb. 4, 1936, and the decision was not rendered until March 26, 1936. In the meantime the two defendants have been imprisoned in Ellis Island. Immediate steps have now been taken by the Ferrero-Sallito Defense Conference for an appeal, and for obtaining the release of the two innocent men on bail pending action on their appeal.

The case has aroused widespread protest in labor and liberal circles, partly because of the openly antagonistic attitude taken by the U. S. Department of Labor in this case. The men were first arrested in San Francisco in April, 1934, on trumped-up charges, and taken before a minor functionary of the District Office of the Department of Labor. This official, acting as prosecutor, judge and jury all in one, after a perfunctory "hearing" on practicality no evidence, ordered the defendants deported. The action caused immediate protest by labor elements who formed the Ferrero-Sallito Defense Conference in various sections of the country.

Nation-wide Protest

Thousands of protest letters, telephone calls and personal communications from all over the country have swept in to the immigration and labor authorities from such outstanding organizations and individuals as the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign-Born, the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the I. W. W., the International Labor Defense, the League for Industrial Democracy, The Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the Workers' Alliance, the Workmen's Circle, many central trades and labor bodies in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cleveland, Toledo and elsewhere, labor unions representing musicians, bakers, railroad trainmen, painters, teachers, cement workers, cooks and waiters, textile workers, furriers, jewelry workers, pocket-book workers, carpenters, etc., and Norman Thomas, John L. Lewis, Tom Mooney, A. F. Whitney, David Dubinsky, Joseph Schlossberg, Heywood Brown, Kirby Page, Upton Sinclair, Albert Sprague Coolidge, Robert Lovett, Roger Baldwin, and hundreds of others.

The attitude of the Department of Labor authorities is clearly shown in the following excerpts from a letter by Edward W. Cahill, District Commissioner of Immigration in San Francisco, referring to the Ferrero-Sallito case, addressed to Commissioner D. W. McCormack in October 1935:

Peoples Front John Bull Model

In its sharp turn toward collaboration with the Labour Party, the British C. P. finds it necessary to concentrate a sharp fire against the I.L.P., particularly because of the latter's position on sanctions and the imperialist war. Lacking for arguments, the Stalinists have to resort to invective. Thus, at a meeting at City Hall at Glasgow on January 26, William Gallagher flung an "annihilating" charge against the I.L.P. It appears that Maxton and Buchanan are continually in the company of Tory M. P.'s and refuse to associate with Labour M.P.'s. Gallagher further charged that on the day of the Hoare-Laval debate, Maxton "had his hands on the shoulders of two Tory members." No more, no less!

John McGovern, M.P., retorted with "a hard hitting reply" in the February 14 issue of the New Leader. Says he, "Such an attack demands a forthright reply. Gallagher has asked for it, and he shall have it." And McGovern proceeds to list the following facts:

1) Harry Pollitt appeared on the platform at Edinburgh with the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, Mr. Guy, M.P. (Tory K. C.) and Sir Archibald Sinclair, M.P., the Liberal leader and landowner of 23,000 acres.

2) Mr. Maisky, the Soviet ambassador, was chatting with the Prince of Wales on his right side, and Signor Grandi (Fascist ambassador of Italy on his left side—in the gallery of the House of Commons on the day of the Hoare-Laval debate, the same day on which Maxton was observed in a compromising embrace with two Tories. Adds McGovern, "They (the trio in the gallery) appeared to be enjoying themselves immensely."

3) McGovern reveals another state secret in telling that Gallagher himself had asked Maxton "to speak to Tories and Liberals to get a requisition signed for the purpose of having the Daily Worker in the library of the House of Commons; and even secured the signature of Mr. Marcus Samuel, M.P., secretary of the anti-Socialist Anti-Communist Union."

4) He furthermore charges that

"Some of the newspapers out here are calling frequently inquiring as to whether or not there has been a final decision on these cases. There are also a number of civic organizations showing unusual interest in the two cases. . . Should they succeed in overcoming the order of deportation, we shall have to be prepared to take it on the chin, as the publicity will be very much against our department."

Sec'y Perkins "Has No Authority"

In reply to the demand of a delegation from the Conference that she review the cases of Ferrero and Sallito and intervene in their behalf, Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, wrote the Conference as follows on February, 1936:

"In reply, you are advised that the two aliens named have been ordered deported under the provision of law which requires such action where it is found that an alien belongs to any one of certain specified groups believing in the overthrow of organized government or advocating measures having that end in view. Where charges of this nature are found to be sustained by the evidence, the Secretary of Labor has no authority under existing law to avert deportations."

So flimsy was the so-called "evidence" submitted in Sallito's case, that after the hearing had been closed, the record was sent back from Washington with a request for more convincing evidence. Whereupon these stool-pigeon inspectors of the Labor Department called another hearing and calmly introduced into Sallito's record excerpts taken from the record of another case.

Such is the "evidence" which Madame Perkins is willing to accept as a basis for deporting workers to Mussolini's Fascist dungeons.

The Italian Fascist government has asked to be notified when Ferrero and Sallito are to be deported. Every worker who knows what is going on in Italy today will realize what this means.

Help Defend Ferrero and Sallito!

The Ferrero and Sallito case involves the freedom of expression and association which is a life and death necessity for all workers in their struggles. Every worker and every labor organization should rally solidly behind the Defense Conference. Get your organization, your union, your cooperative, your club, to send delegates to the meetings of the Ferrero-Sallito Defense Conference in your vicinity. In New York, at the offices of the Joint Board of the I.L.G.W.U., 218 West 40th Street, every Monday night at 8:30; in Philadelphia at 415 South 19th Street, Community with the Secretary at P. O. Box 181, Station D. New York, N. Y., for information concerning the Defense Conference meetings and activities in Cleveland, Chicago and San Francisco.

Peoples Front John Bull Model

during the Scottish Hunger March Gallagher who was sent to Edinburgh, remained hidden in his room.

5) Next, in Gallagher's election address, the latter also preferred to remain incognito. He never mentioned that he was a Communist candidate nor did he even mention the word Socialism. Comments the late McGovern, "It was the poorest document I have ever seen and could have been issued by any Liberal."

McGovern then asks Gallagher some very embarrassing questions: 1) What have you to say about all that, comrade Gallagher? 2) Why did you, Gallagher refuse to vote for the right of the unemployed agricultural worker to receive the ordinary unemployed benefit, when the bill was presented to the House?

3) "What do Gallagher and Pollitt have to say about Maisky and Litvinov's part in the late King's funeral and their presence at dinner with the new King at Buckingham Palace?"

Adds McGovern, "The truth is that they dare not criticize these Russian representatives, because they are their bosses and paymasters."

In short, Gallagher asked for it, and he got it!

GUILD STRIKE SOLID

MILWAUKEE, Wis., Apr. 7.—Striking editorial workers of the Wisconsin News and hundreds of their supporters from the ranks of labor will stage a mass demonstration at 8 P.M. Friday in front of the News building. It will be the first night demonstration at the News building during the strike, which is now in its eighth week.

The Milwaukee Newspaper Guild will be host to all Milwaukee newspapers at a party at 10 P.M. Saturday at the Hotel Schroeder. There will be a midnight supper. Heywood Brown, national president of the guild, will be speaker. Brown will appear in the district court here Monday with five other persons arrested during a mass demonstration a few weeks ago. Brown is charged with resisting an officer.

J. Nash McCrea, strike chairman, and Jonathan Eddy, national secretary, returned from the Twin Cities where the guild pledged \$400 more for the strike fund. The Twin Cities guild has already given \$500.

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

America Plans for War

The outcome of modern war depends on the home front as much if not more than on the battle front. The availability of resources at the beginning of, and during a war, and the level of the technical productive forces are vital matters that enter into all the plans and preparations of the General Staffs. Thus one large section of the United States War Department has as its task the keeping of up-to-the-minute files of statistics and technical information on every raw material and commodity that enters into military use, either directly or indirectly. These Commodity Files show the annual needs of the country, both civilian and military, the sources of supply, the stocks on hand in warehouses and in factories, the possibilities for quick expansion of production, the available substitutes in case of shortage. Where certain materials necessitate importing from abroad, particularly from South America, the navy is assigned the duty in advance of keeping the sea lanes open to protect the ships delegated to carry these materials. The war office keeps a watchful eye on the stocks on hand so as not to be caught with a shortage of some strategic commodity on the outbreak of war. Naturally in carrying out this phase of its imperialist duties, the War Department is in close touch with the capitalists who control the supplies, with the trusts and combines.

The news of the embargo on export of tin scrap is an indication of the mutual helpfulness of this intimate relationship. At the outbreak of war certain factories will be immediately mobilized according to prearranged plan to start production of military supplies. These strategic plants are naturally subsidized and given every assistance in time of peace.

DETINING AND WAR

Tin is not an essential or "strategic" commodity. It is more a convenience in modern life than a necessity. Substitutes could easily be found for tin in the food industries and in the manufacture of automobiles. It seems strange, at first sight, therefore, that Secretary of State Hull in his capacity as Secretary of the National Munitions Control Board, should have seen fit to endorse the protest of two detinning firms and place an embargo on export of scrap tin for three months, to be followed by licensing of such exports. The Vulcan Detinning Co. of Sewaren, N. J., and the Mutual and Thermo Co. of N. Y., the two major producers of tin from scrap, claim that the running of their business profitably is being threatened by Japan's extraordinary purchases of scrap metal here. Therefore, in conformity with the War Department plan for mobilization of industry in time of war, Hull took quick action. Evidently the war

department wishes to maintain these plants. But it would be quite incorrect to assume that the only reason is to assure a supply of tin for the war. That is a relatively minor purpose. The real motive must be sought in the process of detinning, in the chemicals formed during the process of recovering tin from scrap. This process uses chlorine in considerable quantities. Chlorine is one of the elements that enter into the production of certain of the poison gases. The tetrachloride of tin, one of the chemicals produced, is used in explosives to produce a concealing smoke, and is also used in producing glares. It is for these purposes that the war department is anxious to keep going these detinning plants, and not for the tin primarily. Of course tin enters into the making of all Babbitt bearings which are so essential to all machinery, particularly on ships and in mechanized warfare. But Bolivia is a source of tin that is under the direct control of the United States navy, a source that could not possibly be closed to American imperialism in wartime. No, it is poison gases and the materials for producing glares and concealing smokes that motivate Hull and Roosevelt.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

Precisely because war involves the utmost need of technical preparation, the careful planning of the complete industrial life of the nation, it takes a number of years for a country to build up the stocks necessary and to see that the plant equipment is adequate. The United States today is engaged in these technical preparations, just as is every other power. The rivalries, the competition for markets and colonies, the need for expansion on the part of each national branch of capitalism, have reached the explosive point. The capitalist world is on a volcano ready to blow up and to destroy civilization. The workers of all countries will be the victims of imperialist war. Such wars have as their aim the bolstering-up of a decaying and tottering capitalism. The capitalists aim to maintain the system of exploitation of the working class at home by extending their field of operation to other lands and to other peoples. If workers once learn that such wars are aimed just as much at them as at the "enemy" abroad by the home capitalists, then all the technical preparations of the war mongers and their military servants will come to naught. For in the final analysis, the primary and absolutely essential productive force is the man-power of the worker himself. The capitalists can conduct war only so long as they can successfully suppress the militant working class, only so long as the proletariat is forcibly prevented from taking the means of production out of the hands of the exploiters and into its own.

Tokyo-Berlin Alliance

(Continued from Page 1)

(2) Tokyo, preparing to bring renewed pressure on Nanking, once more circulated the report that a Soviet-Nanking pact was likewise in the offing.

There has never been any basis for previous Japanese reports of similar rumor and the sharp denials issued at Nanking and Moscow on this occasion can be taken at their face value. Japan still stands too solidly athwart the path of possible Sino-Soviet rapprochement. The present regime at Nanking is committed to a policy of capitulation to Japan and there is no sign that it is prepared to swerve from that orientation. The Nanking government, or any other similar Kuomintang regime, will tread the dangerous path of resistance to Japan only when it is assured of powerful support from the outside, preferably from other imperialist powers, primarily Britain and the United States.

Offer to Liquidate Red Army

The new turn of the Stalinist party in China, the offer to liquidate completely the peasant Red armies and to suspend entirely all revolutionary struggle within the country (if it can), represents an attempt on the part of the Soviet bureaucracy to find possible allies in Nanking or in other sections of the Chinese bourgeoisie.

For such is the nature of all Stalinist pacts. There would not nor could be any objection to a Soviet pact with Nanking or any other bourgeois government if required by the diplomatic and strategic interests of the Soviet Union. But the Stalinist *quid pro quo* is always the suspension of the class struggle in order to conciliate the bourgeois ally. That is, Stalinism— which rests on the theory of socialism in one country—establishes a contradiction between the interests of the international proletariat and the supposed interests of the Soviet Union, a contradiction which in the end has always proven fatal for both, a fact which the "realists" in Moscow cannot understand. As they have done in Czechoslovakia and in

France, as they will seek to do tomorrow (indeed, already today!) in the United States, the Stalinists now seek to do in China.

The Treaty Myth

But in any event, this process has not gone as far as actual contact between Nanking and Moscow. Nanking is Tokyo's vassal and too subject to Tokyo's pressure, especially at the present time. The Japanese circulate such reports only to use them as a lever to press Nanking harder for the concessions it demands.

On the very day of the Tokyo report of a Nanking-Soviet agreement, Nanking forwarded a protest against the Soviet-Mongolian pact of mutual assistance, claiming that it infringed Chinese sovereignty. Moscow replied on April 8 with an attempt to justify the pact in terms of the Sino-Soviet treaty of 1924 in which Chinese sovereignty over Outer Mongolia was specifically recognized. That clause of the treaty has been rendered inoperative by the Mongolians themselves, who established their own independent regime. We would refer Chinese claims of sovereignty to Unga—but Moscow, you see, is committed to the insane notion of the "inviolability of pacts" so the myth of 1924 has to be repeated in 1936.

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged

THE MILITANT

Published weekly by the New Militant Publishing Co., 55 East 11th St., N. Y. C. Phone: ALgon 4-9058. Entered as second class mail matter at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

JAMES P. CANNON: Editor
Subscription rates: In the United States \$1.00 per year; 65c per six months; Canada and foreign \$1.50 per year; \$1.00 six months. Bundle rates: Two cents per copy
Vol. 2, No. 14 (Whole No. 66)
SATURDAY, APRIL 11, 1936
READ THE NEW MILITANT

THE ELECTORAL PACT

Full Text of the People's Front Agreement in Spain for the Elections to the Cortes

Editor's Note: In response to many requests for the full text of the Spanish electoral pact, we publish it below as translated from *El Socialista* (Jan. 16, 1936), organ of the Socialist Party of Spain. All remarks in parentheses are editorial comment, not contained in the pact, but which will facilitate the understanding of the reader. Only material in quotation marks is directly quoted, but the rest is carefully summarized.

The pact begins with a few sentences that the undersigned organizations retain their own principles but agree on the following measures as necessary to "public peace":

I.

1. Amnesty for all political offenses after November 1933, and "those of a similar character," not released by the April, 1934 amnesty.

2. Public functionaries (municipal and provincial officials) fired or suspended for political reasons to be returned to their jobs; workers fired from public utilities, railroads (bank of Spain and other institutions and industries in which the government holds shares or has a voice), and from public services (refers notably to the postoffice where many were fired after a strike) shall be reinstated; and all those unjustly fired in private industries shall have their rights protected by the labor boards. (Though the clause referring to private industry is weaker than those preceding it, apparently private industry followed the rest in reinstating the workers.)

3. Laws to be passed, granting adequate reparations to families of victims of revolutionary events (those killed in October, 1934) or "victims of illegal acts of the public authority and the police."

II.

1. The constitution to be re-established; all violations of it to be revised. The law governing elections to the tribunal of guarantees (the Supreme Court, which is elected by an intricate system which gives undue weight to universities and the upper classes) shall be revised so as to prevent that the defense of the constitution from falling into the hands of those contrary to the regime.

2. Laws necessary to implement the constitution shall be passed, especially the municipal and provincial regulations as provided for in the constitution (local government). Reform of the rules and regulations of the procedure of the Cortes (not clear for what purpose).

3. "The principle of authority is declared in all its vigor but its exercise is bound up with full recognition of the principles of liberty and justice." Revision of the law of public order (the laws which empower the government to quickly institute state of alarm, state of siege, and martial law) to avoid "abusive uses" of it (i.e., don't drag out martial law too long!).

4. Reorganization of the courts "to free them from the weights of social hierarchy, tradition and economic privilege." "Justice, once reorganized, shall be given the independence that the constitution lays down. Civil procedure shall be simplified. Speed up the civil courts and increase their power; and greater protection for defendants in criminal cases; cut down special privileges (such as freedom of guards from civil courts, prosecution of civilians assaulting guards in military courts, etc.). Prisons "shall be humanized and bad treatment done away with; no arbitrary solitary confinement."

5. Police abuses under the reaction to be investigated to place responsibility; guilt shall be determined and punished. Commanding officers to be re-examined and all those guilty of abuse or political prejudice to be dismissed. Reorganization of the guards (vigliancia) with officials loyal to the regime. (This section deals with abuses from November 1933 to February, 1936.)

6. In future, grave punishments for officials who abuse their power.

III.

"The Republicans do not accept the principle of the nationalization of the land and its free distribution to the peasants, solicited by the delegates of the Socialist Party. They (the Republicans) consider desirable the following measures which are aimed at the redemption of the peasant and the medium and small farmer, not only because it (the land program) is justice, but because it constitutes the strongest basis for national economic reconstruction":

IV.

1. Measures to help the direct farmer ("cultivador directo," apparently the farmer, peasant, or landworker indiscriminately, only differentiating them from the non-working landowner); lowering of taxes and tributes; special attention to the repression of usury; lowering of abusive rents; increase of agricultural credits; re-valori-

zation of the products of the land, especially of wheat and other cereals (in Spain, the government fixes the price of wheat); adopting measures for the elimination of the middleman; doing away with the agreements (confabulaciones) among the millers; and stimulation of the export of agricultural products (this last is bait for the small landowning farmers of the Mediterranean coast, who depend on export of olives, grapes, etc.).

2. As measures to improve the condition of agricultural production: agricultural instruction and technical aid to be organized by the state; plans for rotation of crops; development of pasture lands, cattle industry and reforestation; water works and dams and irrigation works to reclaim land; roads and rural construction.

3. As measures to reform the property of the land: the law of tenancy (passed by the reaction) shall be immediately cancelled; all evictions shall be re-examined; old and small renters (sharecroppers) shall be aided to buy the land they till on a plan of long-term liquidation; pass a new tenancy law which shall guarantee tenure (stability) on the land; rents subject to revision shall be made moderate; prohibition of sub-renting and its concealed forms; indemnification of useful and necessary improvements carried out by the renter; land cultivated for some time shall be available for acquisition by the cultivator. Cooperatives (consumers and agricultural) shall be stimulated. Colonization of peasant families with necessary technical and financial aid. Measures for recovery of the communal land (the commons). Laws to be cancelled which returned or paid for grandees' land.

V.

"Our industry cannot raise itself from the depression in which it now finds itself unless we revise the complicated system of protection by the state, according to a strict criterion of the coordinated subordination of the national economy to the general interest. As a consequence it is in order":

1. To dictate law or system of laws which shall fix the basis of protection to industry, including tariff laws, tax exemption, methods of coordination, regulation of markets, and other methods of assistance which the state may conceive of interest to national production. To promote the national recovery of industries in order to lighten the load of speculation that has hampered industry.

2. Institutions to guide industry (dept. of commerce, labor, etc.).

3. "Adopt necessary measures to protect small industry and small commerce."

4. "To elevate the activity of our fundamental industries by means of a plan of public works." Organization and assistance to the rural population in the form of self-liquidating public works.

VI.

The Republicans consider public works not only as a public service or an imperfect method of unemployment relief, but also as a potent means of developing sources of wealth not being developed by private entrepreneurs.

1. "Great plans" of construction of urban and rural housing, also cooperative and public services, ports, communications, irrigation works and other land improvements.

2. To carry these out, legislative and administrative arrangements to be made, which shall guarantee the usefulness of the work, its good administration and "its contribution of the same to the private industries directly favored."

"The Republicans do not accept the subsidy to unemployment (dole) solicited by the workers' delegation. They believe that the measures of agrarian policy and those which are to be carried out in industry, public works and, in sum, the whole plan of national reconstruction, will fulfill not only its own ends but also the essential task of absorbing unemployment."

VII.

The Republic must consider education as the inalienable attribute of the state"

1. "shall impel with the same rhythm as in the first years of the Republic the creation of primary schools, canteens, clothing depots (for schoolchildren), school colonies. Private education shall be subject to vigilance in the interest of culture analogous to that of the public schools."

2. develop intermediate and professional education.

3. Amalgamation of universities and superior schools to obtain more adequate ones.

4. The necessary methods to guarantee to the youth of the working class and in general to students of capacity, access to intermediate and superior education.

The signatories shall replace in all its vigor the autonomous legislation of the Constituent Cortes.

"International policies shall be oriented in the direction of adhesion to the principles and methods of the League of Nations."

SIGNATURES. . .

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

READ THE NEW MILITANT

WORLD OF LABOR

What Happened at the Trade Union Unity Congress in Toulouse, France

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The Congress held in Toulouse, March 2-5, was not a fusion Congress, but the first Congress of an already united trade union movement. The Toulouse Congress only ratified formally the already effected merger between the reformist C.G.T. and the Stalinist-controlled C.G.T.U., which took place last September, when, after both the C.G.T. and the C.G.T.U. had held their conventions, the parallel units of these organizations merged on a local, territorial and national scale.

The membership of the new General Confederation of Labor is about 1,000,000 (in 1920, on the eve of the split, the old C.G.T. had a membership of 1,500,000). More than 1,700 delegates attended the Congress to deal with the two questions that were before the Congress: (1) the statutes of the unified Confederation; (2) the political policy to be pursued.

Under the organizational question, the following three points were in dispute: what the structure of the Confederation should be, whether it is "compatible" to combine trade union posts with leading functions in political organizations, and, finally, which international affiliations to maintain.

Jouhaux and Co., the leadership of the old C.G.T., stood pat on the "old" traditions; the leadership of the Stalinist U.C.G.T. went through the motions of attempting to institute "progressive" reforms. The debates took place in an atmosphere of "mutual trust."

The structural make-up of the hidebound C.G.T. appears on the surface to be very loose, very autonomous and quite de-centralized, but, in reality, its so-called Federalist structure is ideally suited for rigid bureaucratic control.

The basic, and "traditional" unit of the C.G.T. is the local trade union organization known as a *syndicate*. In the majority of cases these local syndicates are quite small. Nationally, these syndicates are united into Federations, one for each industry; and, on the other hand, they are also united territorially into Departmental Unions, one for each district, or "Department."

Each syndicate, however large or small, can send one delegate to the Congress, and each has but a single vote (the National Federations and the Departmental Unions can send delegates to the Congress, but only with consultative votes).

Obviously, therefore, the Congresses of the C.G.T. are not representative democratic bodies. In 1925, the representation of the larger syndicates was increased to make up for this crying discrepancy, but this purely formal gesture was intended only to screen the fact that the Congresses are a democratic sham—far removed from proportional representation.

The Congresses play on the surface the role of the highest directing organs. But that is another sham. Between the Congresses, the C.G.T. is directed by the joint Central Committees of the National Federations and the Departmental Unions. This joint Committee is not elected by the Congress but comprises the representatives of all the Federations, and of the Departmental Unions (which are themselves made up of a single representative from each syndicate, with a single vote).

The Joint Committee (which is not a representative democratic body), in its turn, selects an Administrative Committee (about 35), primarily selected from among those functionaries who reside in Paris. This resident Committee then handpicks a small Bureau (a secretariat, headed by Jouhaux) which is the actual leadership of the C.G.T.

VIII.

It goes without saying that Jouhaux and his associates were adamant in preserving this antiquated structure, so ideally suited for bureaucratic machinations and so obviously in need of "reform." One might imagine, after all the talk about rank and file rule, that the Stalinists would seize upon a chance to demonstrate their progressive ideas on trade union organization. And, indeed, they did propose a "reform."

Speaking in the name of democratic centralism (no more, no less!) they proposed—in sum and substance—not proportional representation, but that the Administrative Committee be henceforth elected by the Congress and that this Committee, to be elected by a Congress far removed from proportional representation, then proceed to select the Bureau of Eight, with Jouhaux as General Secretary. But even this sham reform was overwhelmingly defeated, and the hoary, reactionary structure was preserved intact.

The second lively point of controversy was over the decree of Jouhaux and Co. that it was "incompatible" for a leading functionary of the C.G.T. to be a member of the leading body of any political party.

Semard, one of the Stalinist leaders, made an eloquent speech in which he declared that such a proposal was tantamount to "sanctions" against the leading workers in the trade union movement, and argued that it was entirely com-

patible with the traditions and principles of the labor movement for a trade union functionary to occupy an important political post. The Congress recorded itself overwhelmingly in favor of the "incompatibility" clause, and Frachon and Racamond, who by previous agreement were slated for the Bureau, proceeded to declare demonstratively that they considered the decisions of the Congress as absolutely binding, and in proof of their good faith immediately resigned from the N.C. of the French Communist Party of which they are members.

The third and final organizational dispute revolved about international affiliations. Jouhaux and Co. proposed affiliation to the Amsterdam International. Once again the Stalinists were most modest and reasonable. Far from proposing affiliation with the Red Trade Union International, they pleaded that the Confederation adhere to neither International, but maintain connections with both, and work for the calling of an International Trade Union Unity Congress as soon as possible. Could anything be more reasonable? Yet, Jouhaux in his speech simply passed in silence over the proposal to maintain any ties with the Profintern, and work for international unity.

The Congress once again voted overwhelmingly against the Stalinist proposals. The purely formal character of the Congress is best illustrated by the fact that after the stage play, speeches and votes for the record, the Statutes were referred back to the Commission and were then accepted unanimously.

The self-same procedure was gone through on the second point of the agenda, pertaining to the "political policy." Racamond made an impassioned speech, pleading that the Congress solemnly proclaim that the program of the People's Front "is the program of the struggle of the organized workers." Jouhaux and Co. spoke for their Labor Plan. And the Congress passed a unanimous resolution (to quote the dispatch in Pravda, March 4) to the effect that: "the General Confederation of Labor will struggle decisively for the demands in the program of the People's Front . . . the resolution goes on to point out that the program of the People's Front should include the specific demands of the working class formulated in the Labor Plan of the C.G.T."

Thus, the social-patriots of 1936 are standing shoulder to shoulder with those who betrayed the French working class in 1914. The united trade union movement in France will march to victory only in the irreconcilable struggle against the law and practice of Jouhaux-Racamond and their associates.

RESULTS OF THE SPANISH ELECTIONS

We have received an inquiry relating to the results of the last Spanish elections. The reports as to the outcome in the American bourgeois press appear to conflict primarily because the various reporters in recording the results of the elections differ in their manner of listing the parties of the Right and of the Center.

We print below the final results of the elections as reported in a Havas dispatch of March 3rd. The "People's Front" electoral bloc won 263 seats. The Socialist Party obtained—94 seats. The Communist Party—14. The seats that fell to the share of the petty bourgeois partners in the electoral bloc, the party of the Left Republicans, were 85.

The three parties of the extreme Right obtained 135 seats, the C.E.D. A. (the concentration led by Gil Robles) getting 99 of them.

The Basque Nationalists obtained 10 seats.

Listing all the other parties in the Center, the latter obtained 65 seats.

The relationship of forces in the parliamentary fraction of the Socialist Party of Spain between the right wing led by Prieto and the left wing led by Caballero can be gleaned from the results of the contest for the election of the Praesidium of the Socialist fraction: in the voting, 49 votes were cast for Caballero and 32 for Prieto.

The elections show that as a result of the People's Front policies not only did the petty bourgeois parties obtain representation far exceeding their actual social and political weight in the country, but also within the Socialist Party itself, the Right wing was able to capitalize on these policies.

The 'Suicide' Advice of the German CP in Plebiscite

If in France, Stalinism drags the masses into support of the government and its war plans and policies, in Germany they accomplish the same purpose by the slogans they employ against the government under Adolf Hitler.

According to Ralph W. Barnes of the Herald-Tribune, "Communists" were very active in the plebiscite, recently concluded for the purpose of endorsing Hitler's Rhineland policy. A leaflet charging Hitler with preparing a war against the Soviet Union is quoted by Mr. Barnes. It reads as follows:

"Of what importance are non-aggression pacts, if for Chancellor Adolf Hitler, they are only a scrap of paper? . . . No country on earth entertains aggressive designs against Germany. Fascist Germany under Hitler is the instigator of war in Europe. The German people are being driven toward catastrophe.

"Halt the enemy of the masses! Hitler means war; Stalin means peace! Socialism means prosperity, freedom and peace; Fascism means misery, slavery and war!

"The Reichstag elections are war elections. Every vote of 'no' is a vote against war, against misery, against the Gestapo (secret police), concentration camps and murders.

"Therefore, away with Hitler! Long live the united people's front for peace, freedom and bread! Long live international proletarian solidarity! Underline the vote 'no'!"

Before examining the policy advocated in this leaflet, which it is our contention cannot but strengthen Hitler's hand in Germany, it will be profitable to analyze the insane advice offered the German workers for the plebiscite.

It was common knowledge, widely publicized by all capitalist reporters, that the plebiscite was another of Hitler's great Barium acts, that all conceivable methods of force, terror and intimidation, direct and indirect, would be employed to insure a unanimous "ja" vote. Post-election dispatches tell of summary dismissals from their jobs of party members who refused to vote, and that these "recalcitrants" were visited by black-shirted or brown-shirted Nazis.

The Stalinist Suicide Advice And the Communist Party advises "Vote 'no'!" In other words, it calls upon the very workers, whom it dissuaded and prevented from fighting when they still had a chance, before the Brown-shirts took power, to take their lives in their hands today for the sake of a futile demonstration. It would have been another matter if this were a free, Australian ballot, then a large protest vote might have had a powerful effect in rousing the German workers. But this ballot was a mockery. An armed Nazi stood at the elbow of every voter and saw to it that the vote was cast in the right way. A Nazi teller counted the votes. Nazi electioneers "dragged" the voters to the polls. Which leads us to the following conclusions:

First, it was sheer, voluntary suicide for any worker to follow the advice of the C.P., an advice so criminal that if carried out would have led to an even greater decimation of the ranks of militant labor than the frightful condition that already exists.

Secondly, suppose a sizable number of "no" votes were cast. Who would have known about it? Does anyone believe that the Hitler-controlled press would have publicized such facts calculated to give strength and courage to revolutionists? Why, even the blank ballots were counted as "ja" votes.

Thirdly, any party which advocates such action, and thereby saves the Gestapo the trouble of hunting for the underground militants but could find them at the polling booths, is consciously or unconsciously cooperating with Hitler in destroying whatever remains of the German labor movement.

Meat for Hitler Now, what is the policy for which Stalinism called upon the German workers to risk their skins in this futile gesture? Implicit in the contents of this leaflet is a support of the Versailles Treaty. The same robber pact, assailed from its inception by revolutionists as the basis for a redvision of the world by the leading imperialist buccanniers. The same robber pact which constituted the most potent weapon in Hitler's demagoguery and which enabled him to dupe the middle classes disgusted with the social democratic support of the treaty. It says: "Of what importance are

A Counterpart to Social Patriotism in France, Equally Disastrous

non-aggression pacts if, for Chancellor Adolf Hitler they are only scraps of paper? . . . This undoubtedly refers to the Locarno Treaty, an integral part of Versailles.

"No country on earth entertains aggressive designs against Germany," it continues. "Fascist Germany under Hitler is the instigator of war in Europe." "Halt the enemy of the masses! Hitler means war; Stalin means peace."

What a hopeless muddle! And what ammunition for Herr Goebbels! We sincerely hope a copy of this leaflet does not fall into his hands for he will certainly use it to a fare-you-well against the "Marxists."

Arguments on a Platter "No country has aggressive designs against Germany." Cannot Goebbels point out that France through the Versailles Treaty with all its oppressive clauses keeps Germany "paralyzed" for imperialist reasons? Can he not pick up any organ of the French Front Populaire and read a call for a "preventive war" against Germany?

Or cannot Rosenberg punch holes in this leaflet by lecturing the Ger-

man workers on the present distribution of the world's colonies? Will he fail to say that German economic life is crippled by its lack of colonies and that therefore this situation constitutes a war threat against Germany, even if negative?

Not that alone, however. The Hitler mob will print figures running into seven or eight ciphers representing the expenditures on armaments in France, England, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc. Are these the expression of peaceful intentions and of un-aggressive designs, they will ask.

But the choicest morsel for them is undoubtedly the counterpoising of Stalin to Hitler. Because, what they have to contend with here is not a revolutionary internationalist policy against nationalist militarist ambitions. On the contrary, Stalin's support of imperialist France, its little Entente and its colonial property lends plausibility to Hitler's demagoguery.

What Are the Conclusions?

Hitler tells the workers that Germany is oppressed by the international bankers and Jews through the Versailles treaty. The German

worker objects that the international working class and Soviet Russia is not in this category. Whereupon Hitler points to the People's Front where workers join with capitalists in national unity and Soviet Russia, through Stalin, blesses this arrangement and becomes a partner to it. Is it entirely illogical that the German workers should revise some of his conceptions about the class struggle? Would he be entirely impervious to the propaganda that the days of class war have begun? Unfortunately the German workers have been taken in by this pap. If the "plebiscite" means anything at all it means just that.

The conclusion is inescapable: When the French Stalinists became sponsors of the shibboleth "democracy" against "fascism," they inevitably became agents of French imperialism and Hitler can point to the absence of class struggle in France to those who agitate for class war in Germany. When the German Stalinists employ the same slogans, how can they escape being called—by Hitler—agents of a foreign government?

France? They will say they are for the defense of the Soviet Union. But the Soviet Union has a military alliance with France. . . .

occasion for different things at that time, and, besides, the people were different—the verses simply expressed what was in the air.

History is not a heap of old rags that can be placed into a boiler and mashed into clean paper. A Russian proverb says: "What is written down with a pen cannot be hacked away with an axe." The history of those years was written not merely with a pen, but with the pen of Demyan Bedny. If, in 1919, Bedny, picked up by the great wave, on his own initiative executed the literary order of the masses, then, in 1936, he fulfills only the order of Stalin. This customer pursues aims which are not at all literary but purely practical. Demyan Bedny, as we already know, was ordered to provide the formula for the necessity of sending Trotsky to a place, "whence there is no return."

Stalin is obviously making preparations to entrust the fulfillment of this task to the "poets" from the school of Yagoda, the General Commissar.

And that is how we note it down:

well, the "red bogeyman" of the Liberty League. He granted a sympathetic audience and listened patiently to the grievances of the farmers as they were developed by the representatives of the S.T.F.U. The result was an empty promise to look into the matter. Tugwell need only consult the official Department of Agriculture report which reposes in some remote file of the department's archives in order to verify the story of tragic horror which is the daily lot of some millions of share-croppers.

Mr. Roosevelt has expressed some concern over the fate of these farmers, their children and wives. In fact, even the President himself has been moved to action. He asked that an inquiry be set afoot by a commission whose members were to be appointed by the Governor of Arkansas, Futrell, notoriously unsympathetic to the claims of the farmers to earn a decent livelihood and a planter himself.

The demands of the Union are as follows:

The Union's Demands

"Just and adequate settlement at end of season, legal rates of interest on advances made share-croppers and tenants, wages of \$1.00 per 10 hour day with 15c per hour overtime for all work done by day laborers, and a written guarantee binding owners not to interfere with union organization or discriminate against union members."

Union leaders have asked for support which should be generous forthcoming. Send all contributions to the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, 2527 Broad Avenue, Memphis, Tenn.

Prospects for a Farmer - Labor Party in the 1936 Elections

Two weeks ago the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party convention adopted a resolution committing the party to "cooperate with other progressive, labor, farmer and political organizations and leaders in calling a national conference to explore the possibilities of a national Farmer-Labor ticket in 1936." This resolution met with considerable opposition, but in the final voting it carried by a fair margin.

The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party is among the oldest and best established state parties of its kind in the country. Over a period of years it has held control of both branches of the state legislature and the major state offices; its decisions will therefore arouse interest among both friends and opponents of the idea. The important question, however, is what will it mean.

What the F.-L.P. Move Means

In the Daily Worker columns it is greeted as the beginning of a new era. Other editorial writers, equally cynical but less credulous, seem to think that the politicians in control of the Minnesota F.L.P. sponsored this resolution merely as a means of impressing upon the Roosevelt administration the need of supporting them in the local elections. This appears to be the most logical explanation.

In any case this would be typical of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party leadership. No doubt leftward tendencies are asserting themselves within the ranks of this party, the same as within the labor movement in general. To satisfy the demands of these tendencies by adopting a resolution declaring in favor of a national farmer-labor party and appearing ready to explore the possibilities of a national farmer-labor ticket in 1936 does not cost very much. And if this can be utilized as an implied threat to gain some extra support, they will consider this so much better. At any rate it need not be expected that anything in particular will be done about the carrying out of this resolution.

The reason for this is the fact that there is not yet a serious movement afoot for a national labor party, or a national farmer-labor party. Various attempts have been made in several parts of the country toward the creation of local labor parties. But so far these attempts are entirely localized and have not brought great results.

In Toledo and in Akron, in the state of Connecticut, in Massachusetts, in Detroit, Mich., in Illinois and elsewhere, referendum votes of local unions have been conducted or local conferences have been held on the question of formation of a labor party. In most cases these attempts are sponsored by local trade union leaders, who in this manner seek to translate their views of a progressive stand in collective bargaining with the employers into politics to gain further concessions by parliamentary action under their own name. But very often there are to be found also amongst the elements sponsoring these local movements ordinary penny-ante politicians who expect to find a new field of operation.

The Stalinist Fiascos

Most outstanding, however, and at the same time the most ridiculous, are the Stalinist attempts to create labor parties made to order, put together out of nothing and baptised as a bulwark against the "growing menace of war and Fascism." A veritable hurricane campaign is being conducted by these strategists of social-patriotism. Resolutions litter the tables of workers clubs, conferences are held, regardless of whether or not the workers are represented. If these strategists were to set out deliberately to destroy the very idea of the labor party, they could not do any better than the way they are now proceeding.

As matters stand today the overwhelming majority of the working class, including the trade unions, do not give a serious hearing to these pleas. In the main they still support Roosevelt and they are still carried away by illusions of his pseudo people's legislation. Was not the United Mine Workers convention practically unanimous in its approval and support of Roosevelt? And this is really not surprising when it is borne in mind that the ideology behind the Roosevelt proposals does not differ essentially from the ideas of the people's front. The difference lies in the fact that Roosevelt's appeal for support still proves more effective than the appeals for the People's Front labor party. Insofar as the phraseology is concerned, the appeal for the "forgotten man" is more clever.

Campaign for Roosevelt

If a Labor Party is to have any meaning as a political force it is clear that it must have the trade union movement for its basis. Its top leadership, however, is already busy campaigning actively for Roosevelt. And this is true not only of the dyed-in-the-wool and reactionary craft union chiefs; John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman join in and make it unanimous. While

they have differences on organizational policies and outlook for the building of the trade union movement, which insofar as these questions are concerned, divide them along lines of progressives and reactionaries, in regard to questions of basic class ideology they are firm supporters of the capitalist system. This in essence determines their attitude on whom and which party to support in the 1936 elections.

Coming down closer to the rank and file, the local trade union leadership in the main line up on the same basis. In Illinois, for example, a conference is held for the formation of a labor party and attended by representatives from a few unions scattered over the state, while the Chicago Federation of Labor went on record to support Roosevelt. A conference held in Springfield, Mass., for the formation of a labor party, it is reported, failed to draw a single representative from the central bodies of the eight or ten cities involved.

Roughly, this is how the labor party question stands today. For the future, the best indication is perhaps given by the idea advanced by Sidney Hillman. Proclaiming his support of the trade union

"Non Partisan League" to support Roosevelt, he suggests that this set-up may later be utilized as the basis for a labor party. In real life this would be an out and out third bourgeois party. And while in appearances such an initial attempt may seem radically different from the objectives set forth by the present Stalinist campaign, in its practical reality this will be found not to be the case. There is no reason why this could not be a just as bona-fide People's Front party as the concoction presented by the Stalinists. And there is no reason why it should not fit in admirably with their social-patriotic aims.

But what would it mean to the working class? For an answer to this question, it is important to remember that the leadership of the trade union movement could not at all be expected really to become supporters of a labor party until they become motivated to do so by fear of the growth of a serious revolutionary movement. A labor party brought into being under such conditions will function not as a progressive force for the realization of the aims of an awakening working class. In actuality it will become a barrier on the road.

FACTS ON TAMPA CASE

(Continued from Page 1)

their description of all of which is to the Solicitor unknown and in furtherance of said assault they with the said whips, straps and tar had and held in their hands, did then and there strike, beat, bruise, wound and ill-treat him, from which said wounds the said Joseph Shoemaker did languish and on the 9th day of December, A. D. 1935, did die.

The Defendants

Those indicted on the murder and kidnapping charges are: Police Sergeant C. A. "Smitty" Brown, leader of the raid and one of the best pistol shots in the country; Patrolmen Sam E. Crosby, John E. Bridges and F. W. Switzer, the latter also under indictment for the kidnapping of Robert M. Cargell, a St. Petersburg lawyer; C. W. Carlisle, former employee of the city tax department; Robert Chappell, former employee of the city water department; A. F. Gilliam, Ed Spivey and James Dean, Orlando Klansmen and special policemen during the Tampa primary election. Chief of Police R. G. Tittsworth and Manuel Menendez, police stenographer, were indicted as accessories after the fact.

The Attorneys

By direction of Governor Dave Sholtz, the prosecution is being conducted by State Attorney J. Rex Farrior, Assistant State Attorney R. M. Huntley and County Solicitor C. Jay Hardee, the latter said to be tied in with the gambling ring. The defendants are represented by Pat Whitaker, chief counsel, his brother Tom Whitaker, Charles F. Blake and L. E. Womack, all intimately associated with the Klu Klux Klan.

The Judge

Judge Raleigh Petteway of Hillsborough County disqualified himself as trial judge on March 17, on motion of the defense, because he is a candidate for Governor. Sholtz

assigned Judge Robert T. Dewell of Polk County in his place.

The Witnesses

Nearly 100 witnesses will be called by both sides. They include Mayor Robert E. Lee Chaney of Tampa and other state and county officials. Two important witnesses for the state "committed suicide" under mysterious circumstances before the trial began. They are Robert P. Fariss, to whom a receipt was issued for a P. O. Box used by the Klu Klux Klan, who died of monoxide poisoning in his garage, and Police Sergeant H. Carl Tompkins, on desk duty the night of the crime, who "jumped" from the third floor window of a Tampa hospital.

The Present Trial

The state has decided to try first the cases against "Smitty" Brown, C. W. Carlisle and John P. Bridges for kidnapping and conspiracy to kidnap Eugene Poulton. The trial began on March 24 after Judge Petteway had denied defense motions for a four month delay and for a change of venue.

The Need for Continued Support

The progress already made in running down the perpetrators of this deed is no guarantee against a whitewash. The fight against the Klu Klux Klan and the capitalist-racketeer-politician combination in Florida must be carried to a successful conclusion before any workman in the country can call himself free. Protests and demands for action from individuals, unions and other organizations should be sent to Governor Dave Sholtz, Mayor R. E. L. Chaney and State Attorney J. Rex Farrior. Financial contributions to carry on the fight should be sent to Norman Thomas, chairman, or Mary Fox, Treasurer, National Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, Room 1106, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

Klan Pays Attorney

(Continued from Page 1)

become moderately well-to-do by supplementing their regular salaries with \$50 flogging honorariums, they could hardly have made enough to pay these fancy legal fees. The expenses of their defense are being met by the citrus growers, cigar manufacturers and shipping interests who must maintain the Ku Klux Klan as their private police.

The heavy bail bonds which give the defendants temporary freedom were supplied by Eli Witt who owns the 100 percent non-union Hav-a-Tampa cigar factory. The anti-labor groups, by subscribing to the defense, are also working off a debt of gratitude to Pat Whitaker who, as state senator, fathered all the repressive legislation they wanted. One of Whitaker's babies is the so-called 30 percent law which makes Florida elections as democratic as a Hitler referendum. Under this law, a party must poll at least 30 percent of the total vote in one of the two preceding elections in order to get on the ballot.

Administration Tries Shakedown

When the policemen were first indicted, an effort was made to levy a percentage of the wage of every city employee for their defense. Such a levy was enforced before the last municipal election to provide the campaign fund with which the city administration stole its re-

election. This second shakedown, however, is being successfully resisted.

While the indicted policemen have been surrounded with the most effective, if not the most scrupulous lawyers in Florida, the state has added lawyers to its staff whose reputations embrace neither effectiveness nor scrupulousness. Governor Sholtz has directed Manuel Glover, Solicitor of Polk County, and Assistant State Attorney J. C. Rogers, also of Polk County, to assist Chief Prosecutor Farrior.

Glover, who is said to be connected with the gambling ring in his county, will replace Hillsborough County Solicitor C. Jay Hardee who is said to protect the gamblers in his bailiwick—for a price. About a year ago, Glover was arrested in Kissimmee Springs, a resort six miles south of Bartow, and charged with being drunk, disorderly and nude. He was not found guilty.

Glover's fellow-celebrant on this spree was County Judge Mark O'Quinn, predecessor of Judge Robert T. Dewell who is presiding at the present trials. O'Quinn's drunken escapades with women ultimately caused a grand jury investigation and his removal by Governor Sholtz. Dewell, a classmate of the Governor at Yale, was one of Sholtz's few pre-election supporters in Polk County. He was appointed to redeem the bench that O'Quinn had so engagingly defiled.

In general, the processes of the law in Polk County are very interesting.

JAPAN, CHINA & THE U.S.S.R.

The War Crisis in the Far East

STALINISM REVERTS TO ELCC OF FOUR CLASSES IN CHINA

SUN. APRIL 12-8:30 P. M. • IRVING PLAZA HALL • 15th ST. & IRVING PL.

SPEAKER

H. R. ISAACS

Former editor, China Forum, recently returned from five years' sojourn in China.

QUESTIONS DISCUSSION
Ausp.: N. Y. District Workers Party U.S.