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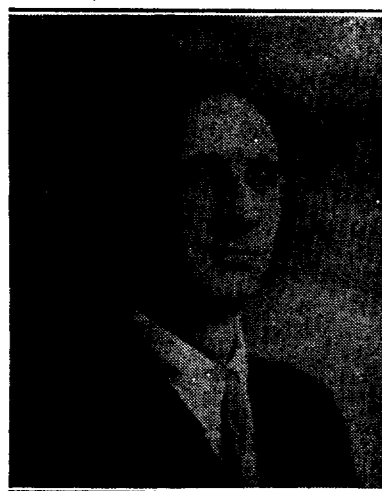
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One Year of the Workers Party

By A. J. MUSTE

A YEAR ago the Workers Party of the United States came into existence as a result of the fusion of two of the most significant currents in the American labor movement. One of these was the American Workers Party (outgrowth in turn of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action), the other the Communist League of America.



A. J. MUSTE

The A.W.P. forces came mainly from militant elements in the unions and unemployed organizations who, through practical experience in the class struggle, had come to realize the need of a theoretical foundation and political expression, and who believed that this foundation must be revolutionary and internationalist. Organizationally they had taken the position that new revolutionary parties and a new International, as against the Second and Third, must be built. The C.L.A. and its sister groups of the International Communist League throughout the world came out of the Communist (Third) International. They fought within that International and after expulsion as a group seeking readmission, against the Stalinist line of "socialism in a single country," etc. After the debacle of the C. P. in Germany and similar developments, they concluded that the Third International could no longer serve as the vanguard of the working class, that a new, Fourth, International, must be built. Hence the fusion of the C.L.A. and A.W.P. in December, 1934.

Those who have some knowledge of the interaction of groups within the labor movement know that "fusions" by no means always result in fusion. The first year of the history of the W.P.U.S. has, however, demonstrated the genuine success of this particular fusion. It is true that there have been unclear individuals who could not be assimilated, and on the other hand ultra-leftist, sectarian elements that proved unfitted for existence in a revolutionary party with its face turned to the masses which was more than a debating society. The main core of the A.W.P. on the one hand and the C.L.A. on the other are fused into one. Whatever differences of emphasis and tactics may emerge, and those always exist in every living organization, the struggle over these differences will not be as between former A.W.P. members and former C.L.A. members. They will be fought out by revolutionists who all stand upon the Declaration of Principles of the W.P. and owe unswerving allegiance to the Fourth International.

Now this achievement of fusion is in itself a big thing. If there were nothing else to record at the end of the year, this year in the existence of the W.P. would none the less be justified. It would have marked an important step in the creation of the Fourth International.

The fact that the year has not been marked by anything approaching a mass influx of members into the W.P. in no way invalidates this estimate.

The period in which the W.P. lived out its first year is predominantly reactionary in character. The trend away from parliamentary democracy, the open resort to Fascism in many instances, the piling up of armaments, the actual outbreak of war between Italy and Ethiopia and the increasing tension in the foreign relations of all the important capitalist powers are all illustrations of the general trend.

The pressure upon the working class movement from capitalism making a desperate effort to save itself is in such a period tremendous. The world labor movement has suffered severe set-backs in recent years and important sections, such as the German and Austrian, have been almost obliterated. Reaction is thus also characteristic of the labor movement, as is most clearly seen in the stampede to the right of the Stalinist movement—capitulation to social-patriotism, People's Front, support of bourgeois democracy, etc.

From a superficial viewpoint the general trend is obscured by certain developments in the Second International and its parties. The crisis of the democratic state, the developing break of the bourgeoisie with social reformism in favor of Fascism undermines the internal stability of the social democracy as it involves its ultimate destruction. A cleavage between leaders and followers and within the leadership itself develops. The classic reformism of the party gives way to centrism, etc.

This does not mean that it is our concept that the Second International is now becoming the "international of revolution." As the Open Letter stated, "the social democracy everywhere continues to remain the agency of the bourgeoisie within the working class." The reaction—the capitulation or preparation for capitulation to social-patriotism—marks the main body of the social democracy everywhere, though camouflaged by centrist maneuvering and equivocation. We note, on the one hand, the trend in the Scandinavian countries, British Labor Party, Canadian C.C.F. In the main, on the other hand, "the shift to the left" in such countries as France and U. S. expresses itself in rapprochement with the Stalinists (organic unity, People's Front, labor party, conciliationism toward

(Continued on Page 6)

230 Hear Shachtman in L. A.

LOS ANGELES.—At a mass meeting of some 230 Los Angeles workers Max Shachtman gave an inspiring lecture on "War and the Soviet Union." The enthusiastic crowd stayed until the very last, plying Shachtman with questions and engaging him into heated discussions. From every point of view the meeting was a successful one. Many new people heard for the first time a Marxian analysis

of imperialist war and the attitude of revolutionists to it. The following night 52 members and friends of the Workers Party attended a banquet where comrade Shachtman spoke on the history of the Left Opposition. Songs by the "Spartacus Chorus" and speeches by the local activists finished off the evening.

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Big Auto Strike Brewing

M. Lewis Reported Retired

Minneapolis C.L.U. Refuses Splitters Aid; Negotiates with 574

By CARL O'SHEA

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 25.—In strong contrast with its initial bombast, the attack of William Green and Meyer Lewis upon the progressive labor movement of Minneapolis has quieted down to a whisper. It is reported that "Splitter" Lewis will spend the rest of his time auditing the books of local unions.

The Minneapolis Central Labor Union has told Lewis they can settle matters with 574 without his assistance. The executive board and a special committee from the central body asked for a meeting with 574's executive board, and on Tuesday morning, Nov. 19, the two groups conferred for the first time, with the hope of bringing about peace in the local trade union situation. In a statement issued to the press, 574 said: "Local 574 has been invited by a committee of the Central Labor Union to meet with them with the view to ironing out some disputed questions. The General Drivers Union has accepted this invitation in the spirit of unity and friendliness to the trade union movement. We believe that any dispute which may now exist can be adjusted. We have no quarrel with any bona-fide A. F. of L. union as such. Every effort consistent with the principles of honest trade union practice will be made by Local 574 to come to a worthwhile and lasting agreement."

On Thursday morning 574 again met with the A. F. of L. committee. It is understood that the General Drivers union is proposing that the local trade union movement recommend 574 be reinstated in the Teamsters and Drivers International.

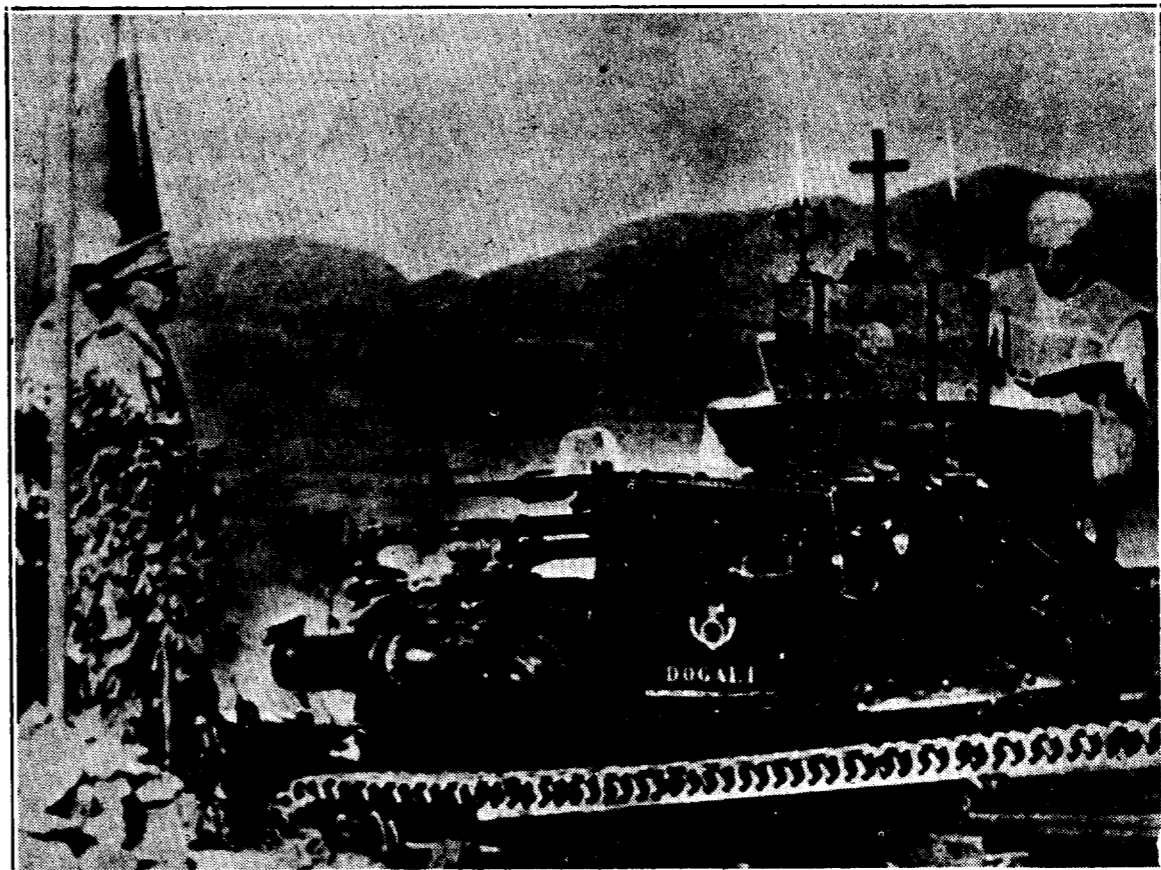
In their fight against William Green's red drive, the Minneapolis progressives have obtained impressive support from various forces throughout the country. Emil Rieve, president of the Hosiery Workers, has written that he is "doing everything possible to prevent the A. F. of L. from making the mistake of going on a 'red baiting' campaign." Norman Thomas has written 574, pledging national support to the General Drivers union.

Local 574 is in a strong position for three reasons: first, its own control of the workers; second, the local trade unionists want to support the General Drivers; thirdly, the national situation is shaping up in favor of the advocates of industrial unionism. The A. F. of L. local leaders have realized this very clearly, and that explains why they have told Meyer Lewis so emphatically to keep his hands off Minneapolis.

Minneapolis employers, encouraged by the irresponsible and false statements of the red-baiting Meyer Lewis, are making a strong drive to re-open the Strutwear Hosiery plant, where 1,200 hosiery workers have been on strike since August 15. On Wednesday, Nov. 20, the bosses met at the Radisson Hotel and drew up a plan by which Strutwear would agree to take back all employees as of August 15, and would be willing, after the plant has been in operation 30 days, to meet with any employee groups for the purpose of discussing any complaints. They demand that the American Federation of Hosiery Workers cease picketing, and call upon Mayor Latimer for police protection for this strike-breaking move.

Alexander McKeown, first vice-president of the Hosiery Workers, who is conducting the Minneapolis strike, has answered this proposal by pointing out that "it offers no assurance to our membership that grievances or complaints placed before the management will receive just consideration and action to adjust the grievances and complaints." McKeown calls upon the Strutwear employers to agree, as have the strikers from the very beginning, to arbitrate all disputed points before the plant re-opens.

SPOUTING THE GOSPEL IN ETHIOPIA



ASMARA, Ethiopia—Above is a portable altar used by the Italian general staff to sanctify the murder expedition in Ethiopia. (Associated Press Photo)

Peoples Front Cracks in Crisis Fred Zeller Declares for 4th Int'l

Paris Socialist Youth Leader Writes Stirring Pamphlet

IN THE NEXT ISSUE!

Watch for the next issue of the NEW MILITANT for a complete factual report and political analysis of the Browder-Thomas debate held Thursday at Madison Square Garden. The rush of work connected with this issue, being eight-pages, prevents an immediate report and analysis.

Comrade Fred Zeller, acknowledged leader of the revolutionary Socialist Youth Federation of the Seine, has declared for the Fourth International, and for a new revolutionary party in France.

Behind comrade Zeller march the revolutionary proletarian youth of the Seine, the proletarian heart of France. To the thousands who know him as a leader who has served prison terms for his activity in the class struggle, for his bold fight under the banner of revolutionary defeatism, comrade Zeller has given a revolutionary lead at a time when such a lead is the most imperative need of the French working class.

Young revolutionary Socialists and Young Communists should study the political evolution of Fred Zeller with the closest attention—for it is in France that fibres are being tempered today for tomorrow's test. It is in France to-morrow! (Continued on Page 5)

Army Stocks Up in Cas...

The War Department over the last six months has ordered \$3,836,786 worth of blankets. This blanket order is described by The Wall Street (Oct. 22, 1935) as "the first substantial order since the World War."

Recent woolen contracts placed by the Army Quartermaster Depot, Philadelphia, include the following: American Woolen Co.—Over 280,000 yards of flannel. Gera Mills, Passaic, N.J.—125,000 yards of flannel. William Whitman Co.—400,000 yards of flannel.

Radicals, Stalinists, Socialists Collapse at First Test

By H. F. ROBERTS

The Bonapartist regime of Pierre Laval sought and secured a temporary renewal of its mandate this week from the Chamber of Deputies which reconvened on Thursday. Fear for the safety of the franc stemmed the doughty Radical Socialist leaders of the Front Populaire back into the arms of Laval. Under pressure from Herriot, darling of the Stalinists, the Radicals swung from the People's Front and cast their votes for Laval, to whom they gave a majority of 120.

It took just that—a threat to the franc—to crack the parliamentary front of the Front Populaire—and the parliamentary front is all that it has! At the first critical moment the bourgeois politicians of the Radical party decided that power would be too hot to handle. The Socialists and Stalinists—whose only perspective was a Radical Socialist government—were left (Continued on Page 8)

Chevrolet Plant May Lead Off

Motor Products Strike in Detroit Is First Skirmish

BULLETIN

TOLEDO, O., Nov. 26.—At the mass meeting of the Toledo Chevrolet workers, held this Saturday afternoon, the Chevrolet men unanimously rejected the company's proposal of a seven and a half-hour day, four-day week, three shifts—a proposal which would automatically throw 900 of the Chevrolet employees out into the street. The shop committee, instead is instructed to offer counter proposals to the management which would provide a greater schedule for Toledo, and that every man not reabsorbed be immediately placed on other General Motors payrolls.

The Chevrolet executive committee is already establishing contacts with the "Committee for Industrial Unionism" with the aim of immediately organizing Saginaw and Muncie and other unorganized General Motors plants in the Detroit area.

With the bitterly fought Motors Products strike in Detroit holding out solid, and the prospect of the Hudson plant men going out very soon, the prospects are that hell will be popping loose around these parts in the immediate future. The whole party must be keyed up to the possibilities of the situation, and must stand ready to give the men in the field all their aid, at a moment's notice.

TOLEDO, O., Nov. 21.—The Chevrolet plant at Toledo has opened its doors this Monday, after a four-week shutdown, and announced through its general manager, Mr. Gulliver, that the plant will rehire 1,100 men. (Prior to the lay-off approximately 2,200 men were employed at the plant.) Before the shut-down, the management specifically promised the shop committee that all of these men would be rehired.

The shop committee, headed by its chairman, James Roland, has been in interminable negotiations with the management since Monday. The final proposal as submitted by General Motors, was 7 1/2 hour-day, four-day week, three shifts. This arrangement would hire approximately 1,400 men, still lopping off some 800 Chevrolet employees.

The shop committee is in a quar- (Continued on Page 8)

VOTE TO STRIKE ILL. WPA

Mass Conference of Illinois Workers Alliance Draws Up Demands for Wage Increase and Hour Reduction

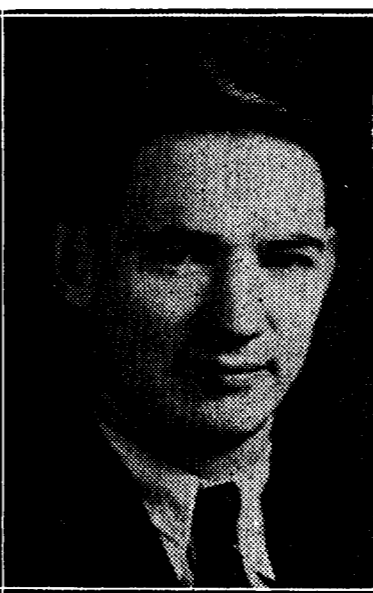
I. W. A. LEADER

AUBURN, ILL., Nov. 24.—Delegates representing thirteen well-organized counties of the Illinois Workers Alliance unanimously voted today to strike all WPA projects in Illinois Dec. 16.

The Labor Temple was crowded with hundreds of delegates and visitors who voiced an emphatic disapproval of the WPA arrangements; the delegates minced no words in denouncing the scab wage scale that averages much less than \$65 a month and demanded that the I.W.A. lead an aggressive movement to end the starvation pay.

The Action Committee elected by the conference recommended that the following demands be presented to the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission:

- The 30-hour week, no Saturday work.
 - Pay day every Friday night.
 - Prevailing union wages.
 - A minimum of 50c for agricultural districts.
 - First aid kits on all projects.
 - Free transportation to and from work.
 - Recognition of all project grievance committees.
- These demands were unanimously accepted after a healthy discussion. Hank Mayer, Carlinville, re-



Gerry Allard

ported for the Action Committee. The chairman of the conference was Gerry Allard who stated in a burning address that the unemployed workers of Illinois would win their demands for union wages (Continued on Page 4)

BARBERTON LABOR RISES

Plan General Strike in Akron Suburb to Meet Threat of Militia; Reporter Tells of Heroic Battle

By JACK WILSON

BARBERTON, Ohio, Nov. 25.—6,000 organized workers in this highly industrialized suburb of Akron planned a general strike to back 300 strikers at the Ohio Insulator Co., a Dupont subsidiary, against possible use of the National Guard and martial law to smash the solid picket line, after their threat of the city-wide walkout forced the sheriff to withdraw 60 scabs and completely shut down the plant.

Aroused by the tear gas terror and clubbings by 70 company thugs against the 100 percent organized strikers, 2,000 unionists and sympathizers stormed the plant last night after they were attacked and routed the thugs and shouted:

"We'll give you another Auto-Lite strike if you want it."

The union went on strike ten weeks ago for a 20 percent pay raise, seniority rights, union recognition and a written agreement. It was called the "most peaceful strike in Ohio history" by the bourgeois press. But last Tuesday the company announced it would open the factory for "all loyal workers who wanted to work." Meanwhile, Jim Flower, the sheriff, who is also a National Guard captain, hired 70

thugs to "keep peace," and brought out all the tear gas guns and clubs bought last spring for possible use against the rubber workers.

The Weed Double-Crosses

A solid picket line greeted the company officials and the thugs early Wednesday. Flower, a big burly brute, called the pickets to one side and demanded peace. Just when the pickets came toward him, 12 cars filled with scabs, tried to break through. The workers grabbed stones, but a volley of tear gas and a clubfest by the thugs proved too strong.

Shouting, "We've been double-crossed by that rat," the workers valiantly defended themselves, although over 20 were hurt by the gas shells and clubs. Another attack was made by Colonel Joe Johnson, an old strike-breaker and aide to Flower, at the railroad entrance against another picket line so a train could bring in food to the scabs.

As the tear gas drifted away the workers reformed their line. Flower marched out of the factory and ordered them to dissolve. He dug up a "riot act" passed in 1902 as his authority and threatened a \$500 fine and 30 day sentences for work- (Continued on Page 8)

High-Lights

By HENRY THURMAN

THE PEOPLE'S FRIENDS
"Anti-Soviet, ally of the Friends of New Germany, shielder of the murderers of a charity patient," was the cheerful manner in which the C. P. of Cleveland characterized Doc Walz for the past few years. Walz has the habit of running as an independent mayoralty candidate.

But this year, after the primaries, I. O. Ford, Communist candidate for mayor, told a meeting of the Independent Civic League that the minority candidates ought to get behind a write-in campaign for Walz.

Ford sat down with Walz and wrote out a reformist platform for him.

The C. P. leaders met and decided to participate in this action if the S. P. stated its willingness to go into it. Otherwise the C. P. was to pretend that it has reached a contrary decision for some trumped-up reason. (Write-in campaigns are not effective.)

At the meeting where the "united front" was to be consummated, Walz made a typical liberal, reformist speech—then launched into an attack on conditions in the Soviet Union! The C. P. representative sat without a protest, with his head bowed sheepishly. No objection could be made to Walz's statements because the Socialists hadn't stated their position as yet, and the united front was yet tentative.

The S.P. disrupted another beautiful united front. They thought the platform (prepared by the C. P.) had nothing to do with labor and didn't resemble anything that militants could rally around.

At any rate, the audience got a good laugh.

"DESIGN FOR LIVING"

"Frankie and Uppie were lovers," Maurice Sugar snatched on Upton Sinclair in the Detroit debate on "America's Way Out—E.P.C. or Farmer-Labor Party?"

"He was your man but he done you wrong. You captured the Democratic Party. Roosevelt has captured you! Mr. Sinclair, it is apparent that you fell in love with Roosevelt at first sight. He carried you. He led you on. He played with you . . . Mr. Sinclair, you lovely man, you have been seduced!" (Daily Worker, Nov. 5).

This Freudian analysis does not help us to understand that a Farmer-Labor Party will get America "out" of—(economic crisis?)—but we would like to point out that Earl Browder states in the September "Communist" that the C. P. ought to take over the Epic Plan.

F.D.R.'s bedroom must be getting popular.

"I KNOWS IT, BROTHER"

Mike Gold chides the Left young Socialists for singing ribald parody "Our Line's Been Changed Again." Instead of the customary abuse, threats, and third period epithets, the columnist resorts to wheedling, pleading, and sugar-talk. We understand, Mike,—your line's been changed again!

WORKERS SCHOOL HANDS OUT PLENTY TOO

"Have you ever wondered why I. O. Ford (Communist candidate for mayor) is always so jolly and gay, why he has that big smile on his face?" gushed Onda at the Cleveland Browder meeting. "Because he's a Communist!"

We thought it was because Onda, running for council on a Labor Ticket, promised to collect all the garbage if he was elected.

Too bad he didn't get in. His first job would have been to send around a truck behind the Workers Book Shop to pick up all those copies of "The Name is Lewis, John L.," which have been withdrawn from circulation.

WORKERS

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A 'Square Deal' Corporation An Altruistic Boss! Workers Get It in the Neck

By CYRUS RIGBY

BINGHAMPTON, N. Y., Nov. 15.—Last week the workers in the shoe factories of the Endicott Johnson Corporation were given renewed and positive assurance that the world does not move. The occasion was the posting, on all shop bulletin boards, of the identical Promotion Policy Message that George F. Johnson had himself issued before in 1920.

The statement was prefaced by a note saying that "This is just as true today as it was 15 years ago, and as it will be 50 years from now." Resuscitated, the message took no account of the ravages made by the system of capitalism on the workers of the Southern Tier no less than in other parts of the world. Parading of the now completely exploded American myth of "equal opportunity to all" was so brazen, in the light of past events, that the notice was this time greeted only by ridicule by those few workers who paused to read it.

Dividing the Workers for Profit

The message is part of the halloved Endicott Johnson "square deal plan," which is itself founded upon a policy of dividing the workers in order the better to use them for profit. One passage reads, "You may even be the general manager or one of the directors, as we are looking for the best talent to fill positions of responsibility." It closes with the words, "If you are faithful, loyal and reliable, you will earn a good living with a chance for advancement. This company and its directing heads know their business. Their business is to see that you give them a square deal, which means a fair return for what you receive—an honest

effort to do the work well and a fair and sufficient amount of it."

Because the most recent breakdown of capitalism has forced more and more people to wear shoes of a cheaper, and hence inferior grade, the Endicott Johnson factories have enjoyed an ever-increasing expansion since 1920. But not one extra benefit has accrued to shoe workers by this circumstance. Wages have been lowered and the threat of unemployment held constantly over their heads to stifle protests. Speed-up has been grooving in pace every month. Stoolpigeons and spies, always with hope of promotion at the expense of their class, have been more numerous and more active.

A "Working Class" Bank

Everything in Endicott and Johnson City is cloaked with a fake "working class cooperative" veneer. Even the local bank bears the name "Workers Trust Company." Yet further scrutiny of this institution, as an example, will show how all these labels and policies are merely clever methods of deluding the workers into a false sense of power. Assets of the Workers Trust Company are placed at about five and a half million dollars. Stocks in the bank consist of 8,000 shares. Are most of the shares in this "working class" establishment owned by the workers in the E.-J. factories? By no means! 7,534 shares, or complete control and ownership of the institution, are owned by the Marine Midland Corporation, a major fortress of finance capital in America. Investigation has shown that the same tissue of spuriousness covers every supposedly benevolent gesture of the Endicott-Johnson shoe barons.

American workers have learned, to their sorrow, that they are no different from workers in every part of the world: that for the working class there is strength only in unity. Anything even faintly resembling a real trade union is still banned in the Endicott-Johnson sphere of influence. Most of the workers there still hope to live on altruistic crumbs from the table of "George F." and his fellow capitalists. Yet even the most superficial examination of the facts will prove that their one salvation is in solidarity with the entire working class, rather than in accepting the occasional sop handed out to them by their exploiters to keep them docile.

Minneapolis Labor Notes

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 19.—Hans Luther, Germany's ambassador to the United States, was sneaked in the back door of the Radisson Hotel this noon by a squad of police, where he was scheduled to address the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association. The reason was that a picket line was parading in front of the Radisson Hotel, in protest against the appearance of the emissary of Hitler's barbarous Fascism. Among the picketers was a group of eight members of the Spartacus Youth League, carrying a banner reading: "Hitler is the Enemy of All Workers."

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 19.—All Walgreen Drug stores in Minneapolis and St. Paul are being picketed by members of the Sign Painters and Card Writers Union, Local 880, of the A. F. of L. Walgreen locked out the workers because they joined the union. Sign painters in the Walgreen stores have been forced to work 85 to 90 hours a week. The union, which is turning the lockout into a strike, is asking for higher wages and shorter hours.

ST. PAUL, Nov. 20.—A special session of the Minnesota legislature has been called for December 2, to clear up the relief problem in this state. The Minnesota Conference for Progressive Social Legislation, Farmer-Labor controlled, has been meeting this week to draw up plans to resist the fight for a retail sales tax, which the state Tax Payers Association is pushing. The Farmer-Labor conference has drawn up a program calling for enforcement of existing taxes, particularly levies on corporations and individuals with large incomes.

PARTY AT WORK

NEWARK, N. J. The Newark branch of the W.P. has taken a new headquarters at 105 Springfield Ave. The new place is fitted out with an office, meeting hall, kitchen and library. The library which is now being put in order will have available to workers an extensive collection of Marxian literature and files of labor and industrial statistics and information.

The weekly Sunday night forums held at St. Regis Hall, 34 Park Place are proving very successful and are attracting an ever increasing audience of workers. The more than doubling of the sale of Workers Party literature in Newark is an indication of the rapidly extending influence of the local branch.

Ten of the new party members employed as W.P.A. workers at present are doing a splendid job of organizing on the projects and the meeting they hold at noon-hour on the projects are attended by from 30 to 200 project workers.

How They Ache for War!

Editor's Note: How the Stalinist is out-Baldwin Baldwin and becoming the most rabid advocate of military sanctions, i.e., imperialist war, is revealed in the quotation below from the Journal de Moscow, French equivalent of the Moscow Daily News—one of the many Stalinist stooge periodicals.

MOSCOW, Nov. 1.—Steps to make possible military sanctions must be taken by the League of Nations, the Journal de Moscow, French language newspaper here, declared tonight.

The sanctions already voted against Italy will help the League's prestige by showing that it is prepared to act, the newspaper said. But economic and financial penalties never can stop a war.

"The first experiment of the League will allow us to conclude that economic sanctions alone never can succeed in guaranteeing peace," it stated, "and that it will be impossible in the future in analogous cases to limit ourselves to economic sanctions, as is foreseen in Article XVI, Paragraph 2 (of the Covenant) treating of military sanctions.

"It will suffice to study especially this paragraph and at the proper time create the conditions necessary to apply it rapidly in case of need."

If the sanctions already voted are not energetically applied they will only have a harmful effect, the paper declared.

Appeal Date Set in Cal. C. S. Frame-Up

SACRAMENTO, Cal., Nov. 27.—The District Court of Appeals has set a hearing for Dec. 3, at which Raymond W. Henderson, attorney retained for Norman Mini by the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, will argue for a writ of mandate ordering the trial court in the famous criminal syndicalism case to provide the Mini defense with a copy of the proceedings of the trial.

Mini, Prisoner 57606 in San Quentin, one of eight workers appealing against the frame-up convictions arrived at under pressure of an anti-union and anti-radical drive launched by employers' organizations in this state. Thus far the trial court has provided only one transcript of the proceedings. Applications for copies made by Mar-

tin Wilson and several other appellants who represent themselves legally, have been denied.

Due to the refusal of the I.L.D. to consider a unified defense, there are two attorneys in the case. Leo Gallagher represents the I.L.D. defendants, while Henderson represents Mini. By compelling the two attorneys to prepare their briefs on the basis of one copy of the transcript, the court is working a hardship on both. Henderson's fight for an additional copy has the support of Gallagher.

Support for the defendants is on the increase. The Los Angeles and San Francisco sub-committees of the N.S.A.C. recently held successful mass meetings.

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A Radical Farmer's View of Recent Shifts in AAA

(Reprinted from the Producers News, official organ of Farmers Holiday Action, of Montana)

The AAA Wheat Production Control Board has now amended the bonus basis from the county acreage of wheat production per acre average to that of the individual unit of wheat production as the basis, based on the last three years production adjusted to the preceding two years, whatever that may mean. This individual unit base discriminates against the small grower, against the poverty stricken farmer, who do not have the means to farm properly, or who for the want of seed wheat could not get his crop in when he should, and so did not get the crop which he would have, had the planting been done in the proper seed bed and at the right time, and in favor of the farmers who have the proper machinery, the seed and the means to carry on his farming operations as he should.

The first and the largest section of farmers of course raised very poor crops, the latter quite good crops. So on the individual unit basis, the impoverished farmer gets a reduced bonus, while the rich farmers get the big check—the gravy as it were.

On the county average basis for the last five years, all farmers get the bonus on the average acreage production of the county so all farmers share alike as to the number of bushels per acre they receive the bonus on, and this is as it should be.

But the county average basis for the bonus payment is contrary to the basic policy and program of the AAA, in spite of all the illusions the farmers may be entertaining of the purpose of the act, and so just could not stand. The

Letters to the Editor

Editor, NEW MILITANT:

I cite the following incident as a revelation of the inner workings of that great democracy-loving organization, the League Against War and Fascism. Essentially pacifist and reactionary in nature, this body listens no end to preachers, rabbis, society ladies, senators and others of the same kidney but can spare not a moment to a revolutionist. Indeed, in my case, the presentation of the point of view of the Workers Party meant ejection from a meeting of the League.

I attended a meeting of the Boro Park branch of the League in a Y.M.H.A. building at 49th Street and 4th Avenue, at which a speech was given on the Chinese Soviets and the situation in the Far East. During the discussion I took the floor and attempted to show that the speaker had been guilty of several misstatements as well as outright lies, all of which were intended to justify the line of Stalin on the Chinese Revolution. The chairman interrupted me when I offered

to outline briefly the historically correct theses of Trotsky and the Left Opposition. He immediately entertained a motion that I be excluded from all further meetings of the League since for several weeks I had insisted on presenting a political point of view which could "only succeed in disrupting the organization," etc., etc. The organizer, a well-known Y.C.L. member, backed the motion, fulminating for fully fifteen minutes against the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyite line." Some "innocent" members of the American League protested that this action smacked of bureaucracy, but the Y.C.L. faction had a majority and the motion of exclusion was passed.

The American League, which would fight for democracy in Germany, Italy, Spain and everywhere except in the American League, will never learn that the struggle against tyranny like charity begins at home. A stooge can only mimic his master, the American League, the C. P. —MILTON HINDUS.

The 'Resettlement' Fraud A Texas Thanksgiving Relief Is Discontinued

By JAMES EVANS

(Special to the New Militant)

DALLAS, Tex.—Thousands of impoverished Texas farmers are being made the victims of Roosevelt's "resettlement" fraud. The relief administrators make glowing promises to these bankrupt producers, only to shunt them into leaky shacks on sub-marginal lands. As a rule, the tenant is forced to incur several hundred dollars of indebtedness before he is allowed the privilege of supervised starvation.

Texas Old Age Pensions Cheaper than Poorhouse

(By a Worker Correspondent)

Austin, Tex., Nov. 18.—The Texas old age pension act has proven to be a pig in a poke, as every Marxist knew it to be. No funds have been raised to pay the pension, although \$145,000 has been appropriated by the legislature to begin paying the salaries of the administrators immediately. There is every probability that the Texas measure will bear out the statement made last year by Mary T. Norton, Congresswoman from New Jersey:

"Old age pensions are cheaper than poorhouses."

So much red tape has been wound into the provisions of the act that only eight percent of those entitled to pensions will receive this beggarly assistance. As in the case of the relief, relatives with small jobs will be coerced into supporting the aged. Moreover, the burden of caring for those who do clear all the hurdles will probably fall upon the workers through some tax on sales or even a discriminatory income tax.

The act is intended to discriminate against Negroes and Mexicans by providing that "usual living standards" are to be considered in determining the amounts of individual pensions.

Corruption Rampant in Ft. Worth, Texas, Relief

(By a Worker Correspondent)

FORT WORTH, Tex., Nov. 18.—Fort Worth relief clients are being put off projects because they will not pick turkeys for poultry houses at the starvation wages of fifty and sixty cents per day. The price of turkeys has advanced with the approaching holidays and due to a strike of farmers which forced poultry dealers to pay more for the fowls. Nevertheless, the companies are adhering to the same wage scales.

A recent investigation of the Fort Worth relief administration showed widespread graft, coercion and corruption. Young girls were even told by case workers to get out and hustle if they did not like the rations afforded them by the relief boards. In some cases, case workers even forced indigent women to accept their attentions.

It was for exposing such evils as these that T. E. Barlow, Unemployment Council leader, was murdered by the third degree in September of 1933.

Newark Jobless In Demonstration

NEWARK, N. J., Nov. 21.—A demonstration of organized unemployed and project workers took place in Washington Park today.

The demonstration was called by a united front of three unemployed organizations: the Workers Alliance of America; the Unemployment Councils and the Association for Adequate Relief, Newark section of the National Unemployed League. The demonstration marked the launching of the fight for an increase in wages on the projects and for the continuation of direct relief. The meeting was an enthusiastic one and is to be followed by a large indoor mass meeting to hear the reports of the delegations that visited the state and county WPA and ERA officials.

The mass meeting was preceded by a short parade of the women who decided suddenly that they didn't need a permit to parade. This was led by Elsie Salvatore and other members of the Association for Adequate Relief. The speakers were Edwin Kaempff for the Workers Alliance; Fred Haug for the Unemployment Councils and Irving Rosenberg for the Association for Adequate Relief. The chairman was Jerry Kotz of the Association for Adequate Relief.

The project workers' locals of the Association for Adequate Relief are planning a giant mass meeting for Dec. 9 in the City Hall council chamber in Newark. The Monday night project workers' local, attended by over a hundred workers, received reports from almost all Essex County projects that the men are clamoring for action against the \$55 slave wages.

In McLennan county alone, five hundred rural families were taken off the relief rolls last year and given government loans to "rehabilitate" themselves. In twelve counties of central Texas, 2,600 such families were given opportunities to lead the simple life—as prescribed by the banking interests that dominate the Federal agricultural policies.

Slaves of King Cotton

Despite the uncertain condition of the cotton market, two thousand have been put to growing crops of this staple. These recipients of government bounty are truly the slaves of King Cotton. Many of them became impoverished as a result of the cotton plow-up program. Their rented tracts of land went back to the owners upon being required from cultivation. Their small AAA checks went to satisfy the landlord and the merchant. Their livestock starved to death or was sold for a song. Now, they find themselves once more planting cotton, bound to Uncle Sam rather than the landlord, still keeping their children out of school to pick the crop during the fall.

4,000 bales of cotton were produced on these Roosevelt poor-farms last year, an average of two bales or \$120 cash income for each family. Out of this princely sum, the family had to repay loans of \$31 for groceries (mostly fatback and cornmeal) and \$37 for feed and seed. After buying insufficient amounts of winter clothing, the average subsistence farmer does not have enough money to last himself and his family until the first of the year.

In the meantime, all relief was discontinued for the subsistence serfs long before Roosevelt made good his heartless promise to the business interests that he would "get out of this business of relief." The tenants were buncoed by adroit case-workers who promised them part-time jobs at manual labor. Now, all pretense of work relief has been dropped by Rex Tugwell and his well-fed meinals. The "steer farmers," as they are called, are expected to live together by what they earn from the farms—a forced continuation of the dying Southern feudal system.

Most of the subsistence farmers live in miserable colonies scattered over the state. Others live on single tracts, temporarily consigned to the resettlement administration by landlords. Generally these tracts are poor lands which the owners have been unable to rent otherwise. The tenant is expected not only to make enough to carry his own family, but also to pay his debts to the government and the landlord. It is obvious that this policy will result in a continual turn-over in tenants, since not one out of ten will be able to meet these requirements.

The entire project has proven a bonanza for the large landowners. In many cases, the landowners have collected for several hundred acres in excess of the tracts they have sold for colonies. Misrepresentation of acreage is very common, and even Rex Tugwell has been forced to have the situation investigated. In the long run, all this graft will have to be paid by the tenants, through increasing debt and unremunerative extra labor on the infertile acres.

Mays Strikers Call for Aid

The strike in the Mays department store in Brooklyn, entering its fifth week, is agitating the New York labor movement. Over 100 strikers came out in answer to a strike call when Mays began to fire members of Local 1250. The working conditions in Mays are absolutely intolerable. We are fighting against the starvation wage of \$10 and \$12 for a 50 to 60 hour week. This wage is lower than that received by most workers on relief projects. We have been compelled to work on Sundays or suffer the loss of a day's pay, or worse, the loss of our jobs.

The militancy and courage of the strikers has won the widespread admiration of labor for the struggle we are making. Wholesome arrests, reaching a total of 102, have been made, the "conspiracy to interfere with business" charge made against two union organizers and three strikers have hardened us and we are more determined than ever to win this fight.

We will win this strike if you give us your support. We appeal to you for assistance. Through your Executive Board, through your membership, through your affiliations we appeal for immediate financial aid.

Send all contributions to Leon Levy, chairman of the Finance Committee, Department Store Employees Union, Local 1250, 205 West 14th Street, New York City.

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged THE MILITANT

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Vol. 1 NOVEMBER 30, 1935 No.49

THE NON-PARTISAN LABOR DEFENSE
A Year of Activity, Success and Service to the Working Class on All Fronts of the Radical and Labor Movement

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense has a record of achievement of which its members and the working class organizations which support it may well be proud.

Anti-Fascist and International Activities

HITLER GERMANY: It was the N.P.L.D. which organized the protest movement against the deportation to Hitler Germany by the Dutch police of four young German refugees attending a radical congress at Laren, Holland.

The Committee to Aid the Defense of Ward Rogers, young FERA instructor and Socialist, convicted of "anarchy" for aiding the organization of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in Arkansas.

Deportation of Aliens

ANTONIO BELLUSSI: Antonio Bellussi, veteran anti-Fascist, union coal miner, and a member of the Bordighist group, was forced to flee Italy in 1923 because of his fight against the Fascist.

NEW YORK: The N.P.L.D. organized the protest movement against the clubbing of anti-Fascists by the New York police, arising out of a demonstration of young Socialists and Spartacus youth against a Nazi meeting at Madison Square Garden in May, 1934.

ITALY: The N.P.L.D. was an active constituent of the Committee which held effective counter-demonstrations against visiting Italian Fascist student groups on Columbus Day, 1934, in New York.

CUBA: The Cuban National Committee for Amnesty, composed of thirty-one Cuban labor organizations, has asked and received the aid of the N.P.L.D. in winning American support for its struggle against the Mendieta regime of terror.

Against Martial Law

The N.P.L.D. initiated a joint committee of seven organizations which held a mass meeting in New York protesting against the use of the National Guard as strikebreakers, and which sent defense funds to Toledo, Minneapolis and the Gulf Coast.

Against Persecution of Strikers

HARLAN MINERS: In 1931 the eyes of the working class were centered upon the terror in the Harlan, Kentucky coal fields, where seven union organizers who defended themselves against the attacks of coal company gangsters armed with machine guns, were given life sentences.

ROBINS-GRAS: Harold Robins and Andre Gras were arrested during the hotel strike of the Amalgamated Food Workers in New York City in February, 1933 on the charge of assaulting a non-union chef.

defense at this juncture, the N.P.L.D. organized a movement which secured broad backing. The judges of the Appellate Division unanimously reversed the conviction on the ground of obvious prejudice on the part of the trial judge.

FARGO TEAMSTERS:

One of the longest and most bitterly fought strikes in the history of the Northwest, in Fargo, North Dakota, led to a frame-up instigated directly by the notorious Associated Industries of Minneapolis.

MINNEAPOLIS STRIKERS:

As the defense representatives of the famous General Drivers Local 574 of Minneapolis, whose 1934 strikes have led to a resurgence of the Northwest labor movement, the N.P.L.D. has been in charge of numerous defense cases in that locality.

When police shot and killed two pickets and wounded numerous others who had closed down the Ornamental Iron Works, and the Farmer-Labor Mayor Latimer refused to conduct an open hearing, the N.P.L.D. conducted a mass public hearing on the issues; a score of eye-witnesses testified; leading Farmer-Laborites denounced the mayor for scabbery and murder; and the assembled workers laid the murders at the door of Mayor Latimer.

PHILA. FRUIT CLERKS:

Local 753 of the Retail Clerks International appealed to the N.P.L.D. when five of its members were framed by the employers' association during a strike. With the exception of a peace bond required from one striker, the cases were all won.

Rallying the Labor Movement

The main aim of the N.P.L.D. in all cases is to rally the broadest possible section of the organized labor movement in support of persecuted workers, instead of limiting defense struggles merely to the necessary legal steps. In the course of its activities, the N.P.L.D. has enlisted the support for cases of the leading trade union, fraternal and political organizations. Its ultimate aim is the unification of the largest number of labor groups in one defense organization on the basis of a militant, class-struggle program.

The foregoing brief and incomplete record of the work of the N.P.L.D. testifies to the way in which the N.P.L.D. meets a fundamental need. Hardly a day, but some labor organization or worker seeks its aid. The American working class has greater need than ever of a strong defense arm to protect it against enemies.

To Hold Protest Against Ferrero Deportation

A mass meeting to protest the imminent deportation of Ferrero and Sallitto is to be held at the Rand School, 7 East 45th St., at 8:15 P.M. on Wednesday, Dec. 4, under the auspices of the Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference.

Prominent speakers, both from the outside and from the participating organizations will outline the case to date and the further steps which must be taken. Ferrero is in immediate danger of forcible deportation to Italy where, because of his anti-Fascist views, certain death or imprisonment awaits him.

Norman Mini Writes from His Dungeon in San Quentin

One year after the beginning of the Sacramento trial, Norman Mini sent from San Quentin Prison the following letter to Herbert Solow, secretary of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee:

Nov. 18, 1935

Dear Solow:

Getting those orange-colored two pages (the N.S.A.C. "News Letter") was a surprise and a gratification. Today it struck me this might be a good time to write you a sort of summary of my state of mind.

Just this afternoon as I was wandering around in the yard (Saturday afternoons you can walk, look at the sky, think) it came to me that now, almost any feeling of strangeness or wonder at the life I'm leading has worn off; this has become the normal existence. It is completely and utterly natural that you should work down there (in the jute mill) six days of the week, that you should sit around doing nothing on Sunday, that you should fit all your actions and ideas to this particular rhythm. It is the only existence.

Somehow it strikes you as absurd that you should have ever done even the most everyday things outside: standing on a street corner looking into the window of a cigar store; ruffling up a starched napkin; seeing a bill-board in a vacant lot. And you realize all this profoundly, but without any particular feeling of unhappiness.



NORMAN MINI

lar feeling of unhappiness. Your desires, the things you worry or dream about, are the MINOR events of your life; the things close to you (my god, my task!—the loom broke down yesterday and 30 yards behind; tomorrow will have cornbread for breakfast

and I like it and will be glad sopping up the gravy with it) take up your time and you have no sense that it could be otherwise.

Probably the adjustment has been so complete because it has been, in a sense, deliberate. About a month ago I said, "Come on now, we are going to get down to business," and when I started working on my novel, life began to fit into three distinct categories,—the jute mill, books, and the outside world. (Writing, newspapers, visitors.)

I almost hate to say it but, in spite of the work, the ascetic diet and the innumerable petty annoyances, I'm getting along very well JUST NOW. I know that the writing is really the cause of this, and that in time something is sure to happen to it and then there'll be a reaction. But maybe by that time something will have happened to change the whole perspective. I don't think I'll actually stay in here forever!

Before I forget it, the N. Y. Times runs out on November 26, the first anniversary of the beginning of the trial, and my letter to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense asking their aid. In honor of the occasion, I want to thank all of you for everything you've done in this past year . . . and I mean EVERYTHING. I leave it to you to get my thanks to the proper people.

Fraternally, MINI, No. 57606.

New Stalinist Pamphlet Covers Up their Shameful Role in the Sacramento Case

Truth - Telling Remains the Worst Evil for the C.P.

SAN FRANCISCO.—The application to San Francisco of the new capitulatory turn of the Communist International, has meant the creation of the United (Stooge) Labor Party. In the recent campaign, a plank in this party's platform called for the release of Mooney and various other California political prisoners. The victims of the historic Sacramento frame-up were not mentioned.

On occasion, the Communist Party or its I.L.D. gets out a pamphlet concerning some case of little moment to organized labor within a few weeks after the arrest. The Sacramento prisoners were convicted in April 1, 1935. Months before the prisoners themselves supplied the California I.L.D. with material for a pamphlet. For almost three months after the arrests the I.L.D. published no pamphlet on this case, which resulted in the imprisonment of eight workers for 1 to 14 years.

On Labor Day, 1935, the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, constituted by a dozen national organizations on the call of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, brought out "Union-Smashing in Sacramento: The Truth About the Criminal Syndicalism Trial," by Herbert Solow, secretary of the joint body. Thereupon the I.L.D. got to work; it has just published "The C.S. Case Against Labor," dealing with the Sacramento frame-up.

The author is Mike Quin, former reporter of the Stalinist Western Worker. This Quin was in the audience at the Cannon lecture in San Francisco last spring. Indignant when he heard a few truths about Stalinism, he leaped to his feet and challenged Cannon to a debate. Of course, he reneged on the debate arrangements; he became editor of the C. P. rag and was assigned to write their pamphlet on the Sacramento case.

The latter job must have been a difficult one, even for an experienced liar. The record of the C. P. in the Sacramento case is one of the blackest in the history of labor defense struggles. Sabotage, disreputation, provocation are mild words for what the Stalinists did in the Sacramento court. The pamphlet is primarily an attempt to cover up the shameful record of California Stalinism.

Who Raised the Ball Here are a few illustrations: 1. On page 14 is a long, pathetic story of what "difficulty" the I.L.D. had in getting ball for the eighteen workers jailed in Sacramento in August, 1934. It winds up with the boast that the 18 prisoners were finally bailed out, and it thanks the Civil Liberties Union for bailing out one of them.

The truth is that the I.L.D. deliberately kept the prisoners in jail from August until January, withholding ball which it could have put up. In January, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense received a request from two prisoners to raise ball. Within two weeks it raised \$6,400 and bailed out Caroline Decker and Jack Warnick, two leading agricultural union members. . . . and C. P. members. Then Nora Conklin asked the N.P.L.D. for aid. The N.P.L.D. raised it, but before it could be posted, the I.L.D. suddenly produced ball enough for five prisoners, and within a few days all the prisoners were out.

How come? Quin does not explain. Nor does he mention the role of the N.P.L.D. in the bail matter. Nor does he mention how his rag had to publish an apology to the N.P.L.D. after it had insinuated that ball should not be put up through the N.P.L.D. because it was composed of racketeers.

other participants in the united front, is that the C.P. ruthlessly and deliberately broke up the united front on orders from 13th Street. Later, Charles Girden, California I.L.D. organizer, was fired from his post; the Western Worker printed the charge made against him; he had entered a united front with Trotskyists. So who broke it up?

Mini's Testimony 6. On page 25 Quin states that Norman Mini took the stand first "for the defense." What? Was he part of the defense? As to what he said, not a word here. But the day after he testified, the Western Worker charged that Mini's testimony had consisted of a "fantastic" scheme of violence against the government, which was not Marxism, gave the prosecution a weapon, etc. etc. Where are all those charges now?

8. On page 28 Quin writes that one juror, after the conviction, signed an affidavit revealing that the verdicts were arrived at in an illegal manner. True. What Quin does not say is that Juror Howard S. McIntire gave this affidavit not to the noble I.L.D. and the "heroic" Gallagher, but to the N.P.L.D. Attorney Goldman and to the Sacramento representative of the N.P.L.D.

9. The pamphlet admits that Norman Mini was a defendant and that he is now in San Quentin. It has a cover design which the careless might think represents only seven prisoners. But if you look closely, you will see a little lock of hair. That is Norman Mini! On the other hand, when the names of the prisoners are listed with their statements to the sentencing judge, Mini's name is absent! Quin does not want to report that Mini said:

"Our standing here is no accident. Our conviction is the result of the inner logic of the class struggle. But the same class struggle that results in our conviction will some day generate an irresistible wave that will sweep away forever everything this court and state represents. With this knowledge we can face our sentences confidently; we know that the future belongs to us."

Even a Quin can show that there was perpetrated in Sacramento a gross frame-up, not only against the revolutionist Norman Mini, but against those workers who endorsed the centrist views expressed by Sam Darcy at the trial.

The C. P. may be in a new period, but when it comes to telling the truth about its revolutionary opponents, that part of the line—I know it Browder—remains unchanged.

During the trial the C. P. disrupted the defense, attacked those who sought honest, militant unity, knifed in the back a courageous hero of the working class movement, and spread a thousand lying stories. Because the N.P.L.D. pounded it for six months thereafter, nailed it at every turn, exposed its corruption and slanders, the C. P. has had to back down. Today it merely whines: Norman Mini, the N.P.L.D., Trotskyists . . . they are not very nice fellows.

Come, come, Mike Quin . . . next you know you will find that you are willy-nilly, in a united front with the N.P.L.D. Or is your national office keeping secrets from you?

The Race Into War

Keen competition for world markets marches hand in hand with fierce exploitation of the working class in an endeavor to degrade prices to the lowest possible level. The intensity of this competition indicates the proximity of war which is felt immediately by the workers in the mad pace set by capitalist industry—the speed-up.

The race between American and Japanese capitalists for markets is graphically illustrated in the story told by the October Textile World which publishes figures on the Japanese cotton industry showing an increase in sales per worker and a decrease in workers per 1,000 spindles between 1927 and 1934.

Table with 3 columns: Year, Bales per month, Workers per 1000 spindles. Rows for 1927, 1930, 1932, 1934.

Between 1934 and 1934, the last year for which figures are available, the number of spinning workers increased only 9.3 percent while the yard production rose 12 percent. And this, it is pointed out, is not because Japan is turning out coarser yarns. On the contrary, the finer yarn output increased much faster than the output of the coarser counts.

American employers and their trade journals plot with envy to the ability of Japanese capitalists to speed up the workers and the handsome profits derived from this.

Pioneer Notes

The first volume of a series of six of the Selected Works of Leon Trotsky, publisher by Pioneer Publishers, is to be The Third International After Lenin. It is scheduled to appear in January of next year. The contents are:

- 1. A Program of International Revolution or a Program of Socialism in One Country?
2. Strategy and Tactics in the Imperialist Epoch.
3. Balance and Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution.

This volume deals with all the major polemics ranging between the International Left Opposition and Stalin, bringing them to their final climax at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

- 4. The Revolution of 1917.
5. Seven Years of World Politics.
6. The Chinese Revolution.
7. In order to raise the necessary funds for this publication program, Pioneer Publishers is conducting a campaign for the sale of certificates at \$10 each, which entitle the holder to 30 percent discount on all of their own publications and 15 percent on all books of other publishers.

- 8. The Trotsky series will cost \$1.50 if paid in advance and \$1.00 to certificate holders.
9. All those interested are urged to subscribe. Write to Pioneer Publishers, 100 Fifth Ave., for further details.

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ANGELO HERNDON: The N.P.L.D. is one of six organizations which set up the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense. The Committee has printed and distributed over 45,000 copies of a 16-page pamphlet. It aims to secure 1,000,000 additional signatures to petitions calling upon the Governor of Georgia to free Herndon.

WARD ROGERS: The N.P.L.D. is a constituent of

Who are the New «Progressive» Leaders in the A. F. of L. ?

By ARNE SWABECK

With his usual flair for punctuating a specific issue by a dramatic act, John L. Lewis has created a stir throughout the trade union movement in submitting his resignation from the A. F. of L. Executive Council.

Unusual importance is attached to this act. This is natural for more than one reason. John L. Lewis is identified as the leader of the new "progressive" bloc formed within the A. F. of L. upper crust and his resignation certainly tends to emphasize the hopeless division within the leadership. Much more important, however, is the additional and keen attention this act will focus upon the industrial union issue.

His resignation, to be correctly understood, must be viewed on the background of the recent A. F. of L. convention fight in which John L. Lewis, supported by Charles P. Howard, of the typographical union, together with Sidney Hillman and David Dubinsky of the needle trades and others, argued on the progressive side of some important questions. This fight in the main centered around the issues of the organization of the unorganized workers in the basic and mass production industries and their organization into industrial unions. The most hidebound craft unionists, led by William Green, Matthew Woll, Dan Tobin and John P. Frey, made up in voting strength what they lacked in convincing arguments and were thus able to carry the day, with the opposition, however, mustering imposing forces. Of course, this vote did not settle the issue. No sooner had the delegates left the gorgeous hotels and the beautiful shores of Atlantic City than the industrial union defenders realized that if there is to be any force at all behind this idea it is necessary to organize. They formed the "Committee for Industrial Organization." Does the resignation of John L. Lewis indicate that this group intends to take up in earnest the fight for organization of the unorganized and for industrial union organization?

Framed Way Into Presidency

In the leadership that John L. Lewis can give to this group is expressed both its strength and its weaknesses. He is both resourceful and cunning. His fixed objectives he pursues relentlessly. One need only remember how he came into the leadership of the U.M.W.A. by the back-door route. Functioning as a technical worker for the weak Frank J. Hayes, he was appointed vice-president to fill the vacancy left open when Hayes took White's place as president. Lewis was quick to utilize the opportunity to frame up Hayes, keeping him drunk most of the time and involving him in compromising situations which finally forced his resignation and thus automatically elevated Lewis to the presidency.

John L. Lewis has proved himself equally relentless in pursuing his opponents and tracking down those who fell victims to his despotic rule, always striking at the time when the opponents one way or another were in a weakened position. To this he adds the flair for the dramatic staging of his battles against his opponents in order the more surely and the more effectively to gain his ends. Often these methods have helped him enormously to consolidate his own position and strengthen his prestige among leading trade union officials. Hardly one instance in his long career can be found, however, where these special abilities were put to use in conflicts with the coal operators, except in an adverse sense insofar as the interests of the rank and file workers are concerned. One such example dates back to 1920, when he sold out the great national strike and yielded weakly in the face of the Daugherty injunction, declaring: "We cannot fight the government."

Turns Heat on Farrington

Toward the operators Lewis proved soft and exceedingly flexible; toward the opponents in the organization, uncompromising. For years he fought bitterly the equally ambitious president of the Illinois district, Frank Farrington, keeping almost constantly at least five dozen organizers in the district, not to organize what was then already a completely organized district, but to watch Farrington and get the goods on him. In this they succeeded and Lewis made good use of the evidence, and as usual in the most dramatic fashion. When Farrington was about to address the British Trade Union Congress as an official A. F. of L. delegate, Lewis denounced him as an agent on the payroll of the largest Illinois coal company, the Peabody Coal Co., at a salary of \$25,000 a year.

Most recently John L. Lewis again made use of his great dramatic talents in appearing suddenly on the Atlantic City A. F. of L. convention floor, asking that the rules be set aside to give consideration to a special resolution directed against Matthew Woll. He demanded the latter's resignation from the reactionary Civic Federation and won his point while the august assembly was thrown into

A Few Pages from the Records of John L. Lewis, David Dubinsky, Sidney Hillman, Chas. P. Howard et. al.

an uproar.

Wrecking the U.M.W.A.

John L. Lewis is at the helm of the strongest and undoubtedly the most militant organization in the country. But his record, to put it mildly, is an odious one, and even though he now takes his stand on the progressive side of the argument in what has become the most important dispute in the A. F. of L.—which deserves due recognition—this record should not be overlooked. In the course of further events it is quite likely that he will be compelled to become one of the outstanding champions of trade union democracy. If so, and this is to be expected, it will arise out of the logic of his present position and not because of any principled adherence to the idea of trade union democracy. His whole past record is that of ruthless wielding of bureaucratic powers, expelling progressive and left wing opponents, beginning with Alex Howatt, packing conventions and stealing votes in union elections, not shrinking from the most vicious and arbitrary measures.

On times, almost without number, the rank and file members have been in revolt against his sell-outs to the operators. Notable is the instance of 1922, when 50,000 unorganized miners of western Pennsylvania, the home of the steel trust, saved the national strike by making common cause, only to find themselves left out in the cold in the settlement, abandoned, beaten and to be starved into submission. Similarly in 1928, the striking miners of Pennsylvania and Ohio were finally left by the national union officialdom to shift for themselves, beaten, disorganized, and the national organization in the soft coal territories reduced to about 70,000 members.

The Revival

Many severe blows were thus dealt to the glorious U.M.W. which reached almost the depths of despair when John L. Lewis, who is now the champion of industrial unionism, inaugurated the disastrous policy of separate state and individual agreements with the operators. However, with the turn of the business cycle and the recent revival of trade union organization, the U.M.W.A. came back strongly to occupy its rightful place. The changing economic conditions and the change in the moods of the masses produced its inevitable pressure also upon the union officials. The coal miners gained new experiences battling the steel trust for organization of the captive mines. It is only natural that this should find its reflection even in the upper strata of the union officialdom.

Trade union organization, now so bitterly fought by the gigantic corporations, has really become a matter of a life and death battle. No trade union leader, no matter how reactionary and bureaucratic, can remain blind to the fact that in the issues of the class struggle—which are here, whether or no the bureaucrats attempt to deny them—only organizations of mass numbers can assure the power necessary in facing these battles. The small beginnings made toward union organization in the basic and mass production industries such as steel, automobiles and rubber, only lends further emphasis to this situation of reality. And the first real distinction that appears between the old bureaucracy left over from the days of Sam Gompers and the bloc of "progressives," headed by John L. Lewis, is the fact that the latter has much more readily responded to the pressure of new objective conditions and much more accurately gauged the actual moods of the masses.

Failure of Leadership

The Executive Council reported to the Atlantic City convention a gain for the year of another half million workers over that of the previous twelve months, bringing the total membership up to 3,045,947. This is the highest membership reported since 1922, though it is still more than a million below the 4,078,740 of 1920. Paltry figures indeed when compared to the rich opportunities for organization that were available. A mighty stream of workers was set into motion for union organization, coinciding with the revival of industrial production and stimulated by the NRA. Almost without exception this stream gravitated toward the A. F. of L. Again and again, however, these workers were repelled by the dismal failure of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and its reactionary collusion with the employers. Therefore the matter first to be recognized is the fact that the craft union structure is no weapon for the struggle against the large corporations that union organization entails. These bureaucrats lacked both vision and will to even attempt to adjust the organizational

structure to the new needs. They leaned almost exclusively upon the government for their support, entering into a partnership in which their position as agents of capitalism meant that they were to prevent the workers from engaging in independent class activity. Consequently they did their best, with the support of the government, to strangle every strike. This could not at all inspire confidence among the workers in union organization.

Lewis Gives the Record

It was thus easy for John L. Lewis to put his finger on the weak spots at the A. F. of L. convention: "For twenty-five years or more," he said, "the American Federation of Labor has been following this precise policy (he meant the policy of doing nothing—A.S.) and surely in the absence of any other understanding of the question, a record of twenty-five years of constant, unbroken failure should be convincing to those who actually have a desire to increase the prestige of our great labor movement by expanding its membership to permit it to occupy its natural place in the sun."

"What is the record?" he went on. "Delegate Howard expressed it when he said that we laid claim to a membership of approximately three and a half million, out of an organizable number of approximately thirty-nine million. There is the answer."

The Executive Council had claimed a total of 1,804 Federal labor unions organized during the

year. Lewis proceeded to show, from the report itself that this number included a period of two years, and then, reading from other pages of the report about the locals that had been suspended or disbanded and thus permanently gone out of existence drew a negative balance of 314 federal labor unions. From this Lewis concluded: "So the 1,804 organizers of the American Federation of Labor in all classifications during that year lacked 314 unions of holding their own."

"On that basis I submit it to be a reasonable statement," continued Lewis, "that it will be a long time before the American Federation of Labor organizes those 25,000,000 workers that we are all so anxious to organize. There are others among us who believe that the record indicates a need for a change in policy. This convention floor is teeming with delegates from those industries where those local unions have been established and where they are now dying like the grass withering before the autumn sun, who are ready to tell this convention of the need for that change of policy."

Green's Church Philosophy

William Green attempted to make a reply to this charge of dismal failure, saying: "One might as well ask why the church has not saved all the sinners." In this answer Green revealed his true self. As a good churchman, still a deacon in his home town, Conchockton, Ohio, he would never infer that

the church is no good. His conclusion is that the wicked sinners do not repent and do not want salvation: We said we would organize 25,000,000 workers in the great American Federation of Labor, but darn it, these workers did not want to get organized. The truth is that the workers did desire organization but the gentlemen of Green's church repelled them by woeful incompetence and deceit.

Since the Atlantic City convention the cleavage in the Executive Council has deepened. The resignation of Lewis should not be looked upon as a split but rather as a determination on his part to wash his hands of responsibility for failure and, undoubtedly also, as a means of getting his hands free in case he should decide on a serious campaign for a new and a more aggressive policy of organization. William Green has made further feeble attempts to take up the challenge, but despite his exalted position he is a poor match for the much more resourceful Lewis. This will become much more apparent when it is clearly understood that there are much more fundamental issues involved than a mere tilt between the two.

On how Green came into his high position there also hangs a tale. Old Sam Gompers had ruled the affairs of the Federation for so many years and in such an undisputed fashion that his sudden death and the problem of finding a "worthy" successor presented great difficulties. There was Matthew Woll, commonly looked upon as the Crown Prince, but his not very

large stature sheltered an even smaller mind, and he nursed great personal ambitions. The writer recalls having a debate some years ago with Matthew Woll when he appeared before the Chicago Federation of Labor to which I was a delegate at the time. The debate commenced around Woll's ardent presentation of his own special labor insurance scheme and expanded into the main issues of the A. F. of L. policy of organization. I received the distinct feeling that he was much more concerned about himself appearing in an impressive light than with the issues in question. The old Gompers crowd at the time of the departure of their helmsman feared the too great ambitions of Matthew Woll, and so William Green fell into his present position.

The real battle for the life of craft unionism versus industrial unionism can hardly be avoided. This is keenly sensed in all leading A. F. of L. circles and those who are the real theoreticians of the stark reactionary policies, like John F. Frey, are coming more to the fore, defending the shaky structure of craft unionism. There need be no doubt, however, that the future lies on the progressive side of this fight. And, aside from such considerations as the personal abilities of those who now stand out in the forefront on either side, the "progressives" have the real issues. On that side the real now beginning. In such a perspective lies also the confident hope forces are sure to come from the new unions that are bound to grow in the mass production industries, encouraged by the struggle that is that precisely from these unions, new and genuinely progressive forces will emerge.

Next to John L. Lewis and his powerful organization in back of him, as it surely will be, and should be, on the progressive issues now in dispute, the representatives of the textile workers' union stand out in the bloc that was recently formed. In this sense we have in mind first of all the organizations that are involved. Together with these two there are the needle trades unions. On the whole these represent a line-up of unions with a militant fighting tradition. Moreover, the leaderships in these unions cannot help but feel in a very marked degree the pressure from below, from a membership trained in the fire of the class struggle, and striving to make their unions effective instruments of this struggle. This should prove an important and a wholesome factor in the future orientation of this "progressive" movement of today. However, the personal integrity of their representatives, who are now in the spotlight in the "progressive" bloc, is perhaps equally important.

In this respect very little of a favorable nature can be said for McMahon, the President of the United Textile Workers. During past years his feeble abilities served to keep the textile workers divided into a multitude of ineffective quarrelling unions, and he was most often ready to sabotage any single one of them which did carry on a militant struggle. The "progressive" bloc is hardly advanced by his presence. The Vice-President of the U.T.W., Francis J. Gorman, plays a somewhat different role. No doubt his dynamic qualities have had a great deal to do with the growth of this union during the last few years. It is understood that all the more militant delegates to the U.T.W. convention, held prior to the national textile workers' strike of last year, specifically demanded that Gorman be placed in charge of the strike. He has since made many attempts to cover up and make his own weakness appear in the most favorable light, accepting a strike settlement that gave the rank and file workers nothing in return for their valiant fight. Still, at the A. F. of L. convention Gorman went further than any other prominent delegate in taking issue with the whole concept of the organizational as well as political orientation of the entrenched bureaucracy. In defending his labor party resolution he made it clear that in his opinion the labor party was to be a distinct opponent, antagonistic to the vested interests represented by the two old capitalist parties.

The Stalinists, seeing in these utterances of Gorman the living incarnation of their own "principle of the People's Front for the United States," were positively eloquent in reporting this speech at length in their "theoretical" organ. Said the Stalinist scribe: "That a labor leader of the type of Gorman comes to the identical conclusions as those formulated by the General Secretary of our party, Comrade Browder, shows both the knowledge of the conditions and needs of the masses that Comrade Browder has mastered, and that Gorman has made great advances on the basis of his recent experiences."

So, Gorman elevated himself to the position at least of becoming the unconscious medium for Browder. This ought to mean a lot to him. A true description, however, of the intervention of the Stalinists in present trade union developments would of necessity be much more prosaic in tone as it would show an absolutely pernicious influence.

The Needle Trades

The full effect of this influence has been felt in the needle trades unions, whose two most outstanding representatives, Hillman and Dubinsky, are prominent members of the "progressive" bloc. Some years ago the left wing showed its greatest resourcefulness in these unions. But this was a good deal before the Stalinist "third period." Traditionally these unions are looked upon as Socialist unions, yet almost consistently having had their definite right and left tendencies and movements. The leading officials usually laid claim to the title "Constructive Radicalism."

From the days of Schlesinger and Siegan the leaders of the I.L.G.W. were amongst the main props of the S. P. Old Guard and receiving their main support from the decrepit Jewish Daily Forward. Usually this I.L.G.W. bureaucracy was bitterly opposed by their own rank and file Socialist union members. So disreputable had this administration become that Dubinsky, a lesser evil, fell heir to it. Sidney Hillman, the President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, on the other hand, politically unattached, understood how to gather around himself radicals and ex-radicals of various descriptions, mostly ex's, and make them subservient to his administration.

Sydney Hillman

Whereas, in the I.L.G.W., the "Socialist" officials nearly always fought the left wing head-on, Hillman endeavored to make the left wing feel at home in the union in order to quietly muzzle it or to painlessly kick out the more determined ones. Somehow he always managed to have a "right" wing target, as for example the former New York Beckerman gang, and thereby kept the left wing busy supporting the administration measures against the gang. Hillman could always manage skillfully to make it appear that he met the left wing half way, but always in such a manner that the decision would remain on paper and cost him nothing. So, for example, he did not oppose amalgamation of the needle trades unions, so long that he felt sure others would oppose it sufficiently as a practical reality. He could display what looked very much like a real and practicable form of sympathy for the Soviet Union and even accept the shop delegate system—in principle—and in such a way that it would not interfere in the least with the domination of his official machine. Hillman began his career as a progressive leader fighting the incredibly reactionary United Garment Workers bureaucracy, and fighting against the sweatshop. With the A.C.W. growth of membership and power, he adjusted himself handsomely to all the celebrated forms of bosses' "impartial" machinery, based on the "Rule of Reason" and wound up in the cunning speed-up system called standard of production, which is the curse of the union membership. Hillman is now completing the cycle, back again in a "progressive" (Continued on Page 5)

Vote Strike on Ill. WPA

(Continued from Page 1) only by a state-wide walkout. W. J. Eldridge, of Kincaid, a coal miner, acted as secretary of the conference.

The conference planned to conduct an intensive drive for the organization of all relief projects and to crystallize a wide sentiment for strike action. Conferences are to be held in various sections of the state in order to consolidate the forces of labor. The first conference to be held will be at Marlon, Ill., Dec. 1, where thirteen southern Illinois counties are to be represented.

One of the features of the conference was the presence of delegates from local union number 1, the most powerful unit of the Progressive Miners of America. The Progressive Trades and Labor union and the A. F. of L. Hod Carriers union had delegates at the conference.

Jas. Crass, Tony Scremin, James Shipley, Al Renner and Edward C. Morgan delivered inspiring addresses. Gerry Allard stated when interviewed that a strike would materialize in Illinois by Dec. 16 unless radical concessions were made by the WPA administrators before that time.

"Sure the workers will strike," Allard declared when asked if the workers would respond to the call for action. "As a matter of fact, hundreds of them are already on strike. The sentiment is there. Our job is to organize it and lead it in the most effective channels."

Toledo-Union Town

Militant Battles That Defeated the Bosses

By ART PREIS

Over one and a half years have passed since that memorable night in May, 1934 when some ten thousand embattled Toledo workers besieged the stronghold of the Toledo Auto-Lite plant and fought through those six days of magnificent struggle against all the armed hosts of the capitalist state. The echo of that victorious "Battle of Chestnut Hill" beat against the eager ears of the American workers and inspired the first great strike wave under the "New Deal."

Hard in the wake of the Auto-Lite strike came the two famous and historic battles of the Minneapolis truck-drivers under the leadership of Local 574, the general textile strike, the San Francisco general strike, and a flood of other militant labor struggles.

Toledo a Union Town

Emboldened by the lessons of the Auto-Lite encounter, Toledo labor began a steady organizational upsurge. Although every step of the path toward a solid and fighting union front has been marked by the fiercest opposition, both from the employers and overmen on the outside and reactionary union bureaucrats from within, the one-time notorious "scab-town" Toledo is today a genuinely union town. This development did not spring to full flower overnight out of the earth. Following the Auto-Lite strike, Toledo experienced one strike battle after another, the Armour and Swift, Larrowe Milling, General Milk Drivers, FEERA strikes and a flock of others. The primary issue of most of these scraps was the establishment of the union, union recognition and the fulfillment of the grandiose promises of the late-lamented NRA.

Chevrolet Strike

It was therefore no mere coincidence that in May of 1935, but one year after the Auto-Lite strike, Toledo labor again set off the spark which revitalized the apathetic workers in the giant auto industry

"THE BATTLE OF CHESTNUT HILL"



and launched the second strike wave under the Roosevelt regime. The Chevrolet strike, under the leadership of hard-hitting, intelligent union progressives, served not only to entrench unionism in several General Motors plants, but exposed to the workers of the nation the treacherous role of Green, Dillon and other enemies of industrial unionism, stimulated the fight for union progressivism and the organization of the workers in basic industries.

The three weeks battle of the Chevrolet workers, climaxed by the unforgettable demonstration of the strikers against Francis Dillon, right-hand Green man, on the night when they were finally budgeoned into partial but short-lived defeat, served to crystallize anti-Dillon-Green sentiment in the auto, rubber and other unions, led to the formation of autonomous international unions in these industries, and spurred the fight for industrial unionism in the recent A. F. of L. convention and subsequently.

The Unemployed Leagues

No history of the class struggle in Toledo for the past two years,

MASS ACTION IN TOLEDO



«Local 574 Is Invincible!»

By JAMES P. CANNON

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 26.—The union-wrecking racket which used to work so smoothly under the guise of the "Red purge" is not what it used to be. Not in Minneapolis at any rate. And union militants all over the country can learn something from the manner progressive labor in the northwest,



JAMES P. CANNON

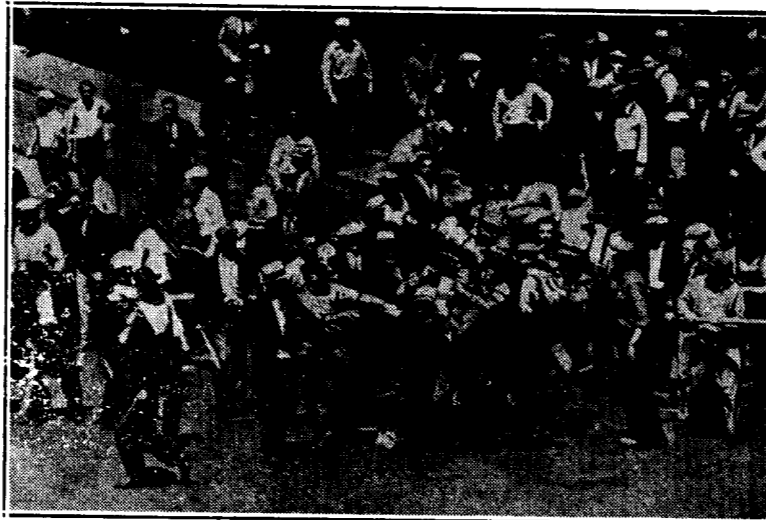
in which Local 574, spearhead of has beaten off the latest attack directed by William Green's personal representative and gained ground steadily in the four weeks since it was first announced in the nation's headlines. As things stand

now it is conceded on all sides in the labor movement that Local 574 has the upper hand over the union wreckers. The impression is widespread—and strongest of all in the ranks of its own membership—that Local 574 is invincible. The name, or rather the number, has become a legend.

Bosses Wary of 574

It is highly significant that the bosses, who tried their hands at breaking the union in the great strikes of 1934, have nowhere ventured to come out in the open to support Tobin and Meyer Lewis. To be sure, this cautious attitude has not been directed by sympathy for the union under attack and its outspokenly radical leaders. Their hearts were with Lewis, but they didn't trust him to make good his boasts that he would break up the "outlaw" union. They told him frankly in more than one private conference, the reports of which found their way into local labor circles, that they had had their share of expensive trouble last year and had become convinced that their trucks could not operate without 574 drivers. The union has signed new contracts with several new groups of employers, and renewed its contracts with others, since the formal revocation of its charter by Tobin last summer, and has even made new gains since the formal launching of the ill-starred "Red purge" by Meyer Lewis on Oct. 30.

THE MILITANCY THAT SCARED GREEN



Local trade union leaders of the traditional non-militant type, despite their entanglement with and dependence upon the official A. F. of L. machine and their lack of any real affection for the "wild men" of Local 574, have likewise shrugged their shoulders at the appeals of Green's special union-buster. The action of the Central Labor Union in shouting Lewis down and then instructing its executive board to confer with Local 574 with a view toward a peaceful settlement of the difficulties was a remarkable tribute to a so-called "outlaw" union. It bears testimony to the strength of Local 574 and to the respect in which this strength is held by the local leaders of the official trade union movement of the A. F. of L.

The Grand Strategy

In its reply to the Central Labor Union the executive board of Local 574 reiterated the position which it has maintained throughout the long struggle: As point one, it declared the desire of the union to remain a part of the general labor movement represented by the A. F. of L. and asked the aid of the Central

Labor Union in securing the restoration of its charter in the Teamsters' International; it disclaimed any quarrel with the other unions, pointed to the record of its cooperation with them in the past and expressed the desire to continue this cooperation in the future; and, finally, the leaders of Local 574 restated the firm determination of the union to maintain its organization and to defend itself against all attacks.

In these three points is contained the gist of the policy of Local 574 which has brought it such brilliant success: a policy of militancy, plus cooperation with all other legitimate unions; a deliberate policy of affiliation to the A. F. of L., and of unceasing struggle for reinstatement, plus a refusal to sacrifice its organization or to capitulate to union wreckers masquerading as labor leaders. This policy, in my opinion, is a model for the internal union strategy of the trade union militants everywhere, just as the policy exemplified by Local 574 in the great strikes of 1934 can serve as a model of strike strategy.

Meticulous attention to every detail of organization is another one of the secrets of Local 574's astounding success. For the strike battles of last year the union set up headquarters in a big garage, equipped it like a field headquarters for the rapid mobilization of the picket "cruising squads," and hurled them like a militant army into action. The bosses, accustomed to dealing with horse-and-buggy unionism, represented so pathetically by a dickering business agent, were knocked out of the water by these militant mass tactics. These tactics prevailed eventually even against the police and the militia and wrested settlements which made it possible for the union to consolidate itself, heal its many wounds and begin to grow as a day-by-day organization. For that a different technique was needed. Grand strategy had to make way for detail and routine.

THE BATTLE OF «DEPUTIES RUN»



The spacious new headquarters on Plymouth Avenue North present a picture of Local 574 in this stage of its development as a full-blown union, taking care of the daily business of its membership, but poised for action all the time. Occupying two large floors, with two or three times the space of the headquarters of the Central Labor Union, with an auditorium seating 1,500, adequate office space, several conference rooms and a bar, Local 574 is equipped for business and does plenty of it. As many as six different meetings of separate categories of workers, including those employed on relief projects, take place on a single night. Over three thousand people were packed into the halls on the night of the demonstration against the Green-Lewis "Red" drive, with a large over-crowd in the streets listening to the loudspeaker. In addition, the headquarters serve as a social center for the membership. Every week there is one kind of an affair or another, dances, smokers, lectures, frolics. Sports are organized around the union—baseball, football and

soccer teams compete with amateur rivals in the uniform of Local 574. All this is reflected in signs, announcements and gatherings at the headquarters. Local 574 is a mass movement, drawing its people ever closer to the union, taking hold of them at their work and in their hours of recreation, welding them together. A formidable, new movement. A really inspiring union, the pride of the whole northwest, strong in the affection of the working masses. A hard union to bust, as the bosses of Minneapolis know, and as Tobin, Green and Meyer Lewis are learning. Local 574 is strong in itself, but its great advantage in every struggle is the enthusiasm and devotion with which the rank and file of the other unions rally around it. Local 574 has won this devotion by the inspiring example it has set before them and by the ready and effective cooperation in time of trouble. From a formal standpoint Local 574 is an "outlaw." They have revoked its charter and declared it "outside" the general labor movement. But in the real essence of the matter Local 574 is "inside"—in the hearts of the rank and file of all the other unions.

These things are the real capital of Local 574 in the struggle. In spite of all, it is conceivable that the united forces of reaction in the labor movement could crush and destroy it as they have crushed other isolated unions before. But the tide is not running that way at present. The workers are in a more militant mood. They are clamoring for industrial unionism, sick and tired of the policy that brings nothing but defeat. Craft unionism is cracking at the seams in the A. F. of L. The reactionaries have too many fights on their hands to concentrate on Minneapolis alone. The ardent sympathy of progressives and militants everywhere is on the side of Minneapolis, and that helps in various ways. For all these reasons it appears to me that the militants of Local 574 have a fighting chance for victory again. That's all they ever asked for.

COPS GET A SHELLACKING



Who Are the Progressive Leaders of the A.F. of L.?

(Continued from Page 4)

Chas. P. Howard's position in the "progressive" bloc to promote industrial unionism is somewhat unique. His organization, the typographical union, is distinctly craft conscious. But Howard does understand the importance of organized groups functioning inside the unions. He was elected President of the union on the slate of a faction calling itself the Progressive Party, which for years fought the more reactionary "Wahnitass."

Howard genuinely fears that if the A. F. of L. becomes immune to necessary progress, somebody else will take over the job of organizing the workers. This was the tenor of his support of industrial unionism at the San Francisco convention last year, and he made no bones about whom he feared. At the Atlantic City convention he repeated almost word for word his previous speech on this particular point, saying: "Now, let me say to you that the workers of this country are going to organize, and if they are not per-

mitted to organize under the banner of the American Federation of Labor they are going to organize under some other leadership or they are going to organize without leadership. And if either of those conditions should extenuate, I submit to you that it would be a far more serious problem for our government, for the people of this country and for the American Federation of Labor itself than if our organization policies should be so molded that we can organize them and bring them under the leadership of this organization."

On this particular point Lewis was even more outspoken, yet utterly reactionary in presenting Communism and Fascism in the same category, when he declared: "Lewis on Communism and Fascism" "What of the future of our country? Who among us does not know the hazards of the present moment? The teachings of false prophets falling upon the ears of a population that is frightened and disturbed and depressed and discouraged, the nocturnal and surreptitious attempts of interests to form a philosophy, the philosophy of the Communists on the one hand and the philosophy of the Nazis on the other hand, equally repugnant and distasteful to the men of labor. And yet it is constituting a serious, deadly menace for the future."

It would thus be absurd to assume that there is a real distinction between the Lewis forces and the Green forces in questions of basic class ideology. Nevertheless, the present situation is clear to militant and to revolutionary workers in the trade unions. Around the issues that stand out today—an aggressive policy of organization and industrial unionism—they must make common cause and a common struggle with the Lewis "progressive" bloc. This struggle, once it takes real hold, will rage primarily

in the mass production industries. And this is also where the real future lies for unionism in America. From these industries the basic cadre of the movement must be recruited.

To the revolutionary workers the movement and its objectives are the fundamental question. They must draw a clear line between this movement and individuals who may be there by chance. Basically the rank and file will unquestionably gravitate more and more toward the support of the "progressive" bloc on this issue it has raised. Such support, however, this bloc will receive as an opponent of the bosses and as an opponent of reaction. The center of gravity of the masses is now shifting in a leftward direction and the logic of the position of the "progressives" will make it difficult for them to draw back. Even the issues of trade union democracy as a prerequisite to the accomplishing of any change of policy of organization will tend to drive them toward a defense of this principle. Other progressive issues will emerge. They will also tend to coalesce into a serious movement in which the genuine progressives will take their rightful place. The fundamental question will then arise more clearly as to where the various elements stand on issues of the class struggle.

A beginning toward a movement is made, and with all the qualifications necessary in estimating the personnel now in the lead, a real opportunity is presented for militant workers. Pursuing the tactic of common struggle around the progressive issues of today, critical of all attempts of deception, compromise and capitulation to reaction, courageous and audacious, the militant workers can become the leaven for a strong and genuine progressive movement of tomorrow.

DASCH SPEAKS ON OLYMPICS
Friday, December 6, 8 P.M. at 320 East 14th Street, Al Dasch, former Metropolitan A.A.U. 147-lb. boxing champion, will speak on whether the Olympics should be held in Germany. Admission free.

Fred Zeller, Leader of the Paris Socialist Youth Declares for the Fourth International

(Continued from Page 1)

day under the white heat of the class struggle that political values are brought into sharpest, boldest relief. It is the showdown—a time when no ambiguity is possible.

Days of Decisive Struggle

These are the days in France when the class struggle itself rips every shred of pretense and hypocrisy from those who stand in the van of the working class. In the decisive struggles to come the workers will learn who are their leaders—and who their betrayers.

It is at a time like this that comrade Zeller—only a year ago an avowed opponent of "Trotskyism"—has come forward with the call for a fight for the Fourth International, for a new party, as the only way out for the French proletariat. The youth organization of the Seine and whole federations and parts of federations elsewhere in France will follow his fighting lead.

Through what experience did Fred Zeller pass to arrive at this conclusion? That is what every young Socialist, every Young Communist, if he really counts himself a fighter against capitalism, will want to know. Comrade Zeller has himself written the answer. In one of the most valuable documents of the present-day revolutionary labor movement—a pamphlet of a few thousand words—Fred Zeller describes the evolution of the Youth during the past year in terms of the political developments which have brought the fight against Fascism onto the order of the day in France.

Addressed to his own comrades in the Socialist Youth of France and to comrades throughout the world, the pamphlet gives, with all the authority of a leading participant, a picture of what has been happening in France, a picture of the Front Populaire in action, a pitiless picture of the social democracy and Stalinism in their final, social-patriotic, class-collaborationist phase. He gives a living and striking demonstration of the result of the impact of events and the influence of firm Bolshevik ideas. Firm attachment to the interests of the proletariat led him relentlessly from the bosom of the social democracy in which he was nurtured into firm solidarity with the Bolshevik-Leninists whom upon first meeting he distrusted and fought.

He describes the growing sentiment among the Socialist Youth of France against the social democratic bureaucracy of the S.F.I.O. He relates how into this leftward moving current came the Bolshevik-Leninists. At the beginning Zeller and his comrades were alienated.

Hatred for Bolshevism

"Despite our desire to take a progressive road, it seemed to us that between them and us there was an unbridgeable gulf." As young Socialists "we had been brought up in the party with a hatred for Bolshevism."

The vigorous activity of the young Bolsheviks—all too vigorous, it seemed to their Socialist comrades—led Zeller and his associates to unite in an organized faction under the name of Revolutionary Socialist Youth which was formed to combat, as they saw it at the time, "both the reformists and the Trotskyists."

But it was not long before this faction, under the pressure of events, began to itself move in a

clearer leftward direction. "One part, the most progressive, entered into collaboration with the Bolshevik-Leninists."

In this period, early 1935, the young revolutionary Socialists fought the S.F.I.O. bureaucracy, above all on the question of national defense versus revolutionary defeatism. This period coincided with the new turn of the Stalinists, particularly in the matter of national defense, as Franco-Soviet negotiations for a military pact proceeded.

Stalin's Missionaries in France
In April, Zeller relates, two representatives of the Y.C.I. came to Paris, Kossarov and Chemedanov, and approached him with a demand that he and his comrades take a sharp position against the Trotskyists, and for adhesion to the Third International.

Lengthy extracts are given from

revolutionary program. "Expulsions, War Crisis, Toulon

The expulsion of revolutionists, the events at Toulon and Brest, the growth of the war crisis, and the swift drop into foul betrayal by both bureaucracies hammered home, with Bolshevik-Leninist help, the real issue:

"Seeing that the policy followed by the Second and Third Internationals were nothing but a reflection and an echo of the League of Nations and that there was no longer an independent working class policy on a world scale, and that in fact we were witnessing the bankruptcy of the internationals and the decomposition of their national sections, we concluded that with relentless inevitability, today or tomorrow, the indispensable regrouping of the whole proletarian vanguard would take place on the basis of

revolutionary position. "Carry out the indispensable rapprochement with the Trotskyists." This was Zeller's advice to Marceau Pivert, who remains so far, with many of his comrades, under illusions concerning the "democracy" in the Socialist Party which they think will enable them to seize its apparatus and introduce a revolutionary policy from the top.

The Two Roads

"It is clear," says Zeller, "that such a tendency will not go far. Under the pressure of circumstances and the pressure of events, it will automatically differentiate, just as the Revolutionary Socialist Youth did. The soundest and most active wing will come near to the Bolshevik-Leninists. The other will return to the shirt-tails of the bureaucracies."

What perspectives does Zeller open up?

"We have deep roots in the youth and that is important. Only those who in the days to come will know how to be the faithful interpreters of the will of the youth, who will offer it an unstained flag and clear perspectives, will win the victory in France.

"We are forging in the daily struggle the cadres of the great revolutionary party of tomorrow. From now on we call loudly to the working class youth of France: The Young Socialists of the Seine have had a series of experiences in the struggle. Now they have definitely broken with the policy of bankruptcy and of treason of the two internationals. In the face of the bourgeoisie which is showing its teeth they do not want to bend the knee but to fight!"

"They want a party and an international of struggle which will be faithful to revolutionary Marxism, to the ideas of Lenin and the glorious tradition of the Bolsheviks of October, 1917!"

"The Second and Third Internationals are nothing more now than decomposing corpses."

"Henceforth, for the grouping of all the exploited of the earth under the banner of the Fourth International."

"Love live the French Revolution!"

"Long live the world revolution!"

To comrade Zeller and all his fellow-fighters among the revolutionary youth of France we extend the hand of comradely greeting. Welcome, fellow-fighters for the Fourth International!

Fred Zeller's pamphlet, with a preface by L. D. Trotsky, will be published by the Workers Party in the very near future. Send in contributions to insure the speediest publication to 55 E. 11th St., New York City. Place your bundle orders now!

Not Hollow Preaching - But Clear Cut Slogans!

(From Leon Trotsky's Preface to Fred Zeller's Pamphlet)

"In the ebullience and flow of our epoch, amid great defeats and disillusionments, in the growth of the conservative Soviet bureaucracy, the oldest generation of both Internationals has largely spent itself, become a hollow shell and fallen prostrate. The building of the new International falls with its main weight upon the young generation. The obstacles are great, the tasks colossal. But it is precisely in the struggle against great obstacles that fighting cadres are formed and steeled. The Seine Federation of the Youth and after it the provinces as well can and should take an honored place in this work. More faith in ourselves, in our forces and in the future! Let the philistines howl about the tactlessness, the brashness and exaggerations of the youth. Cadres of the revolutionary party have never yet been educated either in the ballet schools or in diplomatic chancelleries. The revolution is not only 'tactless' but it is ruthless when need arises. That is why Messrs. Bourgeois hate Leninism (with Stalinism they get along not so badly). The social-patriots translate the bourgeoisie's fear into the language of sanctions, expelling young Bolsheviks from the party, while the centrist philistines curse on this account—the Fourth International. This need not worry us. All those processes take place in the thin layer of the bureaucracy and the workers' aristocracy. One must look deeper into the masses that languish in the chains of the crisis, hate their slave owners, desire struggle, are capable of struggle and in Toulon and Brest have already made their first assault. These masses do not need hollow preaching on unity, nor the false 'tactfulness' of the salon, but clear-cut slogans and courageous leadership. Let us hope that Zeller's pamphlet will perform a service in the cause of the education of the young cadres of the new International!"

Written on Nov. 7, 1935.

the stenographic record of Zeller's meeting with the Y.C.I. representatives during which the now famous injunction was given them: "If in this period you make your revolution you are traitors!" The Stalin-Laval declaration in May completed the education of the young Socialists.

"They hoped to use us to betray the supreme interests of the international proletariat. We indignantly refused. Chemedanov came not to win us from reformism but to push us into the arms of our bourgeoisie under the falacious pretext of defending democracy against the principal enemy, Hitlerite Fascism. To serve the needs of a poor cause, they wanted to yoke us to our General Staff. Strongly opposed, we took up the struggle fiercely."

The brochure develops in detail the relations between the S.F.I.O. and Stalinist leaderships and the revolutionary wing of the Seine party and describes the expulsions perpetrated at Lille, their sequel, the role of the S.A.P.ists (followers of the Socialist Workers Party of Germany) in the French youth, their capitulation and the proudly developing fight of the main body of the youth on a developing revo-

lutionary program. We thought, consequently, that the moment had come for the young Socialists of the Seine boldly to take the lead of the regrouping of the real revolutionists and to raise high and firmly a flag without blemish."

A picture is given of the hesitations and the vacillations in some sections of the ranks, fostered in particular by the S.A.P.ist elements who capitulated to the bureaucracy. The hardening of the cadres is shown and the development of a movement among the Young Communists toward the revolutionary grouping.

He describes in some detail the evolution of the heterogeneous "Revolutionary Left" led by Marceau Pivert who, he writes, was forced by the leftward political development of the rank and file in the adult party to solidarize with the expelled leaders of the Seine youth. But Pivert "stopped in the full middle of the road." "Neither to the right nor to the left"—that is the constitutional formula of Pivert. He describes how they took part in the organization meeting of the Revolutionary Left but have constantly sought to warn and win Pivert and his comrades to a rev-

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One Year of the Workers Party

(Continued from Page 1)

pseudo-progressives in the unions, etc.) precisely at the moment when Stalinism most openly takes on the role of social-patriotic betrayal. Bureaucratic centrism and social democratic centrism meet to consummate the betrayal, to make it more certain by creating in the mind of the masses the illusion of strength through "unity."

It is in such a period of reaction as we have described that the old Internationals finally break down—i.e. in the sense of succumbing to opportunism and social-patriotism and irrevocably losing the capacity to serve as a progressive force. In "normal" times the process of degeneration is not obvious, it still appears that the working class under its leadership is "making progress." This also means that the "new" International comes into being in the period of reaction, of defeat, and of demoralization for the working class. Thus the Third International of Lenin came into being during the War, and the Fourth International comes into being in the present epoch of war and impending war.

It follows that the cadres of the new International are at first a small minority isolated in a sense from the masses, though they alone express the true interest and need of the masses, as presently becomes clear. These cadres survive in such a period because they are intransigent; because they possess clarity and sharpness in theory and ideology; because they make the clearest and sharpest break—not merely in words or even program but also organizationally from the dead and corrupt body of the old International, and because they steel themselves against every weakness in themselves and every attack and temptation from without. The example of Lenin needs merely to be cited.

To use Lenin's own words uttered during the early days of the World War, in such a period the basic task is "to unite the Marxian elements, however small their number may be at the beginning, to revive in their name the words of real Socialism now forgotten, to call the workers of all countries to relinquish chauvinism and raise the old banner of Marxism."

There are, furthermore, particular reasons why the growth of the forces of the Fourth International on American soil does not proceed at the rate of thousands a month. Right on the heels of the founding of the W. P. came the first public announcement of the Stalinist 180 degree turn, viz. support of the labor party idea. This was followed by other breath-taking swings on the Stalinist flying trapeze. Now many of the points in the present C. P. program have a superficial plausibility and attractiveness for the workers and especially for intellectuals and liberals. To welcome all people who on any ground are "opposed" to war and Fascism, who want to see peace and a semblance of democracy maintained, into one all-embracing united front—how sensible that sounds, how attractive, how imposing the masses that seem to rally to meetings and parades around such a program! It takes time and effort to demonstrate, as the W. P. attempts to do and must do if it is to be true to Marx and Lenin, true to the real facts, that this united front is a mere show, that it is pacifist and will collapse when war really threatens, as all the imposing pacifist movements always have, that this fake united front means in reality dividing the workers from each other, because it opens the way to social-patriotic betrayal in war. A similar superficial attractiveness attaches to Stalinist proposals for an all-inclusive labor party, their abandonment of the dual unionism, social-fascism, united front from below, etc. of the "Third Period." The task of showing the workers that the opportunist ditch in which the C. P. now wallows is as vile as the sectarian ditch of the earlier period is not an easy one.

But if in such a period and for such reasons as we have sketchily indicated, workers do not flock by themselves by thousands into the revolutionary party, there are compensations. Precisely the clearest elements, the most healthy and vigorous, the youth elements, penetrate beneath the surface. They see the capitulation to social-patriotism, the preparation for monstrous betrayal in the next war, the confusion and demoralization among the workers, which must result from the course of the bureaucracies of both the Second and the Third Internationals. These elements tend surely and irresistibly to move toward our program and our banner.

The past year has demonstrated that the program laid down for the W. P. in the Declaration of Principles is in every essential point unassailable. As the war issue has come to the front, the W. P. has been the one voice which has set forth a clear, a complete, a concrete Leninist position and has been able to explain events in the light of that position. Steadily this is making its impression on the genuine left currents in the Socialist Party, in Stalinist circles in some measure, and among the politically unattached who, in spite of and to some extent because of their confusion and demoralization, feel the need of some clear, albeit as yet small, voice amid the tempest.

The confidence built up among our own membership during this first year and among the most advanced workers in other groups, because on the burning, the real, issues of the revolutionary movement we speak with consistency and authority, is a great achievement.

Although this first year has necessarily been one devoted to organizing ourselves, laying foundations for the Party and its work—theoretical and organizational—the achievements in our external work have been far from negligible. In the very first weeks of its existence, the Party, through its own channels and through its support of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, intervened decisively in the Sacramento trial, lifting that issue out of the obscurity into which the C. P. was seeking to throw it. By this and other activities our first year record in defense work was made highly creditable. The Party played a leading role in the Toledo Chevrolet and General Motors strike, which carried the struggle against the automobile barons on the one hand and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats on the other to the highest point yet achieved anywhere. In Minneapolis and the entire surrounding territory, leadership has been given in strike struggles, in organizing unions, in building the broadest and most vigorous left-progressive union movement in the country. Party members played a significant part in the conventions of automobile workers, teachers and rubber workers just preceding the Atlantic City A. F. of L. convention which opened the way for the head-on conflict between craft and industrial unionists which marked that convention and made it the most exciting and important in the entire history of the Federation. To a remarkable extent the Party has turned toward mass work and it stands out clearly as the one organization which has a trade union policy free, on the one hand, from "Third Period" sectarianism and adventurism, and on the other hand from Lovestoneite-Stalinist opportunism and conciliationism toward the trade union bureaucrats. In the unemployed field, in a difficult period of reorientation, the Party has continued to take a vital part, not least in pressing for unification on a sound basis of the two leading organizations with a mass base, the W.A.A. and the National Unemployed League.

While the Party has thus addressed itself to the concrete activities in the American labor scene, it has been internationalist in its

5th Anniversary of Spartacus Youth League

Report Shows Large Increase in Membership and Influence

By NATHAN GOULD
National Secretary, S. Y. L.

December, 1935, marks the beginning of the fifth year of the existence of the Spartacus Youth League of America and the conclusion of the first year of the post-fusion Spartacus Youth League. For those who recognize and understand the all-important role of youth in modern society and of the youth movement in the class struggle, this day is a day of exaltation. For those who have never understood its significance, it is an invitation to stop for reflection. For all, this is the occasion to review and to plan the political course and organizational strategy of the youth organization of the Workers Party.

Four years of diligent effort enables us to report the existence of a youth organization which, in the field of the class struggle, figures as a factor. The S.Y.L. has today a total of twenty-six branches functioning in fifteen cities, in ten states throughout the country.

The S.Y.L. is today approximately one-fourth the size of the Young People's Socialist League and about one-sixth the size of the Young Communist League. All other political labor youth organizations (I.W.W. youth, Anarchist youth, P.P. youth, etc.) are considerably smaller and cannot be recognized as factors influencing the youth whatever. Through our stupendous strides we have come to be acknowledged as one of the three political youth organizations active in and influencing the struggles of the toiling and student youth of this country. It is interesting to observe that our organization, in contradistinction to the above mentioned, experienced its principal growth during the last year.

Growth of S. Y. L.

While the C. I. prepared the liquidation of the Young Communist movement, and whereas the Y.P.S.L. at its last convention (Pittsburgh, July 19-21, 1935) acknowledged the loss of 20 of its branches since the time of their Reading convention one year prior to the Pittsburgh session, the Spartacus Youth League reports unprecedented progress. For the first three months after the fusion the Spartacus Youth League increased its membership by over 144 percent and increased the number of its new branches in cities where none had previously existed by 132 percent. A further increase in membership of ten percent and in new branches by 27 percent is reported for the summer months, a period of time when organizations tend to suffer normal declines in membership, in activity and in recruitment. These figures of steady and substantial growth testify to the vitality of our organization and gives indication of its great future.

S. Y. L. branches exist today in such strategic areas as the Calumet steel district and the southern Illinois coal fields, influencing there considerable numbers of youth. That the S.Y.L. is more and more becoming a factor in the struggle of the youth is best displayed not only in its active participation in the student movement and in the student strike of April 12, but more in the fact that, for example, in the past four months S.Y.L. branches in seven different cities played leading roles in strikes of the young workers.

The few organizational notes written on the occasion of the first anniversary of the post-fusion S.Y.L. are designed to give our readers an idea of our present strength and of the great potentialities of this young youth organization.

Purpose of Spartacus

The Spartacus Youth League of America is the guiding instrument of the Workers Party in the class struggles of the youth section of the proletarian population. The primary purpose of that organiza-

tion is to win and to educate for membership in the Workers Party and for leadership in the class struggle, the masses of toiling and student youth of the country. As an international organization it is prominently engaged in the work of realizing the organization of the Fourth International and the youth section of that international. In the Stockholm Youth Bureau, which our organization together with the International Communist League organizations was instrumental in founding, the S.Y.L. played an active role in the life of the Bureau and in the political struggle against the centrists and opportunists, who succeeded finally in smashing the Bureau by expelling from it the I.C.L. representative. Together with other organizations that have signed the Open Letter for the Fourth International, the S.Y.L. is now actively involved in the building of the youth section of the Fourth International and in drawing new forces to it.

The importance of the youth organization grows in correspondence with the increase of the importance of the role of youth in society. Because of the position which youth occupies in the world today it is safe to say (and it is by no means an exaggeration) that the outcome of the struggle of the working class will be determined in great measure by its (the working class) ability to win to its support the masses of toiling and student youth. In the course of the post-war period the role of youth in the various strategic positions of industry and politics has assumed an increasing importance until today they hold the very key to the four avenues which vitally concern the revolutionary movement and its course to power.

these are today without employment. Another eight million are students. In 1930, the U. S. Department of Labor reported that no less than 11,585,808 youth between these ages were gainfully employed in the U. S.

Hence in 1930 the youth comprised over one-third of the total number of workers gainfully employed in that great period of unemployment. More important is the fact that there is probably not one single important industry in the U. S. in which the youth are not represented in ample proportion. Capitalist industrial development has seen to that. Furthermore, important industries such as automobiles, employ youth in the overwhelming majority because of the nature of the work and the immense speed-up.

It is not difficult to understand therefore that the importance of the youth in the productive apparatus of the country is enormous, and considered from the point of view of the class struggle and proletarian victory, they are indispensable to the proletarian vanguard. This steady relative increase of youth in industry at the expense of the older worker is to be attributed to the simplification of machinery in production, the rationalization in production (Taylorism) which requires nimble fingers, young and active bodies, with great stores of quick energy; also the fact that youth ostensibly requires less to live on (that is, from the point of view of direct family obligations, although many times he is actually the sole supporter of large families) enabling him to work at a lower wage return. Because of these factors we find that in the past fifteen or so years youth has become more and more of a factor in basic industry to the extent where he has become a vital factor to the operation of production. Just as youth, counting in the millions, is indispensable to the productive apparatus of the country, so he is vital to the victory of that progressive force in society which, by the nature of its struggle, must rely upon and seek support from the factory proletariat. The task of winning the younger members of this class falls directly upon the shoulders of the Spartacus Youth League.

While it cannot be stated with any amount of accuracy that the degree of exploitation (from the point of view of speed-up and general working conditions in the factory) is not any worse for the youth than for the adult, it is a known fact that, as a rule, their wages are lower than that of the adult and that they are given (be-

On the Economic Front

Approximately twenty-four million, or one-fifth of the total population in the United States, are youth between the ages of 15 to 24 inclusive. At least five million of

THE NEW STRUGGLE IN AUTOS

Big Test Awaits Industrial Union Movement

(Special to the New Militant)

By A. J. MUSTE

DETROIT, Mich.—On every side signs multiply suggesting that before this winter is over the battle for unionization of the automobile industry will come to a head. The condition of the industry, the developments among the independent unions in the industry; the Green-Lewis controversy in the A. F. of L. over craft versus industrial unionism, and the strikes that have already broken out or are about to explode, all point in this direction. It is hard to see how a gigantic conflict can be avoided. The automobile magnates' nervousness is reflected in all the newspapers in the automobile centers of Michigan, Ohio and adjoining states.

The strike of nearly 4,000 workers in the Motor Products Co. in Detroit is holding firm. It is a preliminary skirmish in which the forces that will presently be cooperating or fighting on a grand scale are feeling each other out.

The strike was called by the Automobile Industrial Workers Association (the "Coughlin" union) mainly composed of production workers, but the Mechanics Educational Society of America (composed mainly

of tool and die makers though its last convention decided for industrial organization) which also had members working in the plant immediately called out its men and gave the strike complete support. The strike also has the support of the Associated Automobile Workers of America (known as the "Greer" union after its leader). As the NEW MILITANT reported recently, the executives of these three independent unions in the auto field have voted for amalgamation into an industrial union with a preamble recognizing the existence of class struggle. The referendum vote of the membership on the proposal will be almost unanimously favorable.

The Motor Products strike is thus the first test of the new amalgamation of auto unions. If it succeeds, as seems fairly certain, the new union will become a very potent rallying center.

The reactionary wing of the A. F. of L., headed in the automobile industry by Francis Dillon who gained unsavory fame for his collaboration with the bosses in the great General Motors strike last spring and was rewarded by Bill Green last August by being made president over the protests of the delegates of the A. F. of L. International, the United Automobile Workers, has behaved in characteristic fashion and has succeeded in finally discrediting itself in the eyes of the Detroit workers. Dillon tried to play an open scab-herding role. He stated publicly that he would confer with the management and "take the Motors Products workers back to their job at once."

The strikers met the Dillon blast with two masterful strokes. First, they challenged Dillon to support an election under Federal auspices to determine which union represents the majority of the men. Dillon cannot run this chance. The firm will also oppose it as long as possible, because to allow an election means recognition of the Wagner Board and recognition of the independent union!

In the next place the strike leaders are inviting Dillon's union to join the strike committee, helping them to win the battle and telling him that they are willing in such case to have him take all the credit he wants for the victory!

Write Your Own Comment!

Does the support of League of Nations sanctions lead to support of the new imperialist war? A British Stalinist spokesman, T. A. Jackson, gives a clear-cut answer (see Plebs, Nov. 1935):

"The issue which is being decided now in relation to the Italo-Abyssinian war is whether the League of Nations is of any use as an instrument for the prevention (immediate or ultimate) of war. To put this issue to the test involves punitive measures, up to and including (if necessary) war upon the war-maker. There is no other way of testing the issue decisively.

"Would a war between the League states and Fascist Italy (with any allies Italy could collect) be worth while from the point of view of the INTERNATIONAL working class? Of course it would. A defeat of Fascism in Italy would be a defeat of Fascism EVERYWHERE. A defeat of imperialism in the person of Italy would be a defeat for imperialism everywhere, including Britain and France."

Here we have Stalinist social-imperialism in the guise of the struggle against Fascism and imperialism!

And the same author finds that the League of Nations can be converted into an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist force!

"It is, potentially, at least as much an ANTI-imperialist (and therefore, potentially, ANTI-capitalist) institution as the reverse." (Same as above.)

Write your own comment!

contribution to the institutions of crime and degeneration, the pool hall, profit considerably from increased attendance by the youth who frequent these institutions for lack of a better means of disposing of the long hours of tortured thought. A process of moral and physical degeneration of the youth, "the future of the country," as we say, takes place and is taking place at a rate unbelievable. Hundreds of thousands of youth wandering, listless and apathetic; restless, stealing, begging, degenerating, rendered useless by a system that cannot care for them, they become the victims of that society.

Unemployed Youth

At the present time youth represents almost one-half of the total unemployed of the country. Most of these are youth who have been graduated from high schools and colleges and have been denied by this system the right to participation in production. Such individuals properly enter into a category all their own—"declassed" elements. Never having worked, they lack experience in and a basic knowledge of the class struggle and its inevitable implications. Because of an absence of this fundamental class tradition, functioning under the unbearable economic conditions imposed on them, they more easily degenerate (politically) and are compelled to resort to other ("illegal") means in order to live.

It is not surprising that Dr. Williams of the Psychiatric Clinic of Childrens Village, Dobbs Ferry, New York, can report a tremendous increase in crime in the depression years among the youth between the ages of 18 and 21, most of whom have had no previous record; that these "depression youth" are today the greatest offenders of the law. Wandering and begging, living as "moochers," is the most dignified expression of the demoralization imposed upon the youth. America's

This multitude of "depression youth" (ex-students who have been denied a place in the productive apparatus of the country) will tomorrow, unless reached and educated by the proletarian movement, constitute the Fascist army of this country. That is the lesson of the development of the Fascist movement of every other country. American capitalism is producing today by this very economic process a huge reservoir from which will spring tomorrow a comensurable Fascist army. We for our part can and must direct the gross dissatisfaction of these youth into the proper channels, the channels of proletarian revolution, as the only means by which the needs of these youth can be satisfied for all time. Let it be known to all that the Spartacus Youth League is the instrument of the working class designated to execute this vital and historic task.

(To be concluded next week)

The companies are thus caught in a dilemma. If e.g. a plant producing even a minor part of a car is shut down, the production line in one of the big companies may be slowed down in a few days which means losing orders. The same drive of competition is leading companies to seek means of cutting down costs, which means that in the face of rising prices grievances accumulate among the workers. Thus the Motor Products Corporation strike started over an attempt of the company to put over a wage cut under the cover of a shift from piece to week work. General Motors is laying up trouble for itself, in its move to decentralize its transmission production, so that it may not be caught again as it was by the Toledo strike last year, by working the men in Muncie, Ind., and Saginaw, Mich. 25 percent longer hours and at corresponding lower pay than the reduced force still working in Toledo. Little wonder the big companies exhibit symptoms of extreme nervousness!

It can be authoritatively stated that from both sides leaders of the M.E.S.A. and the A.I.W.A., and the John L. Lewis Committee for Industrial Unionism have been making exploratory moves to determine whether cooperation is possible. Here is the key to the situation so far as the workers' side of the struggle is concerned.

The auto workers, especially in Detroit, have unquestionably lost faith in the A. F. of L. which they identify with Dillon and his predecessor, Collins. This outfit cannot organize the industry. The opportunity will pass this year, perhaps for several years, if it is left to them. On the other hand, the workers are not likely to have the confidence that any combination of independents can achieve the huge task, especially as long as an unsympathetic, reactionary A. F. of L. union remains in the field to keep the men divided and to receive the bosses' support as soon as the independents really threaten the latter. The independents need the support of the John L. Lewis "progressives" to smash the Green-Dillon leadership from inside the A. F. of L. Then the basis will be laid for a genuine industrial union within the A. F. of L. which can include the present independents. There are reasons to believe that the more far-sighted leaders among the independents have just such a perspective.

Thus the prospects for a sound foundation for building a union are better than ever. The workers are active, furthermore, and here and there strikes are breaking out earlier than in other seasons, making it more likely that enough impetus for an extensive struggle will be attained before the season passes its peak. The condition of the industry itself is also favorable for an organization campaign and strike action.

General Motors Nervous On the one hand, production is running high. Detroit turned out 93,177 cars last week compared with 16,810 in the corresponding week last year. On the other hand, competition for business is fierce.

Militants and progressives must not let this opportunity pass. They must make full use of it. In a real sense the fate of the American labor movement for a long time to come may hinge upon what happens in the auto industry between now and May of next year. Militants and progressives in meeting this challenge and opportunity will:

Program for Militants

1. Promote the amalgamation movement among the independent auto unions.
2. Fight to smash the Green-Dillon leadership in the A. F. of L. auto union once and for all.
3. Demand that the Lewis-Hillman "progressives" prove that they mean business by fighting Dillon, supporting strikes, whether of A. F. of L. or independent unions, and undertaking to unite all forces in the industry and in the labor movement for a large-scale organizing campaign to start immediately.
4. Support joint action of all elements in any organizing work and strikes now going on.
5. Aim at the creation in this production season of a powerful industrial union in automobiles with an autonomous international charter from the A. F. of L. and democratically controlled by its own membership. Even if the Green-Wolf forces block the movement and force postponement of a decision until the next A. F. of L. convention, this must not prevent cooperation of all forces in organizing and strike activity pending final determination of the A. F. of L. attitude.

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

MINERS' STRIKE IN ENGLAND

The threat of a general strike of the English miners attracts the immediate attention of the class-conscious workers everywhere. For they remember the last great struggle which paralyzed British imperialism. That struggle, on the widest scale ever experienced in England, came as a defensive stand against the reactionary drive of the entire bourgeoisie to lower production costs so as to meet competition by a relentless lowering of wages. The strike developed into a general strike involving the railroad, transport and mining industries, under the leadership of the General Council of the Trade Unions. The Triple Alliance was betrayed by the General Council whose leaders were given the prestige of Stalinist endorsement through the abortive Anglo-Russian Committee (committee of trade union centers of both countries—Ed.). In the present instance, a vote has already given authorization to the miners' executives to call a strike if necessary in order to obtain an increase of fifty cents a day. The strike would come at a time when a considerable recovery of business and of industrial production has taken place. This means that the miners are taking the offensive to regain the ground so heavily lost during the years of crisis.

ENGLAND AND THE FAR EAST

The imminence of a further advance by Japan into North China has aroused the keenest apprehension among English capitalists. With the British fleet tied up in the Mediterranean due to Mussolini's war, the British are helpless to offer much resistance to Japanese penetration in the Far East. The vast investments of British imperialism in China are seriously endangered. Just as the United States was forced to recognize the Soviet Union in order to make the Japanese militarists pause temporarily, so now England is forced to turn to the Soviet Union with an eye to alliance in the common struggle (from totally different standpoints) against Japan. Although this is not the only factor involved, it is nevertheless a major cause of the recently opened negotiations between Russia and England in regard to a large loan to be floated for the Soviet Union by the English banks. Part of the interest on the loan would go to the purchase of railroad equipment in England. Japan cannot help understanding the meaning of this move. It is possible that the "timely" publication of the facts concerning the loan, accomplished its purpose of halting the immediate steps by the Japanese army for engineering an autonomous North China. Whether the Japanese will feel this mood of caution for any length of time remains to be seen. The contradic-

tions that antagonize Japanese and British imperialism have reached the point where the traditional friendship resulting from the military alliance that existed up to 1922, begins to turn sour and to give way to hatred.

CLASS STRUGGLE IN FRANCE

The situation in France becomes more threatening to the workers daily. The battle between the Fascist Croix de Feu and the Socialist and Communist workers at Limoges, in which fifteen workers were seriously injured and none of the Fascists, as a lesson from the life of the need for an armed workers' militia to meet the armed Fascist bands. The policy of the "People's Front" becomes in this respect a worse and worse betrayal of the interests of the proletariat. It is the medium through which the workers are lulled into passivity, through which working class policies are made dependent on and subordinate to the bourgeoisie. The workers are being misled into relying on the "liberal" and "radical" bourgeoisie whose interests can only be identical with those of the finance-capitalists. The only salvation for the French workers and toilers is the leadership of a Bolshevik party based on a revolutionary program aiming at seizing the power for the working class. In the coming period it is either Fascism or communism that will triumph. The vicious policy of the People's Front can only assure the victory of the Fascists, helped into power by the Herriots and Daladiers—and the Blums and Cachins.

TRADE TREATY WITH CANADA

Whose government is it? Roosevelt's treaty with Canada would almost by itself prove that the government follows the demands and the interests of big business, of industrial and commercial capital as against the interests of the farmer. Industry thrives at the expense of the agricultural sector of the capitalist system. The Treaty is indeed "cold comfort to the farmer" whose interests are sacrificed wherever necessary to those of the factory owners. In the main it is the manufacturers of autos, machinery and farm implements, including tractors, who are helped, while the American farmer is forced to meet added competition from Canadian farmers. Our main interest is not particularly in the farmer-capitalist. But the working class will have to learn ultimately to utilize the contradictions that exist in American economy—and one of these contradictions is illustrated in the Canadian Treaty, namely, that tariffs are for the benefit of the financiers and industrial capitalists, not for that of the farmer. His interests come second, if at all.

Lessons of October

By Leon Trotsky

Editor's Note: This article was written for the French paper "Revolution," the organ of the Parisian revolutionary youth. The contents of the article clearly reveal as its main aim the utilization of the experience of the October Revolution to demonstrate to the reader the fatal nature of the policy of the "People's Front" in France, as well as in other countries.



I accept with the greatest readiness Fred Zeller's suggestion to contribute an article to "Revolution" on the occasion of the 18th anniversary of the October overturn. True, "Revolution" is not a "big" daily newspaper, it is just striving to become a weekly. High-placed bureaucrats might pull contemptuous faces on this score. But I have had occasion to observe many times how "powerful" organizations with a "powerful" press crumbled into dust under the impact of events, and how on the contrary small organizations with a technically weak press were in a short time transformed into historic forces. Let us firmly hope that precisely this fate is in store for your paper and for your organization.

In the year 1917 Russia was passing through the greatest social crisis. One can, however, say with certainty, on the basis of all the lessons of history, that had there been no Bolshevik party, the immeasurable revolutionary energy of the masses would have been fruitlessly spent in sporadic explosions and the great upheavals would have ended in the severest counter-revolutionary dictatorship. The struggle of classes is the prime mover of history. It needs a correct program, a firm party, a trustworthy and courageous leadership, —not heroes of the drawing room and of parliamentary phrases, but revolutionists, ready to go to the very end. This is the major lesson of the October revolution.

Bolsheviks a Minority in the Beginning

We must remember, however, that at the beginning of 1917 the Bolshevik party led only an insignificant number of the toilers. Not only in the soldiers' soviets but also in the workers' Soviets the Bolshevik fraction generally constituted 1 to 2 percent, at best 5 percent. The leading parties of petty bourgeois democracy (Mensheviks and the so-called "Social-Revolutionaries") had the following of at least 95 percent of the workers, soldiers and peasants participating in the struggle. The leaders of these parties called the Bolsheviks first, sectarians, and then... agents of the German Kaiser. But no, the Bolsheviks were not sectarians! All their attention was directed to the masses, and moreover, not to their top layer, but to the deepest, to the most oppressed millions and tens of millions whom the parliamentary babblers usually forgot. Precisely in order to lead the proletarians and the semi-proletarians of city and country, the Bolsheviks considered it necessary to distinguish themselves sharply from all factions and groupings of the bourgeoisie, beginning with those false "socialists" who are in reality agents of the bourgeoisie.

The Poison of Patriotism Patriotism is the principal part of that ideology by means of which

the bourgeoisie poisons the class-consciousness of the oppressed and paralyzes their revolutionary will, because patriotism means the subjection of the proletariat to the "nation," astride of which sits the bourgeoisie. The Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries were patriots; up to the February overturn —half concealed; after February—openly and brazenly. They said: "Now we have a republic, the freest republic in the world; even our soldiers are organized into Soviets; we must defend this republic against German militarism." The Bolsheviks replied: "No question but that the Russian republic is now the most democratic one; but this superficial political democracy may on the very morrow crumble into dust since it rests on a capitalist foundation. So long as the toiling people, under the leadership of the proletariat, do not expropriate their own landowners and capitalists and do not tear up the robber treaties with the Entente, we cannot consider Russia our fatherland and cannot take its defense upon

power and hid behind it. The aroused revolutionary masses never forgive cowardice and betrayal. First the Petersburg workers, and after them—the proletariat of the whole country, after the proletariat the soldiers and after the soldiers—the peasants, convinced themselves by experience that the Bolsheviks were right. Thus, within but a few months the handful of "sectarians," "adventurers," "conspirators," "agents of the Hohenzollern," etc., etc., transformed themselves into the leading party of millions of awakened people. Loyalty to the revolutionary program, irreconcilable hostility to the bourgeoisie, decisive rupture with social-patriots, deep trust in the revolutionary force of the masses,—these are the chief lessons of October.

The Campaign Against the Bolsheviks

The entire press, including the papers of the Mensheviks and "Social-Revolutionaries" carried on a vicious campaign, really unheard of in history, against the Bolsheviks. Thousands upon thousands of tons of newspaper print were filled with reports that the Bolsheviks were linked to the Tzarist police, that they received carloads of gold from Germany, that Lenin was hiding in a German aeroplane, etc., etc. In the first month after February this torrent of abuse overcame the masses. Sailors and soldiers threatened more than once to bayonet Lenin and other leaders of Bolshevism. In July, 1917 the slander campaign reached its highest peak. Many sympathizing lefts and semi-lefts, especially from among the intellectuals, became frightened by the pressure of bourgeois public opinion. They said: "Certainly the Bolsheviks are not agents of the Hohenzollern but they are sectarians, they are tactless, they provoke the democratic parties, it is impossible to work with them." This, for instance, was the tone pervading the big daily of Maxim Gorky, around which gathered all sorts of centrists, semi-Bolsheviks, semi-Mensheviks, theoretically very left, but terribly afraid of a break with the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries. But it is a law that whoever is afraid of a break with the social-patriots will inevitably become their agent.

Learning from Experience

Meanwhile a directly opposite process was taking place in the masses. The more they became disillusioned with the social-patriots, who betrayed the interests of the people for the sake of friendship with the Cadets, the more attentively they listened to the speeches of the Bolsheviks, and the more convinced they became of their correctness. To the worker in the shop, the soldier in the trench, the starving peasant, it became clear that the capitalists and their lackeys were slandering the Bolsheviks precisely because the Bolsheviks were firmly devoted to the interests of the oppressed. Yesterday's indignation of the soldier and sailor against the Bolsheviks became rekindled into passionate devotion to them and unselfish readiness to follow them to the very end. And on the contrary: the hatred of the masses for the Cadet party inevitably transferred itself to its allies the Mensheviks and "Social-Revolutionaries." The social-patriots did not save the Cadets, but themselves perished. The final break in the mood of the masses which took place within two to three months (August-September) prepared the possibility of the October victory. The Bolsheviks took over the Soviets and the Soviets took power.

Messrs. sceptics might say: but in the end the October Revolution brought the triumph of bureaucracy. Was it worth making? A separate article or perhaps two should be devoted to this question. Here let us say briefly: history goes forward not along a straight line but along a devious one; after a gigantic jump forward there follows as after an artillery shot, a rebound. Nevertheless history goes forward. No doubt, Soviet bureaucracy is an ugly ulcer, threatening both the conquest of the October revolution and the world proletariat. But the U.S.S.R. possesses something besides bureaucratic absolutism: nationalized means of production, planned economy, collectivization of agriculture which, despite the monstrous harm of bureaucratic absolutism, lead the country forward economically and culturally while the capitalist countries are moving backwards. The October revolution can be freed from the vise of bureaucracy only by the development of the international revolution, the victory of which will really assure the building of a socialist society.

Finally—and this is not insignificant—the October revolution is important also because it gave the international working class a number of priceless lessons. Let the proletarian revolutionists of France firmly learn these lessons and they will become invincible.

November 4, 1935.

*To avoid misunderstanding, let us point out that this anti-Marxian party had nothing in common with revolutionary socialism.

Question

Box

By A. WEAVER

N. W. BRONX— Question: On page 79 of "What Next?" Trotsky writes, "Lenin, through the press offered to compromise with the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks: You compose the majority in the Soviets, he said to them. Take over the state; we shall support you against the bourgeoisie. Guarantee us complete freedom of agitation and we shall assure you of a peaceful struggle for the majority of the Soviets." Isn't Lenin's proposal here an exact model of the "United Front" or "People's Front" government proposed by the Seventh Congress of the C. I. and denounced by Trotsky as the complete repudiation of Leninism?

Answer: It is difficult to see how an equation can be drawn between the united front policy of Lenin and the policy of the Seventh C. I. Congress. In essence, Lenin's proposal is that which a revolutionary organization makes to other working class organizations in proposing a united front, of which the Soviet is the highest form: Make a bloc with us for concrete action against the capitalist class; at the same time that we will fully support this fight against the bourgeoisie, we reserve the right to agitate for our tendencies inside the ranks of the proletariat. The anti-revolutionary character of the Seventh C. I. Congress "united front" decision lies, not in the fact that it proposed such Leninist united fronts, but that it harnessed the workers of the capitalist countries to their respective bourgeoisies under the formula of the "united front." Adopting a social-patriotic position on war and setting as their goal the defense of the "remnants of bourgeois democracy," i.e., having adopted a social democratic program, the Stalinist "Congress" then proposed the formation of blocs with OTHER class-collaborationist and even bourgeois parties for the furtherance of this program.

The class-collaborationist nature of the Stalinist proposals are clearly revealed by the slogan itself, the "people's government." A PEOPLE'S government will exist only under socialism. Until that time, because the PEOPLE are divided into antagonistic CLASSES, there can exist only CLASS governments; in this epoch either the state power of the bourgeoisie or of the proletariat. Since the Stalinists have definitely given up their program for the seizure of power by the proletariat, their slogan of the "people's government" is merely a camouflage for their support of the CAPITALIST governments.

M. C. NEW YORK—

Question: In what concrete manner does the "antagonism between the city and the country" manifest itself?

Answer: The most outstanding manifestation of this antagonism in our epoch is the so-called price scissors which exists in Soviet economy. Because it is based on the division of labor between the town and the country and arises as a struggle between two major groups of commodity producers, the antagonism is reflected in the prices which each of the groups receives for its products. In the Soviet Union, which has inherited the antagonism, this is reflected in the fact that the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry can be maintained only if the latter receive in exchange for their grain as large a share of city-made products as they would receive in the open market which, in the final analysis, is the international market. In other words, the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry can be maintained only if the antagonism between the city and the country inside the Soviet Union is not more acute than it would be if the capitalist open market existed.

Another outstanding reflection of the antagonism is anti-Semitism. Because their course over centuries of time, primarily as merchants, has led them to live almost exclusively in large urban centers, there has been concentrated in the Jews, oftentimes in exaggerated forms, the physical and mental characteristics of city dwellers. The rural inhabitants (anti-Semitism is most prevalent in countries with large peasant populations) are thus easily led by reactionaries to vent their emotions on the Jews who appear to embody all that exploits the countryside. When a strong revolutionary movement, able to point out to the countryside the real source of its exploitation, exists, anti-Semitism is reduced to a minimum. In Germany it was precisely because the betrayal of the Social Democratic and Communist parties weakened the working class movement that Hitler was so successful with his anti-Semitic propaganda.

1,000 SUBS WILL SEND THE EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT OVER THE TOP! GET BUSY!

Our Revolutionary Heritage:

Haymarket Sq.

By Leighton Rigby

The life of capitalist production depends upon profits. As capitalism declines, the capitalists seek to maintain profits by consistently driving down wages. By thus shifting the burden of decay to the shoulders of the working class, the rate of decline is temporarily slackened.

Reducing the speed of the fall does not, however, forestall the ultimate doom. Indeed, the very expedients brought into play to arrest the decline only serve to intensify class antagonisms and to make the overthrow of capitalism inevitable. The maintenance of profits at the expense of the working class must eventually kindle the fires of revolution.

This is true in the U. S. no less than elsewhere. Strikes will be "mediated" and broken by force of arms; the workers will be betrayed and misled. But in the end, the American proletariat will accept "no peace at the price of slavery!" It will arise and demand rebirth, not relief! The workers' state will be established.

It Can Happen Here!

It can't happen here? The American workers will continue to right wrongs with the ballot in the American way? Idle bromides, mouthed by those who have neither felt the pulse of the American worker nor reviewed his revolutionary heritage. It can and will happen here! The working class is awakening to the realization that American democracy is but sham and pretense. Calling to mind its revolutionary heritage, the rank and file will bring forth the workers' state and consistent democracy.

The development of a clearly-defined proletariat in the U.S. came later than in Europe. The opening of the West with its free land, tardy industrialization and immigration made the circumstances here unique. Before the period of the planters' revolution, workers were mostly craftsmen, without the common interests that are found today among the industrial workers. Moreover, a constantly fluid

population and dreams of new life in the West made solidarity among the workers, as a class, all but impossible. Add to this a steady influx of immigrants, bound by contract to work at low wages for heartless capitalists, and we see that the lag was not without good reason.

Our Varied Heritage

To say that working class solidarity was held back is the same as saying that the formation of labor unions was delayed. To be sure, there were unions, or societies, here and there prior to the 1860s, but there was no organization of workers on a broad scale. The coming of nation-wide working class solidarity and the rise of the nation-wide labor organizations were necessarily simultaneous. The formation of the National Labor Union (1866) and those of the organizations which followed are outside the present discussion. The point is that our revolutionary heritage, as a whole, is not made up strictly of incidents of class war involving the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The Shays Rebellion, for example, which I have already described, was a farmer-debtor revolt. The proletariat was not involved, nor had the workers even emerged as a separate class. But the Shays Rebellion is surely a part of our revolutionary heritage, because it was a militant struggle against oppression.

The labor struggles of the 1870s, which have also been described, were the beginning of a series of class conflicts in which the workers revealed militant, revolutionary characteristics. Industrialization had greatly increased, and the rapid exhaustion of free land was tending to precipitate the workers into a well-defined class with common interests. The Knights of Labor (1875) was the means through which the working class manifested its growing solidarity, because that body steered for "one big union" and welcomed to membership working men and women,

skilled or unskilled, regardless of color. In fact, its membership was so "Catholic" that the Catholic Church forbade its followers to join the union.

McCormick's Lockout

In October of 1884 the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions (Gompers' first attempt) set May Day, 1886, as the date for the inauguration of the 8-hour work day. The Federation of Trades had a short life, but the Knights took up the cry, and sympathizers added their voices to the swelling chorus. Agitation and demonstrations for the 8-hour day and union recognition prompted Cyrus McCormick (February, 1886) to lock out the 1,400 workers in his plant, saying that "the right to hire any man, white or black, union or non-union, Protestant or Catholic, was something I would not surrender." This lockout shifted the labor scene to Chicago.

As May Day approached, police, mounted or in close formation, took pleasure in bullying and clubbing workers wherever they assembled. The workers, on the other hand, answered by continuing to assemble. Eight thousand workers, representing labor in several industries and the International Workingmen's Association, marched to the lake front. Such slogans as "The Proletariat Must be Liberated!" were prominently displayed on banners as the assemblage was stirred by militant speeches. And in the meantime (this was April 26) the McCormick lockout continued, and several strikes were in progress at other points throughout the city, including the steel plants, railroad shops and the stockyards. At least eight thousand workers were striking in Chicago.

May Day itself passed quietly enough. But two days later, when the McCormick workers held a meeting near the plant, there was bloodshed. The owner of the reaper works, who would consider no arbitration but was employing the Pinkertons and scabs, summoned the police to break up the meeting.

A hundred and fifty police swooped down upon the meeting and shot down workers right and left. Six were killed and at least twenty-five were soaked with their own blood.

The workers' press, the Arbeiter Zeitung, shouted out: "Blood! Lead and powder as a cure for dissatisfied workmen! This is law and order!" And the workers were equally aroused: "Revenge! Revenge! Men of valor, this afternoon the bloodhounds of your oppressors murdered six of your brothers at McCormick's!" This was the call to Haymarket Square for a protest meeting on the following evening.

The meeting was held, a program of speeches had ended and the assemblage was dispersing. Mark well! Up to this point there was no disorder. But suddenly, for no reason at all, a large cordon of bullying police marched into Haymarket Square, led by Inspector Bonfield, the biggest bully of the lot. They ordered the already dispersed meeting to disperse—police logic. A bomb was exploded, and one policeman was killed. The police immediately opened fire on the crowd, killing and wounding many. They rounded up scores, and eight men who had nothing to do with the bomb explosion stood trial—more police logic.

The eight who were tried faced a jury made up of men who admitted hostility and prejudice toward the accused. It was not by chance that stockholders, editors and printers of two "anarchist" papers in Chicago were chosen to be the victims. The capitalist press was yelling for blood, and unthinking innocents were echoing the cry. The prisoners were "anarchists!" That was enough! It was not a trial; it was a mass crucifixion. Four were hanged, one took his own life, two drew life sentences and the other fifteen years in prison.

No better evidence of persecution will be found than the very words of Judge Gary who presided: "The conviction has not gone on the ground that they did actually have any personal participation in the particular act which caused the death of Degan." Some of the accused were writers, and because of that advice, and influenced by that advice somebody, not known, did throw the bomb that caused Degan's death." Capitalist justice!

Roosevelt Closes His Third Year with New Deal at Low Ebb

Capitalists Desert 'Savior' As Crisis Clouds Lift

By JOHN WEST

In 1932 Roosevelt was swept stormily into office on a broad wave of middle-class bewilderment, working class and farmer resentment, and bourgeois fear. The curve of the business cycle was close to its very bottom, on the downswing of the mightiest depression the United States had yet experienced. Finance-capital itself was worried. The "orthodox" solutions, administered governmentally by Hoover, had got nowhere. The curve continued down. The middle classes, fluttering tremulously, saw no out. Faced with increasing impoverishment, proletarianization, and outright unemployment, they were losing all confidence in their former gods, the big industrialists and bankers. The farmers were crushed by mortgages, taxes, and low prices. The workers were decimated by unemployment without adequate relief, by sharply decreased wages and part-time jobs. The entire population was looking for a savior. Roosevelt pranced into the arena, with the banner of the New Era flung high. He offered himself to the people as their needed savior. His powerful demagoguery rolled out denunciations of the Tories and the money-changers. A new type of life was to be brought to America—freed from the domination of greed and private selfishness. The Forgotten Man was to become the basis of the new social order.

Savior of Capitalism

Now it is true that Roosevelt came into office in a sense as a savior: precisely as the savior of the capitalist order in the United States, as a stop-gap to tide over U. S. capitalism in a dark hour, as a channel to turn aside mass discontent from any development toward genuine social change. But, naturally, to accomplish these ends, Roosevelt could not appear in his actual economic role. The psychological and political requirements had also to be met. And to meet them, his program had to embody the half-formed dreams especially of the middle classes, and even, though to a lesser extent, of labor. This, then, was the material of the New Deal: in economic substance, a series of mostly temporary measures designed to help pull the business cycle out of the hole; in psychological and political form, a group of vague but enspiriting generalities constructed to rally behind the Administration all who were bewildered, confused, and resentful.

There was, thus, little systematic opposition to the New Deal in its first period. Big business was scared, and needed the help of the Administration. The middle classes were full of hope. The farmers were encouraged by preparations for commodity inflation and direct governmental subsidy. Labor, not thinking in terms of class issues, was willing to follow its official leaders in welcoming the savior.

The New Deal did its work. It is of course impossible to estimate exactly how great a part the New Deal policies played, over and above the normal economic developments, in getting the business cycle out of the basement. But on any account the part was considerable—was, indeed, unprecedented for this country. Without Roosevelt's handling of the banks at the outset, it is probable that the "banking holiday" would have precipitated a most severe financial crisis. The inflationary measures helped the farmers and exporters directly and immediately, loosened up purchasing, and helped check bankruptcies. The NRA provisions aided the big corporations in putting some halt to the chaotic and destructive price-cutting, which was endangering the entire price and credit structure. The outlay of government funds through unemployment relief, the AAA, the various work relief agencies, loans of all kinds, etc., undoubtedly did a fair amount of the "pump priming" which the Administration promised. Section 7a, and a judicious combination of government arbitration boards with tear gas, managed to choke off two potentially major strike waves, and to "keep labor in its place."

The New "Prosperity"

Two minor upturns in the business cycle, during 1933 and 1934, have now been followed by a more considerable rise beginning in the early spring of this year. The dominant internal factor at present is the continuation of this new drift toward "prosperity." It is a very peculiar prosperity indeed. Hardly a dent has been made in unemployment, particularly if we take into account the youth who have come to working age during the past six years. Though factory payrolls are considerably increased, real wages of factory workers generally are still far below the 1925 level, and in many industries close to the crisis low. The professional workers and recent college graduates have an enormous percentage of unemployment and a great lowering of living conditions where employed. The farm laborers, sharecroppers, and poor farmers continue in desperate straits. But the

stock market has been steadily booming. Bonuses for executives have come back. A large number of independent as well as landlord and capitalist farmers have more money with the help of mortgage moratoriums, AAA benefits, and a combination of high prices and good crops during the current season (a combination resulting in part from inflation, in part from last year's drought). Chemicals, autos, munitions, steel, agricultural equipment, are forging ahead. Above all, corporation profits have mounted amazingly, each week bringing out new records since 1931 or 1930, and in some instances for all time.

Big Business Clamps Down

But what this means, from the point of view of finance-capital, is that the New Deal has served its purpose. With profits again rolling in, no need for any more nonsense about the Forgotten Man and a new social order. And no more extravagant governmental spending, with its necessary threat of either uncontrolled inflation or increased taxation. And no more playing around with "concessions" to the workers and the unemployed. And an end to this talk about Tories and money-changers, these slanderous attacks on American ideals, on the utilities and the banks and the Stock Exchange. Time to get down to real business again. It is all well and good to maneuver and talk and even accept certain restrictions when things are on the edge of the abyss. But now that we have again picked up the scent of profits, away with this doll-playing and back to the high-road of true Americanism.

Thus has big business reasoned more and more openly during the past year and a half. And in the light of this reasoning, the campaign against the New Deal has taken form. The Chambers of Commerce throughout the land ring again with the old slogans. The editorials in the powerful newspapers denounce, deplore, and pile up the phrases about the Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini and anti-Christ in

the White House. Finance-capital comes again out of its lair; its limbs rejuvenated with the blood of profits, it roars once more with its lion voice. It smashes head on into the New Deal legislation through its courts; and where the courts have not acted, it goes its own way in open defiance. And what a sham the battle is at heart! Who is this redoubtable enemy of theirs? What is his reply? We read it day by day. Roosevelt promises a "breathing spell." He sends out Roper to glorify capitalism. He promises the bankers fullest cooperation. He pleads with big business, through the Administration press agents and the Administration newspapers: "What

Purged!



have you boys against me? Haven't I brought back your profits, kept labor in check, done all you asked of me?" He promises to stop the dole, to reduce the deficit next year to \$500,000,000 and the year after to bring the budget into balance. He is the injured servant, who has given his all to his master, only to be thrust out into the cold.

the real class struggle is turned full force upon it. Herriot started the defection from the People's Front last week and within the past few days—the rise of the discount rate to 6 per cent and the spectre of devaluation and inflation—turned the defection into a stampede.

During the last five days the whole French crisis reduced itself for these pitiful parliamentarians, Herriot-Blum-Cachin and Co., into whether they should let Laval introduce his budget first or whether they should insist on having their demand for dissolution of the Fascist leagues take precedence over all other issues! Faced with the flight of the Rad-

Peoples' Front Cracks In Cabinet Crisis

Continued from Page 1

hanging far out on a lonely limb. The best they can now propose is the substitution for Laval—of a workers' and peasants' government?—no, of Joseph Paul-Boncour or of Theodore Steeg or Laurent Bonnevay or another one of that old school of hardened reactionary politicians at the head of a new cabinet of Republican-Radical coalition! In other words, the substitution of a French von Papen for the French Bruening.

The Fascist Croix de Feu, armed and ready to seize power, looks with contempt on the proceedings in the Bourbon Palace. It jeers at the solemn insistence of Radical, Socialist and Communist deputies that Pierre Laval, their Bonapartist friend, dissolve the Fascist leagues and disarm them. The Croix de Feu is contemptuous because it knows that France's political crisis will be solved not from the tribunes of the Chamber but on the streets, arms in hand.

It jeers because it knows that neither Laval nor any Bonapartist successor to Laval can really dissolve or disarm it—any more than von Papen could dissolve the Nazi storm troopers. It jeers because it sees its Socialist and Communist opponents concerning themselves alone with the struggle on the parliamentary scene—with shadow boxing which will disappear when the glare of

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Barberton Labor Plans General Strike

Continued from Page 1

ers arrested. The pickets jeered and swore. They shouted their right to picket.

Children Gassed

Flower replied by ordering his thugs to advance in military array—most of them were veterans. When they approached the picket line, Flower called for them to fire point blank with their tear gas guns. Five workers fell stunned. The thugs leaped to club the blind workers. Twenty workers succumbed under the brutal attack. A crippled girl, going home for lunch from school, screamed in terror as tear gas scorched her. Three children, not over 10 years old, shrieked as gas shells broke a window in their home and narrowly missed them. A picket, defying the clubs, rushed to the house and carried them out.

Three main streams of pickets advanced towards the plant, concealing their movements by first busting the glaring searchlight. A steady battery of rocks answered the thugs. The pickets met the clubs of the thugs in a fierce hand-to-hand battle without flinching. The mighty fist of labor crashed through the gangsterdom of the thugs. The gate-house, main stronghold of the enemy, was seized. Scabs rushed out with a fire hose but the workers brushed them aside. They started towards the plant entrance itself to clean it of scabs, but the wind died down. It took over 150 rounds of tear gas and plenty of re-inforcements for the frightened thugs to keep the plant from being demolished. Even so, the front wall was badly damaged and every window broken.

A solid barricade was built of huge cement blocks and the workers prepared for another attack.

Demand General Strike

When word of the battle reached the mass meeting, it aroused the workers to a fever pitch of indignation against the company. Speaker after speaker told of the terror, women who were hurt demanded that their husbands protect them from the thugs. "No more tear gas or clubs. Disarm the thugs," the workers cried in the meeting. "We want a general strike to defeat the company!" they cried. A committee representing 25 unions was formed to consider and plan the walkout.

An intermittent battle raged all day. The workers reformed their lines constantly, using coal and bricks to retaliate against the attacks. Word spread through the county of the terror. Workers came from Akron and elsewhere to reinforce the picket lines. Barricades were built, torn down, and rebuilt.

Union leaders called a mass meeting to protest the brutalities. All the strikers and 1,000 sympathizers attended while over 2,000 workers and sympathizers remained on the picket line.

Alarmed by the growing strength of the workers, the thugs frantically fired more tear gas as night began to creep over the battle ground.

Tide Turns

A strong wind blowing from the plant towards the pickets shifted. It carried the tear gas fumes back into the factory. Soon the thugs and scabs were gasping for air and retreating.

The Chamber of Commerce became frightened. It called two preachers and other "impartial" citizens to see what could be done to pacify the workers. This "citizens' committee" called for a truce. Union leaders, worn out from the terrific struggle, their workers tear-gassed, clubbed and exhausted,

agreed on condition that nothing come in or out of the plant and that the thugs stay within the plant. No attacks on the picket line would be tolerated. Such provocation would immediately bring a general strike, the union leaders said.

During the truce period the company refused to discuss even the critical situation. They spurned humble efforts of a federal conciliator who wanted to "ease the situation" by "compromising" the difference; in other words, making a sell-out agreement and trying to fool the workers into acceptance.

Resentment against the company grew as truce expiration time drew near. The "citizens' committee" begged the union leaders to continue it for another 48 hours. They replied they'd present it to a mass meeting Saturday night.

C.L.U. Promises Walkout

The workers, 1,000 strong at the meeting, thundered NO. Call the general strike, they shouted, unless the scabs are removed and the plant closed. We'll go in and take them out ourselves if the sheriff doesn't, voices added. The union leaders looked for Flower. He played hide-and-seek until midnight, and then told them he couldn't do anything. He said this after the disgusted workers left the meeting.

Sunday brought a formal vote by the Central Labor Union for a general strike, to be called anytime needed to aid the strikers. In particular by Monday night, when the truce again expired, if the plant wasn't closed. As the picket line began to grow into the hundreds again today, the sheriff, realizing he was licked, withdrew the scabs and ordered the plant shut.

But the company doesn't like this. If Flower can't break the strike for them, they think the Na-

tion Guard can. So they conferred with an "observer" from Ad.-General Marx's office in Columbus, late today.

Workers Celebrate

Tonight 5,000 workers paraded in a "victory" march over the closing of the plant. A huge mass meeting followed with all organized labor in this district represented and pledging solidarity.

The workers know from the Toledo Auto-Lite strike that the National Guard can be defeated. They confidently face tomorrow, in one powerful united front against the Duponts and their tools, be they thugs or the National Guard. It will take every repressive measure possible under capitalism to keep the workers from victory on the picket line and they know it.

The workers aren't so sure of themselves, however, around the conference table surrounded by Edward McGrady and other smooth-tongued federal conciliators whose treacherous moves can change a victory into a compromise. But the workers are learning and if McGrady comes here, they will be forewarned against him.

All Unions Involved

One thing is positively certain and realized by every adult in this town of 25,000. There is only one main issue in the strike: "The company is trying to bust the union and then the other unions will also be demolished."

Last year the Mellon-controlled Columbia Chemical Co. officials tried to smash the union here. A picket line of 5,000 workers from Akron and elsewhere brought this company to its knees and the union gained its demands and its leaders were given their jobs back.

Now the Duponts are trying the same stunt. "But we know that a solid front against the capitalists can't be broken and we'll win this strike," a union leader said. . . . And so far it looks that way.

icals—and who but Cachin and his Stalinist confreres expected anything else?—the Socialists in turn grew frightened. And if Blum got scared—Cachin was almost petrified for Laval has been flirting with Hitler! The "differences" among the three groups were brought out in the meetings of the Delegation of Letts, i.e., the Radical, Socialist and Stalinist members of the Chamber early in the week.

The Radicals got Laval's promise that he would discuss dissolution of the leagues after they helped him put his budget across. That was enough for them. They voted to support Laval's motion on the agenda.

Tweedledum for Tweedledee

Blum and the other Socialist deputies, for whom the whole fight against Fascism consists in having Laval, or somebody like him, "dissolve" the Fascist organizations, discussed the advisability of forcing the downfall of Laval on some technicality of procedure and substituting—what? A government headed by Bonnevey, Steeg or Joseph Paul-Boncour—any one of them, according to Blum, "a leader known for his Republican convictions." The function of this government, according to Blum would be to "dissolve the Leagues, dissolve Parliament, call new elections and ensure law and order during the campaign."

In other words, the Blum perspective is to provide, in the event that Laval should fall, for a Laval counterpart. For any of the old-school bourgeois politicians mentioned, Bonnevey, Steeg or Paul-Boncour would amply suffice.

And the Stalinists? Where are they left hanging in this sorry parliamentary muddle?

Where Are the "Valiant" Radicals?

According to the Daily Worker for Nov. 26, the question is: "Shall Laval be overthrown today or has the situation not sufficiently matured? If the Laval government is overthrown, what shall take its place, a People's Front or a Radical Socialist government?"

The issue of the fight against Fascism, it seems, depends entirely upon the stalwart action of—the Delegation of Letts!—and in the final analysis—upon a bourgeois government!

But our Daily Worker writer, who says that a People's Front government would have to be a government of real struggle (sic!) but that the Socialist leaders "do not yet appear prepared" for such a struggle, has not followed his newspapers carefully enough. Cachin, Thorez, Duclos and Co. decided three weeks ago that a government of the Front Populaire at this juncture "could not be seriously envisaged." (L'Humanite, Nov. 11.) What do they offer in its stead? "A government of the left to replace Laval." A Radical Socialist government, in other words.

Only Privileged Few Benefit from New «Prosperity»

Meanwhile, in a half-hearted way, he continues his play for middle-class support by talking about the utilities and social security; and now by appealing to pacifist illusions in neutrality measures. But, alas, the middle classes no longer listen so readily. The middle classes always jump toward what looks at the moment like the winning side. With finance-capital again roaring, their depressed confidence again revives. It looks to them as if the big shots were right after all; and in any case only they seem to know their own minds. Ironically, every step forward toward "prosperity" loses for Roosevelt middle class support. If you can have the old-fashioned prosperity again, reasons the middle class, let's let it be run by its authentic representative, by the bankers and the old-fashioned Grand Old Party. Besides, what has Roosevelt done that he promised? No, we will return to the former gods, and sign up at the Chamber of Commerce.

A thankless task, indeed, this job of political dish-washer for finance-capital.

But times do not exactly return, and 1935 is not nor can be 1929. The Chambers of Commerce overlay their hand. The farmers remain in the majority behind Roosevelt. The industrialists in the unioned industries stay with him. The middle class liberals have given up the Tories for good. All labor and the unemployed, for all their disillusionment with the shattered New Deal, are not now willing to go back quite as far as the rugged individualists, whose only tangible promises are a balanced budget, a smashing of independent unionism, and a cutting of relief. Thus Roosevelt can in all probability still be re-elected next year, unless major economic and social alterations meanwhile intervene.

But Roosevelt's victory taken in itself would not be the significant social symptom which it might seem—would not, for example, at all be a "vindication for the New Deal." The real cleavages begin to take form beneath the public surface.

The masses have learned far more from three years of Roosevelt than from the depths of the Hoover crisis. Labor and the unemployed are beginning to realize more clearly than ever before in U. S. history that the 1936 choice, between finance-capital open and undisguised and finance-capital with a decoration of appealing phrases, is for them no choice at all. They begin to understand that the present upturn in business will necessarily be short-lived, and will in any case and however far it goes be of little benefit to them. They begin to move toward consciousness of class issues.

Growing Sentiment for Class Action

Already this is apparent in the "third-party" sentiment, in the strength of local Farmer-Labor organizations (as in Minnesota), in the Labor party demands appearing within the A. F. of L., and especially in the growing sentiment among the rank and file workers everywhere to settle issues by direct class action, without parliamentary intervention—a sentiment clearly reflected in the stormy A. F. of L. convention. Roosevelt seems to have retained enough of his demagoguery to head this off from national expression in the 1936 campaign, but this can prove only a temporary diversion.

In the meantime, the energies of the far-sighted among the bourgeoisie itself, and of the reformists and betrayers within the working class, are being bent to make sure that this awakening consciousness of class needs and class issues is directed into safe channels. Labor fakers, Socialists, Stalinists, Love-noites and liberals alike try to move it toward a "sane" third party, toward a Labor or Farmer-Labor or People's Party. Thus would it be able to avoid direct attack against capital. The central effort of the revolutionists must be to give this consciousness its authentic expression, to lead it toward the sole historical embodiment of its genuine meaning and the actual needs which it reflects: the revolutionary program and the revolutionary party.

Auto Strike Impends!

(Continued from Page 1)

dary. A great portion of the machinery of the Chevrolet plant has been moved to Saginaw, Mich. and Muncie, Ind., as was predicted in the NEW MILITANT during the April strike. Toledo is no longer in the key position with regards to the manufacture of transmissions that it held at the time of the last Chevrolet strike. The Saginaw and Muncie plants are completely unorganized. Dillon has no intentions of organizing these plants. The Cleveland Fisher Body union is in a weaker position than it was during the last strike. Norwood, still strong, is only an assembly plant.

Good Time for Strike

General Motors is now deliberately playing its cards, one by one. It is obvious, that what is involved here, is a carefully thought out, carefully prepared plan, to smash the Chevrolet union in Toledo.

There are many factors, however, which make objective conditions in this battle with General Motors even more favorable today than at the time of the last strike. First, this is the beginning of the season, and the automobile industry is experiencing its biggest boom since the golden days of 1929. The Muncie and Saginaw plants can be organized rapidly in the fire of battle, through a swift, sharp attack of the flying squadrons. Detroit was moribund at the time of the last strike. Today it is beginning to feel again the first flush of returning confidence. If Toledo, with its great prestige, would give the lead in battle, the Detroit workers, filled with accumulated bitterness and dissatisfaction, might rise up again in a strike that would eclipse the battles of late 1933.

M.E.S.A. Strike in Toledo

The strike called by the M.E.S.A. at the Mather Spring Co. of Toledo entering into its third week. The plant remains shut tight as a drum. After a flat refusal to conduct any negotiations with the men, as "they did not contemplate any reopening of the plant," the management has finally seen the light and consented to meet with the union representatives. The celebrated Toledo Peace Board, set up by McGrady, which was supposed to avert industrial strife in Toledo and was heralded throughout the country as an example to be followed in all other cities, has failed to make one step during the entire three weeks of the strike. Only when the local threatened to spread the strike and the Chevrolet situation was coming to a head did they finally make a move to bring the management to negotiate with the men.

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But our Daily Worker writer, who says that a People's Front government would have to be a government of real struggle (sic!) but that the Socialist leaders "do not yet appear prepared" for such a struggle, has not followed his newspapers carefully enough. Cachin, Thorez, Duclos and Co. decided three weeks ago that a government of the Front Populaire at this juncture "could not be seriously envisaged." (L'Humanite, Nov. 11.) What do they offer in its stead? "A government of the left to replace Laval." A Radical Socialist government, in other words.