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Britain Joins Hitler Against Soviet Union

Smashes Versailles Pact by Treaty with Germany

Great Britain's open support of German rearmament, as marked by the recent Anglo-German naval agreement, has strengthened the hand of reaction in Europe. New realignments of imperialist powers in preparation for an impending war is taking place. Peace in Europe has been maintained in the last few years due to Hitler's failure to obtain a strong ally on the continent and the collaboration of England and France. Both conditions now appear to be destroyed.

England's new policy, a culmination of years of hardly-concealed material support to Hitler's rearmament, has a two-fold purpose: first, to disrupt the Franco-Soviet pact, if possible to win France to an open anti-Soviet policy and second, to collaborate with Hitler so as to insure itself against possible Nazi military adventures at England's expense, for example in Austria.

Blow at France

France is bitter over the agreement. Not only does it strengthen Germany, but the fact that it was arrived at without the sanction of the French government makes the French imperialists uneasy. The British, at first, refused to divulge Hitler's naval program to Paris. A few days ago, however, Hitler, under advice of London, informed the French government that his naval program for the next eighteen months calls for the construction of new ships totalling 107,000 tons, inclusive of two battleships of 25,000 tons each.

The first breach in Anglo-French collaboration over the Italian-Ethiopian dispute, immediately followed the signing of the Anglo-German naval agreement. Until then, despite the friendly relations established between France and Italy last January, Paris and London acted concertedly in relation to Italy.

Mussolini now has a free hand in Abyssinia. He has rejected the offer of Anthony Eden, British Minister for League of Nations Affairs to settle the Italo-Ethiopian dispute by giving Ethiopia a strip of British Somaliland to compensate the Africans for concessions to Italy. All correspondents agree that Italy will go to war with Ethiopia in October.

The reaction of the French government to the offer of Eden is not provoked solely by its bitterness over the Anglo-German agreement. France has its own imperialist interests in Africa.

As a Paris dispatch to the New York Times of July 2 states:

"Loyal as France may be to the principles and text of the League of Nations covenant, the leaders and citizens are far from approving the British suggestion to placate Italy and Ethiopia by handing over to the latter the direct Zella, which might become a port of call of the French port of Djibuti. If Mr. Mussolini had accepted the suggestion, says the Temps, it would have been to the detriment of France and an open violation of Article IX of the treaty of 1906 by which Britain and Italy undertook to refrain from competing with Djibuti."

However, the realignment of the imperialist powers is far from fixed. Diplomats are making hurried trips from one leading capital of Europe to another. There are rumors of tentative Franco-German parleys which if confirmed may mean a disruption of Franco-Soviet relations.

Workers' Russia cannot be defended by imperialist France. Peace cannot be maintained by the "thieves kitchen," the League of Nations. The defense of the Soviet Union depends upon its Red Army, the Soviet workers and peasants, and above all on the international working class.

Protest Stalin Jailings in N.Y.

NEW YORK, June 30.—Over 300 workers attended the Irving Plaza Hall to protest the recent persecutions in the Soviet Union, the latest evidence of which was the imprisonment of Sergei Trotsky and others. Max Shachtman, editor of the New Internationalist, and A. J. Muste, National Secretary of the W. P. were the speakers.

The cases in history of persecutions by the Stalinist bureaucracy were ably presented by comrade Shachtman. Comrade Muste concluded the meeting by stating the position of the Party on events in the Soviet Union and their relation to the movement in this country.

By a unanimous vote the following resolution was adopted by the workers present:

"We, the workers assembled at a meeting in Irving Plaza Hall, Sunday, June 30, on the call of the Workers Party, protest most vigorously the new wave of persecution against Bolshevik-Leninists and worker revolutionists in the Soviet Union.

We consider the arrest and imprisonment of Sergei Trotsky, who it is known has not participated in any political activity, as an act of brutal vengeance on the part of Stalin against Leon Trotsky. We endorse the call of Natalia I. Trotsky for a commission of Andre Gide, Roland and G. B. Shaw to investigate the matter. We are particularly alarmed by this new wave of terror against revolutionists since it can only weaken the revolutionary forces inside the Soviet Union and undermine the prestige of the S. U. in the eyes of the advanced workers in the capitalist countries. These persecutions are particularly criminal in view of the acute danger of war against the Soviet Union.

We delegate the comrades A. J. Muste and Max Shachtman to bring our protest to the attention of the Soviet embassy in this country.

TOLEDO, Ohio (FP).—Averting a strike of the Mechanics Educational Society of America, the Rathbun-Jones Engineering Co. of Toledo has granted a new agreement providing pay boosts from 3 to 5 cents an hour and maintenance of the 40-hour week.

NEW YORK (FP).—Tom Mooney has won what may well be the battle that is the turning point in his long fight for freedom. The California supreme court has reversed its 18-year-old attitude and has granted Mooney's lawyers a writ of habeas corpus, which means that the state must answer the great volume of evidence of perjury committed during Mooney's trial or release the famous labor prisoner.

New York Pledges \$1000 in Drive for 8-Page New Militant

One of the first responses to our campaign for the eight-page weekly came from S. Harrison, New York City (\$5.00 contribution listed in last issue) and carried this message: "Read about the eight-page New Militant while in Philadelphia last week. It truly gladdened my heart to hear the good news. There are great perspectives ahead of us—the enlarged issue may well contribute a whole lot in the case. . . . Wishing you once more all the success required for such an undertaking."

This is encouraging, and we agree, there are great perspectives ahead of us. We have undertaken a big job as behooves a revolutionary movement, but we set out with the conviction that we can carry it through.

It has never been easy to produce the New Militant week by week. Funds have never yet been plentiful. As a matter of fact we have managed on a shoestring basis. To produce the New Militant today requires an outlay of \$162.00 per issue, all expenses included. At least that is the amount we should have. The truth is that we did not get it and we were compelled to make up in some other way, most often by reducing the economic rations for all the comrades who carried the burden of the active work.

To produce the eight-page weekly will require an outlay of \$222.00 per issue. To cover this difference is our job, and we are almost tempted to say, that it would be easy if that were all. But it is not. In addition we have a heavy present deficit to wipe out, not to speak of the expenses incurred by acquisition of some new printing machinery. Our readers will therefore understand that we have good grounds for setting the goal of our campaign at \$2,000, together with the building up of a security fund of at least \$50.00 monthly.

New York Pledges \$1,000

So far we have made only a very modest beginning and we are still (Continued on Page 3)

The New 'Magna Charta' for Labor

As soon as Senator Wagner can get to Washington to participate personally in the ballyhoo connected with the attachment of Roosevelt's signature, the much touted Wagner Labor Disputes Bill will have become law. Thus, according to Green, Hillman and the other A.F. of L. bureaucrats who "look to the President" to save labor, another Magna Charta, Charter of liberties, for labor will have been established. What will happen then?

The steel barons and other employers who do regard this bill, which (on paper) "outlaws" company unions and directs employers to bargain collectively with a union which gets the vote of a majority of their employees, as an outrageous concession to labor, have given notice that they will carry the issue of its constitutionality to the Supreme Court. The workers have had bitter experience with such delays over section 7a of NRA which was also a Magna Charta of labor according to Green et al.

Under this bill a National Labor Relations Board is to be set up to "enforce" collective bargaining, etc. Thus the way is paved for eventual greater control of government over the unions. Apart from that, bitter experience has taught the workers how slowly the machinery of these Boards operates even when "friends of unionism" sit on them, and that the employers have numerous devices for evading their decisions or crippling their operations. Besides, under a capitalist government, which necessarily is concerned about keeping the wheels of industry (i.e. capitalist industry) running smoothly, the basic concern of these government agencies is never that of enforcing the rights of the workers, but that of maintaining "industrial peace," in other words, preventing strikes or if they break out somehow, "settling" them, getting the workers back to work as quickly as possible.

Thus these government boards become in

effect strike-breaking agencies even under the best conditions.

The workers will not get salvation from the Wagner bill. They must now as ever fight the entire system for which it stands. They will get nothing except that which they can take by their organized strength and militancy. They must prepare more rigorously and thoroughly than ever, not for an easy way to improved conditions via labor boards, etc. but for a battle to the death against the employer drive against unionism, against the rising cost of living and the accompanying lowering of the standards of living.

It is possible that the initial psychological effect of the passage of the Wagner bill on some sections of the workers will be similar to that which occurred when the NRA was first proclaimed—to create the impression, namely, that unionization will get government support and so to stimulate organizing campaigns and strikes. It is a fact that capitalism in the U. S. does not yet have to resort to the most extreme repression. A "liberal" administration can seek to allay labor unrest and to buy off trade union leaders by concessions, by preventing the most reactionary employers from carrying out immediately their most extreme plans. Militants will take advantage of the situation, and especially of any organization sentiment which may develop among the workers, not in order to strengthen the mistaken impression they may have of friendly government support, but precisely in order that in the struggle to get what the government purports to give them, they may learn the true nature and function of all capitalist governments. Police, militia, soldiers, with clubs, tear gas and guns, will meet the workers who strike for the rights "granted" under the Wagner bill, as they met workers who struck for similar rights under the now defunct NRA. And the lesson will sink in deeper and deeper.

Akron C.L.U. Head Backs Green Red Drive in the Unions

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio, July 1.—Joining hands with William Green and other A. F. of L. bureaucrats in their latest "anti-red" drive, Frank Patino, president of the Central Labor Union here declared he not only supported Green's move to split labor through mass expulsions but also began a campaign to oust local militants.

Patino, backed by the Summit County Labor News, announced his policy the day after the monthly meeting of the C.L.U. thus preventing an immediate reply by militants to his disruptive tactics.

It was the first open admission of Patino that he is with the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, although his previous actions in strikes had branded him as a hopeless, petty bureaucrat. His statement, widely featured in the labor paper, came three weeks after Coleman C. Claherty, rubber organizer, dragged the red herring across rubber workers' union meetings in an attempt to scare progressives.

Italy Prepares Ethiopia Rape, Mussolini Says

Dynamite in Situation May Explode in New World War

By MARTIN A. GLEE

From official sources, writes the London correspondent of the New York Times, it has been learned that Mussolini has told the British envoy, Sir Anthony Eden, that "nothing could prevent Italy from going to war with Ethiopia in October." Arnaldo Cortesi, writing from Rome, says: "If there was any doubt that hostilities (against Ethiopia) would begin in a couple of months there is none now."

The war against Ethiopia may well turn out to be the precursor of the next world massacre. Let us recall once again that it was the Italo-Turkish war of 1911 which was the precursive signal of the last world war. Italy's designs on Ethiopia are pregnant with dire consequences for the world working class. For it is they who will be called upon to suffer a thousand tortures in a thousand different sections of the globe—when the next world war starts.

To understand more clearly the designs of western imperialism on this primitive kingdom in Africa, it is necessary to go back a bit; to establish the position of Ethiopia on the dark continent and to focus attention on the imperialist powers having a "direct interest" in the matter by virtue of boundaries—Italy, France and England.

In eastern Africa lies the kingdom of Ethiopia, popularly but erroneously referred to as Abyssinia. (Of the many tribes that go to make up the empire of Haile Selassie I, the Abyssinians are the most culturally compact, unified and politically and socially advanced. Hence the usual reference to Abyssinia when one is in reality speaking of all of Ethiopia.) It has a population of about 11,000,000 in an area approximating 350,000 square miles. The chief industry is agriculture with breeding taking second place. The exports, the chief articles of which are wax, ivory and animal skins, do not amount to very much. Imports which amount to about 10,000,000 dollars yearly are

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100 Companies Grab 1/4 of Nation's Wealth

Invent Electric Jolt for Strikes

NEW YORK (FP).—Police can follow orders now and handle strikers with gloves—"electric gloves."

Construction Supt. Cirilo H. Diaz of Frederick Snare Co., Havana, Cuba, has invented an electric glove which, he guarantees, will paralyze strike pickets temporarily.

In his office in the heart of the Wall Street district, the ingenious Diaz demonstrated his invention to a Federated Press reporter.

Diaz explained that the battery supplying power to the glove is hung on the policeman's belt. An electric cord, cleverly hidden inside the coat sleeve, runs from the battery to the glove, from which electricity is sent through the striker's body by means of four contact points.

The patent, as issued by the U. S. Patent Office, claims the glove is intended for use by police against drunken and insane people, often hard to handle peacefully.

Diaz himself exploded this idea when he told this reporter: "Police can use my glove against radicals and strikers."

Diaz claims the glove can't kill anyone, although the current can be shocked up to 5,000 volts, enough to stop or paralyze any person, and to cause the more jumpy to lose consciousness.

A complete outfit sells for \$10 and New York police officials have already praised the weapons and asked for reduced prices on quantity orders. Police in other cities and states, as well as companies which hire their own private guards to break strikes and stop unionization, are expected to buy huge quantities of these electric gloves. They will supplement clubs, guns, horses, tear gas and vomit gas in dispersing strikers.

This invention may bring fame and fortune to Diaz; it means only a new kind of hell to American workers. But it may galvanize the American workers into abrupt action unforeseen by the inventor, or police and thug users of the gloves.

BEEF WORKERS ORGANIZE

FINDLAY, Ohio (FP).—Sugar beet field workers in the Findlay area have organized a local of the Agricultural Workers Union.

The newly-elected officers have been instructed to confer with growers for a wage agreement.

Beet workers are offered a contract giving them \$10 an acre for blocking, thinning and hoeing beets, and \$0c a ton for harvesting. They demand \$19 an acre flat guarantee—the rate given in the Blissfield, Mich., area. Both areas are controlled by the Great Lakes Sugar Co.

WASHINGTON (FP).—A New York banker, Vice-Pres. J. L. O'Neill of the Guaranty Trust Co., has been given charge of the skeleton NRA, now little more than a research agency. O'Neill was formerly associated for 22 years with Carnegie Steel.

Plutocrats Squeeze Out Small Business

WASHINGTON (FP).—Fewer and fewer people are coming to control more and more of American industry. This tendency has been going on for some time, of course, but the latest figures are now presented in a report on the "Concentration of Corporate Control in American Industry," prepared by the old Research and Planning Division of NRA.

It shows that 100 large corporations control well over a quarter of the general industrial wealth of the country; that the big corporations are coming through the crisis years with their relative position strengthened; and that there is every reason to believe the concentration of corporate control is continuing.

The report quotes A. A. Berle and Gardiner Means, authors of "The Modern Corporation and Private Property," to the effect that the 200 largest non-banking corporations on Jan. 1, 1930, controlled 49.2 percent of all corporate wealth in the United States. In 1931 the percentage of non-financial corporate wealth controlled by the 200 largest corporations had increased to 53 percent.

"A study of income tax data for 1931 and 1932 shows that the tendency toward concentration continued," the NRA report states. It assembles figures showing that 16.55 percent of the corporations controlled 52.2 percent of the corporate wealth in 1931, and 15.75 percent of the corporations controlled 53.3 percent in 1932.

Fewer and Fewer Hands

Taking statistics on 100 large industrial corporations, the study shows that the percentage of the industrial wealth of the country controlled by them rose from 23.5 percent in 1929 to 26.0 percent in 1932. "There is every reason for believing that 1933 figures, when available, will show a continuation of this tendency," the report states.

In regard to the record-breaking number of business failures in 1931 and 1932, the report points out that these were mostly small firms. "How many others were forced to the wall, no one knows," it declares. "The passing of small businessmen did not ripple the pages of the financial press, and went unrecorded."

But while small and medium-sized corporations perished by the thousands, the leading corporations as a group came through virtually unharmed. With some exceptions (the relative position of the large corporations was "strengthened" because of the holocaust of lesser competitors during 1931-32. Four hundred and eighteen industrial corporations tabulated by Standard Statistics had more cash and United States government securities at the bottom of the depression than they had in 1927."

These 418 corporations controlled 26.5 percent of the cash and equivalent held by 300,000 general industrial corporations in 1927. In 1929 this percentage had increased to 43.7 percent.

Roosevelt Throws Youth a Bone But Slams Labor at Same Time

Roosevelt has dished out a new sop (slop), this time to the youth of the United States. "I have determined," said the President, "that we shall do something for the nation's unemployed youth because we can ill afford to lose the skill and energy of these young men and women. . . . The yield on this investment should be high." The new project proposes, in one of its four points, to provide jobs for about 150,000 youths at \$15 a month, "limited to unemployed youths in families that are certified for relief."

A second, and perhaps more obnoxious feature of the project, proposes to "find employment in private industry for employed youth." Employers will be urged to accept youths as apprentices during which a "minimum allowance should be given." In other words, employers, who will probably require little urging, are offered labor at cheaper than full-scale adult wages. Thus, while the first proposal establishes a miserable standard for youth la-

bor, the second is designed to tear down the wage standards of the adult workers.

Other proposals include job-training, and assistance for high-school students whose families are eligible for relief at "\$6 per month average," and for college students up to 12 percent of the college enrollment, by providing jobs at \$15 a month. The latter proposal is a continuation of the FERA system which has now operated for a year, transferring supervision from college hands to government authority.

Only One-Sixth 'Benefits'

All told, the project is estimated to cost about \$50,000,000. This sum is to be administered by the National Youth Administration, over which will preside Josephine Roche, Colorado mine owner and Asst. Secretary of the Treasury. In addition the president is to appoint a National Advisory Committee, "to consist of representatives of labor, business, agriculture and youth."

Some 500,000 youth are expected (Continued on Page 4)

RALLY SUPPORT FOR EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT!

Comments

On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Great Minds...

"If there were no aliens in this country there would be no unemployment problem," asserts Representative Dies who is forming an organization to be called "The Americans" for the purpose of carrying on a national campaign to deport 6,000,000 aliens...

Safety...

\$150,000 was appropriated for machine guns, floodlights, electrical devices and tear gas for the defense of United States Mints. "Evidently you're looking for an attack by the regular army," remarked Chairman Buchanan of the Appropriations Committee...

Blue Eagle...

The National Association of Cotton Manufacturers reports that mills continue to operate in compliance with NRA codes and that its policing unit has had practically nothing to do. One mill was reported to have increased hourly rates...

Housing...

About one third of America's dwellings "are of a character to injure the health, endanger the safety and morals and interfere with the normal life of their inhabitants," reports Edith Wood of the PWA Housing Division...

Unemployment...

Two thousand hunger marchers from the Canadian west coast are corralled in a concentration camp at Regina, Saskatchewan, to prevent them from marching on Ottawa. Prime Minister Bennett stated to members of the group that there would be no recognition of "Soviet agitators and Soviet committees..."

A Survey of the Automobile Industry

Detroit and Toledo-Striking Contrast In Organization Methods

All is again quiet on the automobile front. A few stray shots are still being fired on the field of battle, but barring the possibility of the tool and dye makers repeating their spectacular strike struggles of two years ago, the real battle will not begin again until the fall...

The Toledo strike demonstrated again the surprising vitality of the auto worker; his devotion and class solidarity when he engages in battle. The strike also revealed the present weakness of the federal unions; the fact that even in so progressive a local as IS384 of Toledo, the machine of the unscrupulous bureaucracy was powerful enough to push through the agreement that ended the strike...

Detroit Doesn't Budge

The bureaucracy succeeded in keeping the Flint Buick workers at work throughout the Toledo strike, but only after a hard and bitter battle. The bureaucrats had to threaten and plead and cajole the men into submission. In Detroit, however, the Dillon office faced no problem at all...

Observers all ask the question: How is it that this strike in Toledo, which has aroused auto-workers in almost every automobile city in the country, produced no effect at all in Detroit? Doesn't that prove that it will be many long years before the auto workers actually begin to move?

What actually happened to Detroit a city which seethed with revolt only a year ago, where 100,000 men were ready to man the picket lines at a moment's notice, and today not even a corporals' guard could be found to strike in sympathy with Toledo?

The truth of the matter is that Detroit has to this day not recovered from the shock of March 25, 1934. The shameful sell-out, signed by the A. F. of L. leadership, legalizing the company union and creating the Automobile Labor Board, broke the back of the nascent trade union movement in the automobile industry...

In Detroit, however, the shameful role of Collins produced a directly opposite result: huge bon-fires were built with the union membership cards. They left the federal unions in disgust, by the hundreds and by the thousands, vowing never to return again.

Toledo and Detroit—a Contrast

Why is it that in one case the traitorous role of the A. F. of L. leadership was but a signal for more thorough preparation and heightened enthusiasm and in the other it produced complete demoralization and pulverized the whole movement? Are the Toledo workers, by any chance, more intelligent than the workers of Detroit?

No! As a matter of fact, they are much the same type, with more or less similar habits and background. The difference is to be explained and can only be explained on the basis of the presence in Toledo of a revolutionary group who understood the game of Dillon and the government mediators, who knew the moves of the chessboard ahead of time, and prepared and armed the men against Dillon and his agents...

After the shameful speech of Dillon on the fateful Monday night which settled the strike, this group convinced the union militants that it was their job to go back into the union, build it up more strongly, expand their progressive group and drive out of the union all the henchmen of Dillon and what they stand for, that only thus could they build a genuine democratic union to protect their interests, etc.

Role of the C. P.

In Detroit, on the contrary, the suicidal policy of the Communist Party and their ill-fated Auto Workers Union, left the green, untrained auto workers at the mercy of the "labor lieutenants," completely disarmed. At the crucial

moment the "left wing" was nowhere to be found. When the blow came, the men were simply bewildered and stunned. Nobody was on the spot to give them the necessary advice and point the road. The auto-workers protested in the only way they knew how—with their feet.

After that betrayal, the A. F. of L. bureaucrats left the auto workers to the tender mercies of the Automobile Labor Board. When after some nine months meditation, Dr. Wolman at last got around to holding "elections" in the automobile plants and the results showed some 4 percent for the A. F. of L. Green and Dillon got terribly indignant and belligerent. They threatened retribution. Fearing that the ground was just slipping underneath their feet they promised to start a giant organization drive to organize the whole automobile industry.

Dillon Blocks the Road

The organization drive, if it can be honored with that name, just evaporated into thin air. Because the auto workers wouldn't respond? The direct opposite is true. Every "spontaneous" outburst of the auto workers at Murray Body, at Hupp, Kelsey Wheel, the wet sanders in Lansing, was sidetracked by Dillon and referred to some governmental agency. Everyone in Detroit acquainted with the situation knew that the Dillon office feared to organize the men and was deliberately sabotaging all attempts.

The influx of thousands of new young workers of the basic industries in the A. F. of L. and the growth of mighty organizations in the nerve centers of American industry did not signify the corresponding growth and importance of the present leadership, but, on the

contrary, heralded their downfall and disappearance from the trade union scene. Apparently the bureaucrats knew this very well, and that is why they so assiduously and carefully sabotage every step of the locals themselves.

Good Opportunities Missed

After a year and a half of such experience, the period of easy unionization is definitely ended. Now, something more than small intimation fees and dues are necessary to attract the automobile worker. Still 1935 was an excellent year to start a serious organization drive. For one, 1935 was a "boom" year. More men employed in the industry than at any time since 1929. Undoubtedly the A. F. of L. would have regained major positions in the industry, had it seriously proceeded with its promised campaign.

A triple alliance would have been formed of auto, rubber and steel. The confidence, such a move would have inspired, would have been immense. The men would have returned to the firing line, and a serious offensive could have been launched against the company unions.

These are all the things that might have been done, were the present A. F. of L. leadership seriously concerned about organizing the automobile workers. Instead it did nothing—and when the workers here and there timidly attempted to start organization on their own account, they were ruthlessly and brutally squelched.

That is why trade unionism is at low ebb in Detroit today. These are the "objective conditions" which made it so difficult to stir up the Detroit Chevrolet workers and interest them in the strike in Toledo. After a year of such sterling labor

"activity," the A. F. of L. federal locals might have lost all standing in the industry, had another center of attraction existed. At first that seemed to be the direction.

M.E.S.A. Stagnates

The Mechanics Educational Society, which organized the key men of the industry, the tool and dye makers, led brilliant, spectacular battles in almost every plant in Detroit and apparently were destined to sweep the whole field. But after the sell-out of March 25, 1934, instead of pushing on and taking over the leadership in a great organization campaign, it began stagnating. No serious attempts were made to get in production men, its membership slumped and the union was torn by an internal cancer of factional struggle between the various cliques, which paralyzed its activity and rendered it helpless. Unless the M.E.S.A. can cleanse itself—and that in short order, and begin an earnest drive for the production men—it will cease to be an important factor in the industry. All indications point at the present time to the fact that for the immediate future, the A. F. of L. federal unions are destined to be the shell within which the auto workers will organize.

We have spoken previously and are ready to repeat again the story of the peridy of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. We can even add: Dillon and Green are deliberately delaying the formation of an International in the automobile industry, for fear that they cannot yet control it; they intend moreover to exclude from such an International the tool and dye makers, the maintenance men and other workers claimed by the various International unions. All this is true, but axiomatic to a revolutionist engaged in trade union work. If we wish, however, to do more than just "expose" the bureaucracy, if we would actually do battle with it and destroy

Tobin's Union-Busting Drive Against 574—and their Reply

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The Central Labor Union committee has returned from Indianapolis bearing a set of written demands from D. J. Tobin which outline the basis on which General Drivers Local 574 can be reinstated in the Drivers International. These demands bear witness to the ruthless tactics to which Tobin will stoop in his burning desire to get revenge for an imaginary grievance. Here are his demands:

- 1. That all inside workers be denied membership in the union.
2. That no worker who does not devote at least 51 percent of his time to driving or other actual work on a truck be permitted to be a member.
3. That the ice drivers be in a separate union. That the coal drivers be in a separate union.
4. That the taxi drivers be in a separate union.
5. That all independent truck owners be denied membership in any union.
6. That a new charter be issued on the following basis:

a. All present officers and active members in Local 574 be denied membership under the new charter.
b. All applications for membership be subject to the approval of Tobin. (This would mean that any worker who is even suspected of having taken an active part in the union would be unable to remain a member.)

c. That the Teamsters Joint Council reorganize the local under the direct supervision of a special representative of Tobin.
d. That all actions of the union be subject to the approval of Tobin.
7. That Tobin receive the delinquent per capita tax of Local 574, the amount to be determined by the General Executive Board and to be not less than 50 percent of what Tobin estimates the local owes. (Tobin's estimate, by the way, is almost double the actual amount involved.)

Tobin Program Worse than Bosses This program was planned deliberately to cut the union up into small helpless units and to strip it of its fighting ability. Tobin does not want a union in his International which has the power of 574. A few unions like 574 and it would be impossible for him to maintain his bureaucratic control which constantly strangles unionization of the truck drivers of the nation. In this desperate attempt to protect his pie-card, Tobin is putting forward the same program which the Citizens Alliance put forward last summer. Once again he plays into the hands of the employers as he did through his editorial writing during the 1934 strikes. In fact he attempts to go even further than the bosses did. Not only does he deny that the inside workers have a right to belong to the union, but he attempts to confine the mem-

bership of the General Drivers to workers who spend at least 51 percent of their time on trucks, and then they can be members only if the truck is used to haul certain Tobin-approved commodities.

After reading the Tobin manifesto to the assembly, Jean Spellman, spokesman for the C.L.U. committee, moved that the report be referred to the Teamsters Joint Council for action.

Slander Used in Election Campaign

At this point several delegates took the floor demanding to know why and how intimate details regarding the Local 574 charter fight had come into the hands of the candidate opposing William S. Brown in the aldermanic race in the third ward. Brown, the president of 574, played a militant role in the 1934 strikes and, in keeping with his fighting ability and instincts, waged a splendid and clean fight in the election campaign. But despite this fine record he was not invited to speak to the assembly on this issue which is of such vital importance to his union.

Moë Hork, a member of the 574 executive board, was denied the floor when he attempted to speak on the tactics employed against Brown in the campaign.

Many delegates took the floor to speak of the great gains which the General Drivers have brought to the entire labor movement. Specific instances were cited, such as the New England construction job where the truck drivers threw their strength into a fight which had begun to appear quite hopeless to the building trades unions.

Travesty on Union Democracy

At this point in the debate, which had by now become very heated, a substitute motion was made to throw the Tobin demands in the waste basket. This motion was later ruled out of order on the grounds that it was a negative motion and could not be voted on.

Delegate Wachter pointed out clearly and completely what a travesty of trade union democracy Tobin's policies represent. He pictured how the overwhelming majority of the delegates were in complete sympathy with Local 574 and showed that the differences of opinion in the matter lay principally in the relative courage of the delegates in determining a course of action. Questioning sharply Tobin's right to the dictatorial powers which he assumes, Wachter proposed that the Central Labor Union appeal Tobin's decision to the convention of the Drivers International and that in the meantime the whole matter be left pending with complete recognition of 574. Wachter was unable to obtain a vote on his proposal.

Threaten Charter Revocations

Speaking for his motion to refer Tobin's demands to the Teamsters Joint Council for action, Spellman told the assembly that, while he was in Tobin's office, Tobin had held a telephone conversation with Green in Washington and that Green had promised full co-operation to Tobin. Spellman then carefully explained that this would mean that if the C.L.U. or any union attempted to defend 574 that their charter would be immediately revoked. He then predicted that if his motion was not passed the C.L.U. charter would be revoked at once. He stated further that the present officers of Local 574 should be willing to step aside as Tobin demands.

Reactionaries Meet Defeat

With the matter now in their hands, the Teamsters Joint Council will attempt to carry out the Tobin program. But despite the action railroaded through the assembly, the reactionary bureaucracy was badly defeated. The issues in the fight are clearly defined, and the progressive thinking delegates are well informed as to the real meaning of this program to the movement. Their sympathies are completely with 574, and they will carry their opinions back to their unions with a recommendation that they continue to support the drivers. The standing of Local 574 will continue to be very high among union men. Delegate Crowl, business agent of the iron workers, told the assembly that on the army job, and every other union construction job where the ironworkers are employed, if any union refuses to demand that 574 men deliver their materials, the ironworkers will tie up the job. Local 574 will not give up the gains it has made through the bitter struggles of 1934. The sacrifices made were too great to permit Tobin to so lightly cast aside everything that Local 574 stands for. The membership of the General Drivers is up in arms over this outrage. They recognize the Tobin demands as a twin sister to the vicious propaganda of the bosses. Local 574 will fight Tobin on every front and defeat his Citizens Alliance program. Every union, every liberal and radical organization must take a clear cut position in this fight. The workers of Minneapolis must respond in the same splendid manner that they did last summer in the struggle with the Citizens Alliance. Smash all union-smashers! Make Minneapolis a union town!

it, we must do more than propagandize; we must extend our organizational base in the auto industry because events have proved, we in the W. P. are the only ones who can do the job. We must fuse our ideas with the workers inside the federal unions, to help them "arm" themselves against their enemies and to organize "pressure" for the calling of a democratically controlled convention to establish an International union and to begin an organization drive by September in preparation for a general strike.

Workers Must Prepare to Strike

All the elemental forces of the industry are again turned loose full force, and are inexorably driving the men onward towards the path of unionism. Bitterness and resentment are accumulating so rapidly, that when the explosion occurs, the Toledo strike will look like a tea-party in comparison.

The workers have had a year's experience with the Auto Labor Board. Some 200,000 of them participated in the A. L. B.'s "elections" and while it was a bitter pill that Green and Collins forced them to swallow we say with confidence: it was not in vain! They have learned more in these last few months of "collective bargaining" than the previous five years put together. In plant after plant, members of the bargaining agencies have clashed with the management and have found that beyond getting a light bulb replaced or a water bubbler repaired—their power did not extend. If their demands were not accepted, to they of course had the opportunity of appealing to Dr. Wolman! Now, their only recourse is . . . strike, and for that they must have an organization.

So, having passed through the glorious run around of Roosevelt, Wolman, Green, Collins and Dillon, they are back at the starting point, more experienced, more steered and better prepared for the battle.

It is now the duty of the conscious revolutionists not to lag behind, but to be prepared to guide the workers and help them in their coming struggle. This task, of organizing this key industry, the "nerve center" of American economy is the most important and significant one since post-war days, organizing the key industries, the opening up a completely new phase in American unionism and the labor movement of this country. If we succeed, our position in the American labor movement is secure and we shall be prepared to lead the workers forward to victory.

A Letter the Daily Worker Dared Not Print

To the Editor of Daily Worker, 50 East 13th Street, New York City Gentlemen:

In a Daily Worker editorial of June 17, 1935, we read:

"Joseph Zack and Jack Taylor, the two choice morsels which the Trotskyites fished out of the garbage discarded by the C. P., have been expelled and are now publishing a paper of their own. . . . Any honest worker may be forgiven if he holds his nose!"

This section of the above dated Daily Worker editorial runs true to Stalinist form and method of "discarding garbage" in the form of Daily Worker editorials for the consumption of "honest workers" who "hold their nose" . . .

You hold it is the policy of the Daily Worker to give the "honest workers" the truth and nothing but the truth—yet you deliberately print a trumped up account of my "expulsion" from the Workers Party of the U. S.

The New York Times gives "all the news that's fit to print" providing they do their own "fitting"; the Daily Worker prints a "fitting" account of Jack Taylor's "expulsion" . . .

Need I say that this "expulsion" is the brain child of the Daily Worker editor? . . . Need it be said that Stalinist brain fever (perhaps clairvoyance with Stalinism as the medium) has produced a picture of Jack Taylor "expelled" from the Workers Party of the U.S.A. and publishing his own paper? . . .

For the "honest workers" who "hold their nose" against the Stalinist stench known as Daily Worker editorials, let me say the following:

Jack Taylor has not been expelled from the Workers Party of the U. S. and he is not publishing or helping to publish an independent paper.

Finally let me remind you—although you cannot have forgotten this fact—my resignation from the Communist Party was published in the Militant two months prior to my being "discarded" by the C. P. bureaucrats.

Stalinism has now been "discarded" what you call "garbage" for years. Thousands of "discarded" revolutionaries are exiled to Siberia and others held in Stalin's jails. This "garbage" is composed of those Marxists who can see the difference between the Menshevism of Stalin and the Bolshevism of Lenin and Trotsky.

This, gentlemen, is the truth—but to get the truth it is necessary to discard the Daily Worker and to read the New Militant, organ of the Workers Party of the U.S. —JACK TAYLOR

Plenum of N.C. of W. P. Spikes False Rumors

The June Plenum of the National Committee of the W. P. took note of rumors to the effect that there are leaders and members of the W. P. who advocate that the W. P. should join or merge with the Socialist Party. Occasionally it is necessary to take account of rumor and gossip, no matter how absurd and irresponsible it may be, simply because it is so persistent. Solely on this ground, the Plenum hereby states that all such reports are absolutely without foundation, that no leaders or members of the W. P. advocate or have advocated any such program.

The position of the W. P. on the Socialist Party and the Second International has been clearly and explicitly set forth in the Declaration of Principles adopted at the merger convention last December of the former Communist League of America and the American Workers Party. We repeat it here both because of the intrinsic soundness of the analysis there set forth and because it is the best and simplest way to indicate how incompatible with the basic Declaration of the W. P. is advocacy of a proposal that it should join or merge with a party of reformism and pacifism:

"The Socialist Party is not a party of revolution but of reform and pacifism. The fundamental error of all wings of the party is their false conception of the nature of the state and of the colonial question. From this flow its parliamentary illusions, its notion that the workers can achieve power within the framework of existing state forms, its fetishism of capitalist democracy, its policies of class collaboration, and betrayal of colonial revolts and revolutions. It is affiliated and gives allegiance to the bankrupt Second International, which bears the responsibility for supporting the last imperialist war, and whose leading section, the German Social-Democracy, openly aided the capitalists to suppress revolutionary uprisings of the workers and made possible the triumph of Fascism in Germany. The Socialist Party conducts no struggle against the reactionaries in the trade union movement and important sections of the Party are directly associated with these elements. Though now, as at other periods in its history, the Party contains many militant and leftward moving workers, the powerful right wing elements in the Party openly spurn and combat all revolutionary tendencies. The radical phrases of the centrist wing represented by the 'Militant' leaders serve as a cover for an essentially reformist attitude and a policy of capitulation to the right wing. The Party and the Second International with which it is affiliated therefore serve the purpose of hindering the consistent development of the workers to a revolutionary position. The genuinely revolutionary workers in the Socialist Party can carry out the implications of their position only when they break with the reformists and social patriots and unite with the Workers Party and the New International."

The merger of the former A.W.P. and C.L.A., after more than a decade of splits and disintegration in the revolutionary movement, was in our opinion an historic turning point. The founding of the new party on the basis of the Declaration of Principles was the one possible step toward revolutionary unity. We believe that in ever increasing numbers the vanguard workers who are today in other parties and groups or have no political allegiance will realize with us the crucial importance of breaking with reformism and centristism and unifying the revolutionary forces on the basis of revolutionary internationalism and under the banner of the Fourth International.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

England Ends Versailles Treaty

Hardly one week after the Tories took over the British government the new foreign minister, Hoare, resorted to direct action to resolve the contradiction between the reality of German rearmament and the fiction of the maintenance of the Versailles Treaty.

At the same time the English ruling class serves notice to France that the latter had better come to terms also with Hitler and abandon the Soviet Union to its fate.

Stalinism Grovels Before Imperialism

The nearer the war of intervention, the more desperately the Stalinists grovel before world imperialism to prove that the Soviets are not really a menace to the bourgeois ruling class.

The Manager's Corner

(Continued from Page 1)

far from this goal. But here comes some good news. The New York party district has pledged itself to raise not less than half of the amount stipulated.

The Boston branch made a preliminary pledge of \$53.50 and in accord with the habit it has already established it proceeded to make good right away.

Contributions To Date We have organized this campaign

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engaged in erasing every trace of the October Revolution in order to prove their worthiness to exist side by side with reactionary world imperialism. As the preliminary to further concessions to reaction, the Stalinists are proceeding to annihilate physically all Bolshevik oppositionists, past or present.

Only one force stands in the way of Stalin and endangers his "success" in blocking the road to power of the proletariat of Western Europe. That force, still small but growing in influence through the power of its correct Marxist approach to the revolutionary tasks of the working class, is the nucleus of the Fourth International, the inheritors of the militant traditions of the Second and the Third Internationals.

The Fourth International alone can accomplish this necessary task of ridding the working class of the poison and treachery of Stalinism. It is the builders of the Fourth International who alone can forewarn the advanced workers against the betrayers who are already sowing the seeds of social patriotism in preparation for the next war.

From The Very Beginning

By AL DASCH

The week of July 4th is a fitting one to review some of the revolutionary traditions of the American working class. Class struggles in America did not begin with July 4, 1776.

The history of this country is replete with class conflicts. From the time of the first indentured and chattel slave down to the modern wage earner an unceasing struggle has taken place between the contending classes. Nor is this strange. For America, almost from the day the colonies were founded, has been subject to the laws of the class struggle.

A Legacy of Force

The past has bequeathed the proletariat of today a rich legacy. Revolutionary actions of previous generations hammer home the necessity of revolutionary methods today in order to abolish the ills and ailments of present day society.

A century before the armed conflict between the colonies and the mother country, England, two of the largest colonies, Virginia and New York, were plunged into the throes of a civil war. These were the Bacon and Leisler uprisings, taking their names from the leaders of the oppressed who headed these revolts.

The Rebels of Yesterday "Bacon gathers about him a rabble of the basest sort of people, whose conditions are such as by a change could not admit of words, with these began to stand in defiance against the government."

Heritage of Class Struggle in U.S. History

How familiar is this cry from the lips of a colonial master, to us today? The American Revolution of 1776 was the class struggle breaking out into the open and taking place by armed means. Underneath the surface of the civil war was, of course, a clash of economic interests.

For us the heritage of 1776 lies not in the eloquent phrases of the Declaration of Independence or the revolutionary fathers. The Declaration of Independence is violated by the capitalist class whenever their interests clash with those of the working class.

Marx, in the introduction to the first volume of Capital speaks of the stimulating influences of the American Revolution of the 18th century and the American Civil War of the 19th on European society.

Administration Split Policy In Teachers Union Threatens Progressives in A. F. of L.

This is the first of a series of two articles on the present situation in the Teachers Union.—Ed.

For the past five years a struggle has been going on in the Teachers Union of New York, Local 5, the largest local of the American Federation of Teachers, over the fundamental question of the Union's policy.

Mass activity: The Administration believes in confining its chief activities to lobbying at Albany, City Hall and at the Board of Education. (59th St., N.Y.) It relies upon the support of the teachers in the upper salary brackets. It often subordinates its own independent action to that of the Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations, which is controlled by the supervisors in the school system, who act in conjunction and are inspired by the Board of Superintendents and the Board of Education at 59th St.

Work of the Opposition Groups In opposition to this the minority groups (Rank and File, Progressives, Committee for Democracy, etc.) despite serious internal differences, place the main emphasis on mass activity.

constitutional ruling which will be contested at the national convention.

To prevent the opposition from gaining a majority, the Administration has resorted to anti-democratic practices, to arbitrary decisions, to red-baiting, to violations of the union's policies, and now to "investigation" whose aim as stated by Dr. Lefkowitz, a leader of the Administration, is to oust the Opposition from the union.

The "Investigation" Maneuvers If the Lefkowitz-Linville faction succeeds in its present move to reorganize the Teachers Union, the results will probably take this form: 1) Leaders and many prominent members of the union will be expelled or excluded from the "reorganized" union.

2) The minority groups will be dissolved and illegalized. They will be prohibited from holding group meetings, issuing literature and appeals to the membership, presenting motions and resolutions in the name of the groups.

3) The policy of no membership meetings with power to decide policies would be continued. 4) The Delegate Assembly would be stripped of its present powers to review decisions of the Executive Board; its policy-making powers would be taken from it.

tempt to garner for the workers and poor farmers the promises made to them. Shay and those with him were defeated by an army, especially raised for that purpose. But that action destroyed the myth that the revolution was fought for the inalienable rights of man.

The revolution broke the domination of the mother country and liberated the colonies. It opened the west for expansion and made possible the unleashing of the productive forces in American society. Besides it set up a republican form of government and gave an impetus to the progress of revolution in Europe.

The bourgeoisie claims that the Revolution abolished the difference between classes and the necessity of strife. But the whole history of America since then is a history of violent clashes between exploiter and exploited.

Marx, in the introduction to the first volume of Capital speaks of the stimulating influences of the American Revolution of the 18th century and the American Civil War of the 19th on European society.

hands of the Executive Board including the power to suspend and expel members. The present very limited democracy would be succeeded by a bureaucratic dictatorship of the officers and the Executive Board.

Effect on Other Unions If the Administration succeeds in carrying through its program it will give the Green-Wool leadership encouragement in their present campaign to expel the communists from the unions—which is their device for labelling and getting rid of the progressives.

If minority groups can be suppressed in one union, then they can be suppressed in other unions as well. It is to be expected that the reactionaries in other A. F. of L. unions will not be slow in seizing upon similar "reorganization" measures. The demagogical cry will be raised that progressive groups based upon a simple trade union program are taking orders from "outside organizations" meaning by that the working class political parties.

It thus becomes the duty of the progressives in other unions to come to the assistance of the large militant membership of the Teachers Union in their efforts to preserve the unity of the organization against the Administration splitters. The progressives should discuss this question in their own groups. They should raise this question in their unions and try if possible to have them pass resolutions condemning the investigation and defending the right of organized minorities to exist in the Teachers Union.

The Executive Council, American Federation of Teachers 506 N. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

FORT WORTH, Tex. (FP).—Though the Texas Electric Service Co. at Eastland, Tex., denies that a strike is in progress, about 40 union and non-union men have walked out, according to International Vice-Pres. W. L. Ingram of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The men struck in protest against the firing of three union employees.

Protest Meeting Friday, July 12, 8 P.M.—A.J. Muste speaks on "Recent Events in Soviet Union" at 1776 Pitkin Ave., Bklyn.

Bolshevik Speaks for Fourth International at SFIO Congress

The following is a summary of the speech of Molinier, for the Bolshevik-Leninist group, at the Mulhouse Congress of the Socialist Party of France:

He explains why some of the members in various sections will vote against the report of the delegates to the Second International.

What is involved here at this time is not the question of approving some points of opposition of the French delegation but of posing here briefly the international problem in all its amplitude.

This is the key question which determines all others, which delineates the political evolution of the tendencies: the crossroad where they meet or divide, a problem which determines their will to carry on a real struggle against war. It is on the international scale what armament is on the plane of the struggle for power.

And this question of the International poses itself again and again every time the question of war or the seizure of power appears in a sharp form. The dilemma: Either "gradual national and international development" or coordinated international revolutionary action.

Of what value are internationalist phrases if you are organizing for nationalism? At this time only the bourgeoisie acts in concert in the world and when the socialist delegates go to these conferences they act there as hirelings of their bourgeoisie.

Have we an international? That is, have we a coordinated political organization of international struggle? What do those think of the Second International who still have authority in the eyes of the majority of this Congress?

Lebas said at the National Congress on February 29, 1920: "... The war, as comrade Rafin-Dugens, has so correctly observed, has killed not only men and destroyed wealth... one of its corpses, one of its victims was the International..."

"... One must examine the situation created in the Party in all countries and observe more-over if we can agree on saying how we can reconstitute it, this International, whatever number we give it..."

"... These, of course, are the reasons why the Federation of the North has decided in almost complete unanimity to propose to the Party to withdraw from the Second International. This, of course is not because we are throwing mud at it but because we very sincerely believe that we can work more effectively for the reconstitution of the new International outside of the old and decadent one rather than by remaining inside it."

Paul Faure at the National Congress, February 29, 1920:

"... We ask, comrades, that the French Socialist party leave the Second International."

"I listened to Renaudel and vainly sought in his speech for decisive reasons which to my mind he did not produce for maintaining our adherence to this organization."

"Our resolution remains un-

shakable. We became more and more impatient, understanding that from the socialist standpoint the atmosphere of the Second International became absolutely unlivable..."

Since when has it come back to life? Defeat in Italy, in Germany, in Austria, in Spain, in Belgium, where the former president of the International presides at the imprisonment of striking miners! The corpses are rotting.

The Third International? Let us consider it. It must be said: It bore the banner of revolution throughout the world. Did it organize the split? Does it mean to split when one fights for principles?

It degenerated with the degeneration of the Russian revolution; it has seen its death certificate signed by Stalin. It is now the International whose parties after many zig-zags are becoming the means of national defense in conformity with the fluctuations of the foreign policy of Russia; such a betrayal means placing the official seal upon the tombstone of the oppressed of the entire world.

(Molinier retorted to Dormoy who interrupts him at this point:) "It is only natural that you defend Stalin after he has sunk to your level."

WHAT IS TO BE DONE? Unity of the Second and the Third Internationals? On what basis? The basis which allows the same class influences, the same germs of difference to exist?

Or our basis? Concerted, joint, action against capitalism, which is concentrated and spirited action driven forward. Never class peace! No theory of socialism in one country.

In the present state of things one must base himself on experience to rebuild the International. WE MUST BUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL which means to take into account the life and the death of the others.

In many countries: Holland (R. S.P.-O.S.P.), America (C.L.A.-A.W.P.) unity was achieved on this basis. All the living forces of the two internationals must be organized on this basis! What about the big parties? Win over the decisive elements.

For that: without subordinating daily action to the creation of the Fourth International, we will group around us on the principles of revolutionary action all the active forces of the Party, and with them pave the way for the Fourth International.

Molinier's speech was for the most part heard in intense silence, interrupted very infrequently and applauded lustily by a small minority of the Congress. The defense of the Stalinist policy fell upon citizen Grumbach, one of the most active defamers of the Communist International in its best days.

READ THE NEW MILITANT

Zack Expelled from Workers Party

Joseph Zack has been expelled from the Workers Party of the U. S. for gross violations of discipline. He wrote to a leading comrade in Minneapolis advising him to violate an N. C. decision on a grave trade union matter in action. He further openly violated party discipline by contradicting and challenging to a debate the Party speaker presenting the Party point of view at an open mass meeting in New York. He has been participating, without any consultation even with the Party, in efforts to launch a paper to be called "Independent Unionist"

which has for one of its slogans: "For A New Progressive Federation of Labor." The W. P. has never issued any such slogan; it is contrary to the Party's trade union line. The fact that Zack is now announcing himself as speaker at a public meeting at which he promises to "expose" alleged controversies within the W. P., furnishes additional confirmation of the correctness of the action taken some weeks ago by the Political Committee meeting jointly with the N. Y. District Committee in expelling him from the Party—not for his views which he was given every opportunity to set forth in the regular channels within the Party but for flagrant and persistent disregard and violation of the elements of revolutionary discipline.

LECTURE

The Truth About "Trotskyism"

A REPLY TO OLGIN'S PAMPHLET AGAINST "TROTSKYISM" What is the connection between the new slanderous attack and Stalin's Campaign Against the Bolsheviks in Russia? —The Social-Patriotic Policy of the French Communist Party? —The Right Wing Swing of the American Communist Party? —The growth of the movement for the Fourth International in France, Holland and the United States?

Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN Editor, The New International

WEDNESDAY, JULY 17th at 8:00 P.M. AT IRVING PLAZA Irving Place and 15th Street, New York

Questions and discussion in Jewish and in English Auspices: New York District, Workers Party of the U. S.

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Labor Party Confusion

As the Workers Party predicted from the outset, the Communist Party gets into hotter water all the time with its mass-class-not-reformist-not revolutionary but class-struggle Labor Party.

There is quite a flurry of Labor Party talk these days among the Old Guard of the Socialist Party and certain trade union leaders, as well as among some sections of the workers. Typical of a good deal of this talk was Sidney Hillman's speech at the Taminant Economic and Social Institute of the S. P. Old Guard recently. "Labor is now looking to the president for leadership," says Brother Hillman. But if "the conservatives in both old parties will not permit the president to carry through the New Deal program" then workers, farmers, etc. will be turning to a new party.

Fervently Brother Hillman prays that such a Party "will not go along the lines of the share-the-wealth groups and advocates of overnight panaceas." He was "particularly bitter," the papers report, in his criticism of liberal and radical critics of the New Deal, Senator Borah, Clarence Darrow, "the left wingers, radicals and college boys."

Thereupon the Daily Worker bursts forth in editorial and cartoon. "But what kind of a Labor Party, Mr. Waldman?" We charge that "the Old Guard of the S. P. and the top bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. are planning a Labor Party in name only." What did the C. P., Browder, Stalin and Co. expect to happen when they came forth with their Labor Party slogan? What could happen other than what has actually occurred—confusion among the workers, a golden opportunity for the bureaucrats and fakery to practice their mislead-

ership, to divert the growing discontent among the workers into the safe channels of a Labor Party?

Yes, editors and cartoonists of the Daily Worker, an "anti-capitalist," not a pro-New Deal party is what the workers need. That can only mean in this period, a revolutionary Marxian party, not an attempt to lead the masses in this country into some replica of the British Labor Party or the German Social Democracy. But the C. P. is no longer a revolutionary Marxian party. It lacks consequently the intelligence and the courage to call the workers to rally under the revolutionary banner. It joins with Hillman and Waldman and others of that ilk in singing the Labor Party chorus. Only it protests that it is singing out of another book!

For a Fighting Auto Union

The announcement by the American Federation of Labor that a convention of Federal automobile locals is to be held on August 29 indicates a triumph for the militants in the industry and at the same time means that they must work more quickly and seriously than ever to organize their forces for a decisive battle with the reactionary bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. The latter would never have consented to a convention at this time had not the conduct of the progressives during the recent Chevrolet-General Motors strike in Toledo and elsewhere, and subsequent to the strike, demonstrated that the latter meant business and would not tolerate further delay in setting up an international. But the bureaucrats will now seek to control the convention and through it the new organization.

The progressives must work to send honest and militant delegates to the convention and to establish at the convention an organization based on democratic control by the membership, not bossed by Green, Dillon, Collins and Co.; an industrial union with jurisdiction over all workers employed in the automobile and auto parts industry; with no discrimination against members or prospective members because of religion, nationality, race, color, or political affiliation; relying not on favors from the bosses or government boards but on the militancy and solidarity of the workers.

The Workers Party now, as for many months past, calls for the most loyal and enthusiastic support of the militant forces in the automobile unions seeking to realize this program.

Italy Prepares Ethiopia Rape

(Continued from Page 1)

made up chiefly of cotton, sugar, oil, etc. Recently it has been discovered that Ethiopia is probably rich in important natural resources such as gold, silver, iron, etc.

But that which has led to conflict in the past and which is most likely a great contributing factor to the present turmoil is the fact that Ethiopia is completely surrounded by "neighbors" without an outlet of its own to the sea and that in its interior lies Lake Tsana from which rises the headwaters of the Blue Nile that water the fertile cotton regions of the British-controlled Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. As close as is possible to give boundary lines without a map, Ethiopia is bounded on the North by Eritrea (Italian); on the East by French and British Somaliland; on the South by Italian Somaliland and the west by the Anglo-Egyptian-Sudan. France permits the use of its railroad which is Ethiopia's only connecting link with the sea, running from Addis Ababa to Djibuti, a French possession.

Only the other day England was ready to grant Italy Selsia as an outlet to the sea through its Somaliland, in an effort to arbitrate the Italo-Ethiopian differences, but Italy balked.

Britain's Stake

England's concern in the matter, its offer for an outlet to the sea and gratuitous grants of land in Ethiopia proper to Italy—besides its game on the European continent—can be understood only if the strategic importance of imperialist hegemony over the Lake Tsana region is taken into consideration. As stated before, it is from this region that rise the waters which makes of British-controlled territory in Eastern Africa so economically valuable a possession. Pacts and agreements have been in existence for decades and only recently it has been reaffirmed that no dams be constructed in the Lake region which might impair the flow of water to its neighboring territory. The gobbling up of Ethiopia by any of the imperialist powers involved would give it a strategic importance in the entire of eastern Africa.

The question might well be asked: how is it that, granting its strategic importance, no power has seen fit to conquer this territory? First, it can be answered, it is not so easily conquerable. Or rather it wasn't. Probably with ultra-modern instruments of warfare, Ethiopia could be licked. It must be remembered that Italy has already suffered a shameful defeat at the hands of these backward tribesmen at the close of the century.

And secondly, and probably most important of all, is the need of

keeping a black Christian buffer state to counteract the sentiments of the rest of the native Africans who are Mohammedans. It was just this fact that scotched the ambitions of the Mad Mullah, a number of decades ago, who started a movement to drive the Christian imperialists out of Africa. This undoubtedly the powers, particularly that power which has had the most experience in imperialist conquest, Great Britain, has well understood.

Mussolini's Alibi

The so-called cause for the present conflict is the result of a series of border incidents along Eritrea some months ago. Some Italian soldiers were found dead, killed perhaps by Ethiopian soldiers. But the facts already brought out prove that these Italian soldiers were killed sixty miles within the Ethiopian boundaries, which if one were to go in for this aggression and aggression business, would certainly prove Italy the aggressor.

Italy used this incident, however, as the nub around which to start long desired operations. Anyhow, Il Duce argued, Abyssinia needs civilization, Italy needs room for its people to expand, a modern power needs colonies and the Italian people need to satisfy a long standing insult to national pride. All of which means Italy wants Ethiopia.

But Italy cannot go it alone. At least for any length of time. Britain and France are directly involved. From a little distance so are Japan and Germany. So far France is pretty well lined up with Italy and has been driven even still closer as the result of the Anglo-German naval treaty which France considered an affront. England's efforts at arbitration have so far proved futile. The League of Nations to which Ethiopia has been constantly appealing has merely put the matter off, arguing benignly, that since war on a real scale cannot start until after the rainy season (fall), it would table the matter till then.

Meanwhile Italy has shipped thousands of troops and tons of supplies to Africa. In the past few months Italian troops have been laying roads in Eritrea and Italian Somaliland in preparation for war. France, standing by Italy, has barred ammunition from reaching Addis Ababa, which as we have shown above she could well do.

No Help from Litvinoff

In this connection it might have been expected that one voice in the League of Nations would have spoken up in behalf of the impoverished little nation in colonial Africa—the voice of Maxim Litvinoff who represents the Soviet Union in the League. But not a peep out of him, except to so profusely and slavishly congratulate Sir Anthony Eden for his wise decision to postpone the matter until "after the rainy season" as even to make Sir Anthony blush. In this connection, too, the world is still awaiting the answer to the telegram sent Litvin-

off by Mr. Williams, assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The telegram reads as follows:

"Why has Soviet Russia, though you as Foreign Minister and President League Council, remained silent Italian-Ethiopian situation? Has Russia abandoned its alleged opposition to imperialism and its much publicized defense of weaker peoples? Does your anti-imperialism stop at black nations? Await your reply."

A war against Ethiopia by Italy will not be a purely African affair, or an Italo-Ethiopian affair. Even if it starts thus, it will not end so. Too many imperialist powers have their fingers in the pudding. The liberal jitters that Mussolini, as usual, is only blustering are false and disarming. It may well prove to be a test of how secure is the inner regime of a modern imperialist power since the abject collapse of the Third International, France's backing of Italy, in light of the Franco-Soviet pact, will compromise the Soviet Union in the eyes of the world proletariat unless a resounding call—which is highly improbable—be issued to the world working class to demand hands off Ethiopia.

England has been drawn closer and closer to Germany in recent days. Hitler's "drang nach osten" may soon take on fearful reality. Japan is consciously contriving one act of provocation after another against the Soviet Union. While occupied in writing this, a late evening paper brings the news that serious skirmishes are already taking place on the Ethiopian front with "heavy casualties" reported. The next world war looms large on the horizon. More than ever must the working class be prepared.

More than ever must we reaffirm the revolutionary slogans: "Turn the imperialist war into civil war. The enemy is in our own country."

Spring Makers Strike in N.Y.

Employees of the Kay Mfg. Co. of 22 Warren Street, Brooklyn are on strike. The company did not think profits large enough so it increased hours from 40 to 44. With the increase of hours workers paid by the week received no increase in pay and to show the "fairness" of the company rates for piece workers were reduced 10 percent.

In other words all workers were supposed to work an extra four hours a week for the glory of god, the good of their health, and the bosses' profits.

Only one thing was wrong with this proposition—the 350 workers,

A Reply to Liberal Critics of Bolshevism

The Position of the Workers Party on Proletarian Dictatorship and Worker's Democracy in Light of Recent Events

By A. J. MUSTE

Doubt and discredit are being thrown upon the entire Marxist-Leninist philosophy and upon the revolutionary movement of the working class by the policies of the present Stalin-dominated regime in the Soviet Union. When in connection with the signing of a pact between the S. U. and the imperialist French government, it is officially stated that "M. Stalin understands and fully approves the national defense policy of France in keeping her armed forces at the level required for security" and when Maurice Thorez, leader of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France flatly declares: "Now I answer a question that has been put to me: In case of such a war launched by Hitler against the U.S.S.R., would you apply your slogan: 'transformation of the imperialist war into the civil war' (against French imperialism, that is). Well, no! because in such a war it is not an imperialist war that is involved, a war between two imperialist gangs, it is a war against the Soviet Union"—then the enemies of the working class utter the taunt: "There goes your boast that the Workers' State brings a new force into diplomacy, into relations between states, your claim that the working class revolution will put an end to imperialist wars."

Liberals of all shades who had come to have a measure of sympathy for the revolutionary movement as perhaps the one practical instrument for the realization of their ideals are alienated; many of them go back to faith in phantoms like humanitarianism and religion to usher in the reign of peace. Reactionary and conservative trade unionists and Social Democrats who were on the defensive when the Soviet regime and the Communist International were making a clear-cut revolutionary attack on capitalism, imperialism and war, take fresh courage and obtain a fresh opportunity to confuse the workers and to strengthen their hold upon them. Into the hearts of many of the advanced workers strikes an icy blast of disillusionment and cynicism.

Stalin Sows Illusions

That social patriotism fastening itself upon the Second International should betray the workers and lead them to a ghastly slaughter, before they realized what was happening, that is understandable. From such an experience the working class can profit and therefore recover. But if now the International of Lenin succumbs to social-patriotism, calls upon the worker under whatever specious plea to defend the (imperialist) "fatherland," doubt may well arise as to whether there is any way to save the revolutionary movement from corruption and defeat. "If the salt has lost its savor, wherewith shall it be salted?"

The revolutionary internationalists of the Workers Party in the United States and the parties and groups in other countries which have likewise raised the banner of the Fourth International, have the answer to this problem; and they alone in the working class movement today have an answer. It is not, however, with this phase of the degeneration of the Soviet regime and the Third International that we are primarily concerned here; but rather with a problem closely related to it.

The present regime in the Soviet Union is employing repression and terrorism on a large scale and of a brutal character, not only against

those who are the enemies of the Workers' State or those who can with some measure of plausibility be regarded as such, but also against revolutionists who are political opponents of Stalin and his henchmen. It is not necessary here to produce detailed evidence of the fact. The Soviet press itself carries daily reports of severe measures taken against old Bolsheviks, including recently those who have never had any connection with the Trotskyist opposition, for example, as well as against relatives of the men who have never participated in any political activity at all, as witness the case of Trotsky's son, a chemist who was permitted to go on with his work for many years after his father's exile, to which Nathalie Trotsky has recently called public attention.

When organizations such as ours protest against such repressive acts, we are met, and with increasing frequency in recent months, with the argument that protests from us come with poor grace and can hardly expect to get serious attention. We are told that we also believe in the proletarian dictatorship, that we justified acts of terrorism in the period when Lenin and Trotsky were the dominant figures in the Soviet Union, that in our opinion the workers, when they take power in the United States, should take whatever measures may be necessary against those who would desire to reestablish capitalism, and so on. The acts against which we protest are bound to occur under "dictatorships," we are told, regardless of "the kind of dictatorship" which may exist. Only "democracy" such as we have in the United States provides any insurance against them.

Liberals Find a Moral

Thus the most liberal daily in New York, the N. Y. Post, in its editorial columns of June 24, 1935, reasons: "The appeal of Mrs. Nathalie Trotsky in Saturday's Post is recommended to the attention of parlor pinkies and Communist 'sympathizers.' It illustrates the evil effects sure to flow from dictatorship, no matter what its alibi—whether on the plea of halting Communism as in Germany or the plea of 'establishing Socialism' as in Soviet Russia. . . . Communism and Fascism are new labels, but the founders of this country knew them under other forms. It was to break the power of a Tory King and to prevent the recurrence of similar despotism in this country that the founders of this country set up the safeguards of the American Constitution, the world's oldest and still the world's best. . . . Communists oppose the Hitler dictatorship but they condone the Soviet dictatorship. Trotsky opposes the dictatorship of Stalin but he would like to substitute for it the dictatorship of Trotsky. The case of Trotsky's son demonstrates what happens under any kind of dictatorship—whether Left or Right. . . . the use of suppression necessitates ever more suppression until rising resentment, deprived of peaceful vent, overthrows the regime. That applies to Russia under Communism as it applies to Germany, Austria and Italy under Fascism. Democracy will yet survive them all."

In one of the closing chapters of "Russia's Iron Age," the much discussed book by the brilliant foreign correspondent, William Henry Chamberlain, long regarded as one of the most devoted and effective journalistic "friends of the Soviet Union," there is a very moving pre-

sentation of the same point of view! "One among many points of faith common to apologists of Communism and of Fascism is an overweening contempt for civil liberties, which are represented as unnecessary and inconvenient barnacles on the ship of progress. The longer I have lived in the Soviet Union, where civil liberties—freedom of speech, press, assembly, and election—are most conspicuously lacking, the more I have become convinced that they are of vital and tremendous importance, and that their existence or absence is as good a test as any of the quality of a nation's civilization. The Communists (or the Fascists; their trend of thought in this question is strikingly similar) talks of civil liberties as of the outworn fetish of a handful of disgruntled intellectuals who are unable to rise to the necessary vision of the high and noble character and purpose of the Communist (or Fascist) state. But my own observation in Russia has led me to believe that a great deal more is at stake than the freedom of thought of the educated classes, although it seems rather obvious that culture becomes impoverished when the historian must alter his record of the past, the author must give a prescribed coloring to his characters, and free research in any field can be cut off by the will of an all-powerful state."

In the Ukraine

"It was during my trip through the famine regions of Ukraine and the North Caucasus that I became utterly and definitely convinced that democracy, with all its faults, weaknesses and imperfections, is enormously superior to dictatorship as a method of government, simply from the standpoint of the common man. Is there any recorded case in history where famine—not poverty or hardship or destitution, but stark famine, with a toll of millions of lives—has occurred in a democratically governed country? Is it conceivable that the famine of 1932-33 could have taken place if civil liberties had prevailed in the Soviet Union, if newspapers had been free to report the facts, if speakers could have appealed for relief, if the government in power had been obliged to submit its policy of letting vast numbers of the peasants starve to death to the verdict of a free election? The countless graves of the humble and obscure famine victims, the peasants of Ukraine and the North Caucasus, of the Volga and Central Asia, are to me the final grim, unanswerable refutation of the specious Communist contention that freedom of speech and press and political agitation is only humbug by which the bourgeoisie tries to delude the masses."

For good measure, and in order to emphasize the frequency with which the same tune is heard in these days, we may quote from the leading article in the June issue of Harper's Magazine by Johan J. Smertenko: "John Howard Lawson finds Alabama in the grip of a fascist 'terror' because he and a lawyer of the International Labor Defense were placed momentarily under 'illegal arrest' and six Communists, also freed after trial, 'are in daily and hourly danger of whipping, torture, and possible death.' But he is unmoved by the thousands, slaving in the timber camps of the Arctic region because they will not forswear their religion, who pray for death as a release from their torture."

"Elmer Rice and Paul Sifton cry out dramatically against the soulless industrial system of America and glory in the industrialization of the mujik. The bread-lines of disorganized capitalism stir Edmund Wilson to eloquent rage, but the bread lines of bureaucratic communism are accepted as a necessary expedient in technological development. The peripatetic John Strachey deplores from some thirty lyciums and a half-dozen periodicals that 'freedom of speech is abused by capitalists in this country,' whereas in Russia it is merely 'incomplete,' since the inviolate censorship and ruthless suppression are exercised only against 'the remnant of capitalists who wish to see the return of their system.' (Among the capitalists are the dead or exiled authors: Andreyev, Artzbashev, Bunin, Korolenko, Kuprin, Merejkowski, Tolstoy, and, of course, Trotsky.)"

"Thus too Walter Duranty, whose complacent dispatches in the Times contrasted the Nazi blood-purge with Lenin's treatment of the 'opposition,' has been eloquently silent about the oblique imprisonment and summary executions of the Trotsky-Zinoviev-Kamenev faction. And Waldo Frank, whose burning protests against Kentucky violence almost scorched the pages of the liberal weeklies, does indeed 'speak in a monstrous little voice' of these official murders: 'I realize that the peoples of Russia have their own background and that it is utopian to expect them, because of their heroic prosecution of a great social cause, to behave in every instance according to our own rules and ideals. . . . In so far as it (Russia) appears, even to contradict justice at home, it is harming the cause of justice abroad. From the standpoint of this high strategy, if from no other, I deplore the recent executions.'"

Answer of Workers Party

Whether or not they are personally disturbed by such questions, revolutionists in the U. S. will have to meet them. If the reactionaries and liberals between them, making use of Stalinist policies and actions, can make the American workers believe that, as over against capitalism, Communism means repression, regimentation, less freedom, personal dictatorship, etc., a formidable barrier against revolutionary progress will have been erected. We of the Workers Party have to defend the assertions of our Declaration of Principles: that the policies of "socialization of the means of production and exchange" which the Workers' State will pursue "insures only the small handful of financiers, landlords and industrialists whose private control of the resources of the country is the source of hunger, unemployment and insecurity for the great bulk of the people," that every willing worker can be assured of "a well-paid job," security against unemployment, and insurance against industrial risks, old age, and sickness; that there "will be no need for the Workers' State to impose arbitrary and repressive measures upon small individual proprietors and farmers;" that the Workers' State while functioning as a dictatorship of the working class against its enemies will assure and continually extend "far more genuine and substantial democratic rights to the masses than ever accorded to them under capitalism."

(Continued in next issue)

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

men and women, old and young, did not like it and they walked out on strike 100 percent. They placed a picket line in front of the plant and the rest of the strikers camped on the street nearby. The plant is tied up tight as a drum.

The need for a trade union which previously had been agitated for by some was now apparent to all. The strikers sent a committee to see Wm. Collins, eastern representative of the A. F. of L. Collins gave them his good wishes and referred them to the Industrial Relations Board. The Board sent a representative who appealed to the non-existent heart of the boss.

The workers committee called up the Central Council of Federal Labor Unions. That was 15 cents lost in phone calls, though Mr. Ravitch, secretary of the Council, was mildly interested.

The strikers, still determined, sent a delegation to the Bronx where the Kay family has another factory. Here a representative of the International Union of the Workers was found. The striking workers at both plants are signing up with this union.

The spirit of the strikers is excellent. New to labor unions, they were able to get themselves organized, established a picket line, elected picket captains, arranged a regular hourly relief of pickets, etc.

The plants manufacture springs and spring mattresses. Wages are miserably low and the workers are determined to go back on a 40-hour week with previous rates of pay and a union to back them up.

Bone to Youth Blow to Labor

(Continued from Page 1)

to "benefit" from this new scheme. According to Labor Department statistics, there are, however, 3,000,000 unemployed youth, which estimate is "considered conservative" by the New York Times. Using this figure, which actually must fall several million short of reality, 2,500,000 youth are automatically obliged to shift for themselves.

"More than one third of the high-school and college graduates between the ages of 18 and 29 were unemployed in July, 1934," says the Labor Department. How many have become unemployed since? How many non-graduates are unemployed? A canvass conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the spring of 1934 "found that out of every 100 employable persons between the ages of 16 and 24, 34 were unemployed, as compared with an average of 21 for all age groups." (Labor Information Bulletin, May, 1935.)

Why Roosevelt should have pro-

posed to "do something for the nation's unemployed youth" is somewhat answered in Senate Resolution No. 67, January 30, 1935:

"One of the most tragic results of the depression is the effect it has upon the lives of young men and women emerging from our educational institutions. There are several million young people between the ages of 18 and 30 who have graduated from our schools and colleges and entered into a work-world where no opportunities have been open to them to obtain a start in business or to commence the practice of their profession. This large group may become demoralized and disheartened and thus constitute a dangerous addition to the discontented and radical-minded elements and also offer a challenge to the system which permits the minds and ingenuities of its youth to be wasted."

The National Youth Administration was therefore created to stem this rising discontent against a "system which permits the minds and ingenuities of its youth to be wasted." The National Youth Administration was therefore assigned the task of regimenting the youth into channels of patriotic devotion. Moreover, election time and maybe war is coming. That then is the yield Roosevelt expects. Unfortunately for the system and those who starve because of it the sop is hardly enough to assuage the needs or discontent of the youth.

A Blow at Labor The millions of youth, the few who have been offered a starvation pittance and the many more who have been completely ignored, have been presented a challenge that can only be met with further "dangerous addition to the discontented and radical-minded elements." Their problem is more than a youth struggle. The essence of the Roosevelt plan strikes a blow at the wages and jobs of all workers. It aims to reduce the American working class to a lower standard of living, and further penury. It must therefore be met, not as a youth affair, but as the concern of the whole laboring mass.

With the support of the adult workers behind them, the youth of the United States must demand, in united ranks: trade union wage-scales; regular jobs with a five-day week and six hour day; adequate provision for support while attending academic and training schools; settlement houses in the cities for homeless youth under civil and youth supervision; unemployment insurance; the right to vote at the age of eighteen. The next step is to destroy that system which wastes "the minds and ingenuities of its youth," to join the "radical-minded elements—the Spartacus Youth League."

BUILD THE WORKERS PARTY. SUPPORT THE EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT