#### PRICE 3 CENT

# The Death of the Little NRA

The reaction against the reforms by the government. Production was sacre of the New Deal measures by coal sold. the Supreme Court is the most pronounced expression of reaction's growing strength. What the Liberty Leaguers proscribe, their judici-

Surreme Court has already condemned seven of the most import- | ized coal operators who sell their ant measures in the New Deal pro- product under highly competitive gram, including the N.R.A. and the conditions in the open market. A.A.A. Two escaped execution for special reasons: the T.V.A. because, although it threatened the monopoly of the power trusts, Mussel in the Republican Herald-Tribune Shoals was needed for national defense; the Gold Clause because it could not have been interfered with tion is in the saddle and riding

of the Roosevelt regime sweeps for to be rationed, prices fixed, wages 5,000 ward on the swelling tide of eco- and hours of work regulated, and a nomic recovery. The unabated mas- 15 percent sales tax imposed on all

The Guffey law represented the maximum of governmental interference in private industry, short of al tribunal hastens to sentence to bitterly opposed by big business innationalization. It was therefore terests as well as the corporations Before declaring the Guffey Coal who operate the captive mines. It Control Act unconstitutional, the was sponsored by the United Mine Workers and favored by the union-

Conservative circles are therefore jubilant over their victory, as the editorial commending the decision and interpreting it as a slap in Roosevelt's face, indicates. Reacwithout creating colossal financial high, trampling the hated New Deal into the dust. Finance capital has The Guffey Act was a posthumous plenty of reason to be overjoyed at child of the N.R.A. It was designed the decision. For it was an utterly to accomplish for the anarchic and reactionary decision, untainted with decrepit soft-coal industry what the the slightest suspicion of liberalism. N.R.A. was supposed to accomplish The irreconcilable and almost insofor all big industry: "to stabilize lent tone of Justice Sutherland's the bituminous coal industry opinion is in itself a sign of the through the regulation of labor and courage and confidence that has prices." The Act provided for the been restored to the big bourgeoiregulation of the entire industry by sie by the upturn in the business an industrial commission appointed cycle.

### Reactionaries Rely on State's Rights

the law unconstitutional on the here as in the N.R.A. decision, that ground that it violated state's Congress possessed none of the sigrights. "The States, Sutherland nificant powers assumed in the Act. wrote, "were before the Constitu- | Congress could not impose a salestion and therefore their legislative tax, because that was not a tax but powers antedate the Constitution." "a penalty." Congress could not fix

leading editorial complaining that ce is a local relation", . . . "all the the liberals have allowed the slogan of state's rights to be taken der the category of interstate comcans. The Supreme Court decision proves anew, what should surely not require proof in this day and age that, contrary to the belief of the "Nation", the slogan of state's rights can only have a reactionary significance. Just as the slaveholders before the Civil War inscribed

is antiquated as the stagecoach clothes of petty statehood, and now visions. it has also outgrown its youthful | The dissenting opinion of the migarments of nationality. The liber- nority in whom the liberals vest a reversion to local limits at a time feeble voice they reserve judgment

are in safeguarding the interests of vor of price fixing.

The majority opinion declared | their masters. The majority ruled, By an ironic coincidence, the lat- wages and hours because "the relaest issue of the "Nation" carries a tions of the employer to the employils," and do not therefore come un-

It is plain that the justices who wrote these words have the conditions of colonial America in mind. They have also however the present needs of the capitalists in mind. While they flatly state that the labor provisions are unconstitutional, this slogan on their banner, so our they do not declare that the pricefixing provisions are illegal. These by Herbert Benjamin, Sam Gordon leading into Arkansas. On the Aritalists, are using it to defend their are rejected now presumably be- and John Muldowney, all members cause they are inseparably inter- of the National Executive Board of own picket line. woven with the labor provisions. In the Workers Alliance. The dele-The shibboleth of state's rights is antiquated as the stagecoach. state as the stagecoach. The shibboleth of state's rights is antiquated as the stagecoach. The shibboleth of state's rights is antiquated as the stagecoach. The shibboleth of state's rights is actually on a starvation basis and calendar this week recorded the apparently virgin births actually on a starvation basis and corded the apparently virgin births of three new strike-breaking organ-The capitalist class itself recogniz- of the mine-operators but it certained this in its heroic days when it ly has no power to set wages for waged civil war against the slavoc- the mine workers. The proposal racy. Today the slogan is doubly has already been made that a new reactionary. The American people act be prepared that will regulate long ago cast off the swaddling prices but leave out the labor pro-

als of the "Nation" are advocating their hopes is little better. In a when it has become urgently neces- on the question of the constitutionsary to abolish national boundaries! ality of the sales tax and the labor The majority opinion reveals how clauses. They speak forth strongly vigilant these judicial watchdogs and without ambiguity only in fa-

#### Roosevelt Receives Reward of Virtue

considerably to his political capital. an answer. It can be given briefly All the righteous indignation of the in a single word: "Yes." mners and the masses of the people against this reactionary action will ident are not only futile and absurd be concentrated on the Court from the standpoint of the working Roosevelt, the spotless knight, will class. They are based upon an al

supporters in the labor movement Guffey Bill. For Roosevelt is no are doing their utmost to divert less implicated in the plot to assasattention from his art in the whole sinate the Bill than the Supreme affair and to treat him instead as Court. He was not merely an aca friend or ally of the working cessory to the crime but even its class. That worthy champion of the instigator, as we propose to show. workers, Daniel Tobin, President of | First of all, the Guffey Bill was the Teamsters, hastened to declare: presented to Congress after the N. "Every worker of every class (!) is R.A. had been declared unconstitu pledged tonight to President Roose- tional. It was therefore a foregone velt to vote for him at the next conclusion that the Little N.R.A. election as a result of the decision would meet the same fate as its had firmly secured a stranglehold today. The decision has established model when it came before the highin the minds of the workers the est court. On this account the fact that the court is reactionary, is | House hesitated whether or not to living in ages past, and that Frank- pass the bill when it was certain to lin D. Roosevelt is a friend of the be declared invalid. worker. I hope we all work to the end that we will elect to office a the following message to the House: Congress that finds some way of "I hope your committee will not had been tested to certify that ungress. Two parts of his Criticism passing legislation to replace the permit doubts as to constitutional-

sentiments in its own fashion. Once phasized phrase gave the cue to congress, Trotsky was expelled en to the small number of delegates again, like the plaintive bleat of a Congress. It meant: "Pass the bill; from the Russian party and march- in the Program Commission, and a Congress to act to curb the Su- ry, the Supreme Court will take preme Court," in its leading editor- care of it." And indeed it did. ial. These political eunuchs cry in a shrill voice, "Is President Roose-eral supporters of Roosevelt com- against Trotsky as a member of its Now", which is Trotsky's letter of This striking prediction is only to the hilt by the Stalinist return ance of the "gold" franc; (6) taxhave endorsed Roosevelt for reelec-

The Stalinist appeals to the Presreceive the rewards of his virture. most criminal blindness to the true Roosevelt's open and concealed state of affairs in regard to the

At this point the President sent ity, however reasonable, to block would take orders from the bureau- Communist International bowdler-The Daily Worker echoes these the suggested legislation." The em- cracy. So, a few months before the ized and badly translated were given

The Stalinists, the labor and lib-

(Continued on Page 2)

# Croppers Rebel

Cotton

Arkansas Sharecroppers Strike Against System of Peonage on Plantation

King Cotton's slaves is being lav-

ishly poured out for the extrava-

gances of this festival. While King

Cotton's retinue feasts from the fat

of the land, millions of slaves from

the cotton country live in wretched-

ness and want. Those who have

produced this billion dollar crop are

oday naked and starved. While

their economic overlords today

throw money to the winds, they

themselves are fortunate to get a

day's work for 60 or 75 cents. With

thousands unable to get either crops

or jobs and with hundreds of thou-

sands of others barely existing on

starvation wages, the slaves of King

Enthusiasm for Strike High

The strike was called, and time

MEMPHIS, Tenn., May 18.-Five thousand cotton croppers and day laborers, members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, will hang up their hoes and strike for higher wages. They are now being paid a wage ranging from 60c to 75c per day, working from sun-up to sun-set. Their demand is for \$1.50 per 10 hour day.

In Memphis the Cotton Carnival is in full swing. Thousands of visitors from all parts of the nation have flocked to the cotton capitol of the world to pay homage and obeisance to King Cotton. Each day witnesses mile long parades with costly floats. Wealth wrung from

## Jobless Hit Pa. Relief

Workers Alliance Calls for Appropriation for Emergency

HARRISBURG, Pa., May 12.-Hundreds of unemployed men and women from all parts of the state Cotton are in open revolt. gathered here Sunday and Monday, under the leadership of the Workers Alliance of America, to halt the set by one of the most enthusiastic Pennsylvania legislators' disgrace- and earnest meetings in the history ful game of making a political foot- of the Union. With representatives ball of the relief appropriations bill, of 78 locals present, not a dissent-A legislative deadlock between Re- ing voice was raised. Strike compublicans and Democrats threat- mittees have been established ened to cut off relief abruptly for throughout the affected area, and an indefinite time. The State Emer- scores of men and women scoured gency Relief Board had exhausted Northeastern Arkansas, Saturday all current funds at its disposal and and Sunday calling the people to was prepared to shut down relief strike. rolls unless the Senate and the House passed an appropriation strike, have redoubled their workmeasure enabling them to continue. ing force; and plan to bring unem-

The jobless met in a conference ployed relief workers out of Memat the Farm Show Building here phis and other cities to take the on Sunday afternoon. David Las- jobs of the strikers. Union officials ance of America, opened the sessions with a stirring address de- Alliance of America to help prevent nouncing the petty politics of the unemployed Memphis workers from Pennsylvania solons and calling for going to the fields. Local leaders militant action to put a stop to it. The conference also heard addresses Allentown, Secretary;

(Continued on Page 4)

Chambers, Deckers

SAN FRANCISCO.—Norman Mini nas been released from San Quentin Prison, first to complete his term of the eight workers convicted in the famous Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial of 1934. Norman Mini received a three-year sentence and must spend the next sixteen months under charge of parole offi-Of the other male prisoners Al-

bert Hougardy received three and a half years and like Mini will serve the last 16 months on parole; while Pat Chambers, Martin Wilson and Jack Crane got five years sentences, parole to be determined later. The National Sacramento Appeal Committee, defending Mini, conducted a national campaign for minimum sentences, rallying the support of ten international unions, five state federations and two-score Rubber Workers Rap Viocity central labor bodies and a group of Senators and Congressmen. Mini Appeals for Other Prisoners

Upon leaving San Quentin Mini called for a renewed effort to upset the convictions, which come up on

By releasing me the state of California hopes to obscure the fact that it is holding in prison the leaders of the California agricultural workers, Chambers and Decker. The fight for the freedom of these two and of the other prisoners is indissolubly bound up with the fight to organize the agricultural workers. Elementary solidarity demands that all workers and workers' organizations unite in renewed efforts to free these workers from pris-

The landlords, fearful of the The National Sacramento Appeal Committee announced that it is sending to the State Parole Board additional resolutions from unions, demanding that minimum sentences ser, President of the Workers Allithe Memphis local of the Workers indeterminate sentences are soon to be fixed by the Board. The United Rubber Workers International, Chiago Federation of Labor, Boston of the Alliance will throw a picket Central Labor Union, and the cenline across the Harahan bridge ral bodies of Pontiac, Lansing, South Bend and San Bernardino are among the latest unions demanding freedom of the Sacramento With thousands of its members prisoners.

Barre, Chairman; Sam Gordon of evicted, the Union is in desperate attorney for Norman Mini and will Charles need of money with which to fi- represent him in the pending ap-Sandwick of Bethlehem, Vice-Chair- nance the strike. Many of the peal. The other prisoners are repman; Charles Spencer of Philadel- people will suffer, and terror is resented by the International Laphia, Assistant Secretary; and a likely to rear its head over the en- bor Defense, which refused the in- guised company union union operofficers and the National Executive fense and relief should be sent to Appeal Committee for one united charging an initiation fee of \$1.00

# Croppers Rebel Parole Mini; Free Others, His Demand French Capitalism

Mini Appeals for Struggle People's Front Leader Pledges "Safe" Regime, Socialism, Only Solution to Crisis, Is Remote to S.P. - C.P. Moguls

> Within a few days, the first Socialist Ministry will be officially installed in France, with Leon Blum most likely as Premier.

> The French Socialist Party is about to make history in the same sense that the "socialist" governments of Vandervelde, Scheidemann, MacDonald, etc. made history in their time. That is to say, Blum will assume the vestments of power with the permission of the bourgeoisie on the self-same condition that his colleagues in other countries were invested with power, namely: that he protect the bourgeoisie against its enemies, tide it over a crucial period, provide it

#### the masses can be exhausted and New Sitdown demoralized, while all the necessary preparations are made for a demoralized, while all the necesdecisive assault upon the revolutionary forces of the working class Goodrich tionary forces of the and the peasantry.

lation of Union Regulations

> BULLETIN By BLAKE LEAR

AKRON, Ohio, May 20 .-- Goodyear Plant 2 was closed down completely last night by a sitdown involving 7,000 men. At the same time there were three sitdowns in the Goodrich mechanical goods department. The sitdown at Goodyear began at midnight when a non-union "headlayer" was placed in charge of a pit crew though he had less seniority than two union men. The dispute at Goodrich also involved seniority. Both were settled when union heads conferred with the management.

The increasing intensity and frequency of the sit-downs indicate that a tremendous blow-up is ahead unless management makes a radically new departure in its tactics. It is doubtful if they can afford to do this. All signs point to a strengthening of their strikebreaking organizations and to a ruthless battle in the not too distant future.

AKRON, O., May 19.—The Akron anti-social calendar this week re-

The first of these is the Association of Rubber Workers, a dis-(Continued on Page 4)

with a sufficient interval in which

Blum's Capitalist Program

As there was not a shred of socialism in the "labor" governments in England, Germany, Belgium, etc., so there will be nothing "socialistic" about the future Blum government, a fact which Blum himself has openly avowed to the mass meeting in the Salle Wagram, held in celebration of the "victory."

"Reminding his hearers that the country had not given power to the Socialist Party but to the People's Front coalition, Blum said: 'Our program therefore is based on capitalist society. Our task will be to extract from this social regime everything that it can still harbor of well-being and justice." (John Elliot, N. Y. Tribune, May 16.)

In these words of Blum we have the balance-sheet of the People's Front, its program and its "victory": it is that of capitalism. All that Blum is pledging himself to do as Premier is to extract "everything" compatible with the "wellbeing and justice" obviously not of the working class but of the capitalists on the basis of whose program Leon Blum and his associates are preparing to assume power

Stalinists Revive Cartel Policy

It ought to be noted that if Blum and Co. did not "assume power" up to now, it was thanks only to their fear of the effects of such a step upon the French working class. The furthest that the Socialist leaders support the Radicals in powerthis was known as the cartel policy, and is in all respects similar to the present policy of the French Stalinists. Millerand, Briand, Laval. presiding committee including the tire section. Contributions for de- vitation of the National Sacramento ating on "safe" principles and Paul Boncour and lesser fry who exploited the working class movement in order to carve out a ministerial career for themselves, all had to resign from the Socialist, Party on becoming ministers.

The French Communist Party, from the very first day of its existence, aimed its heaviest blows against the cartel policy of the Socialists. And, in point of fact, fer months prior to the actual establishment of the united front between the C.P. and the S.P., the considering breaking off the cartel

As for participating in the same government with Herriot-Daladier, Blum, Faure, Auriol and Co. actually broke with the so-called Neos. a group of Socialist parliamentarians who saw the quintessence of socialist policy in participating in ministries. Most of these Neos. after the split, joined with Paul muggle it out of Russia. Thus did smuggled out of Russia in 1928 and Boncour's "Socialist and Republican this great work first reach the light published in 1929 and 1930, will Union." In a few days Leon Blum read this great work with far more will sit in the same ministry with insight today than was possible six perhaps the very same people whom he had voted to expel not so very How many of us, in the first long ago. It was all a very unfor-

People's Front Program

Fortunately, however, the French Stalinists intervened energetically and opportunely to reestablish the cartel on a "higher level."

What sort of a "capitalist program" is the program on which Blum is accepting the premiership? In the sphere of domestic policy

the Fascist leagues; (2) the aboliarms (the nationalization of the trol and reorganization of the Bank of France (the nationalization of the Bank of France); (4) the immediate abolition of Laval's economic decrees (which hit the civil service workers, the proletariat and

In the sphere of foreign policy, (Continued on Page 4)

# "I hird International After Lenin" Off the Press, A Lexicon for the Revolutionary Movement

Trotsky to exile in lonely Alma-Ata n 1928, after having expelled him tern, which marked the completion of the rise to power of the bureau-

endership of one after another of the great parties of the International and replaced them with subservient hacks. Only after they had on the entire organization, did they convene the Sixth Congress.

Prevent Trotsky from Appealing

The Stalinists did not dare per-

of the 1917 insurrection might have English.

(Continued on Page 2)

His participation took the form of cracy. The Stalinist faction had writing the materials which constibeen in control of the situation at tute the core of "The Third Interthe Fifth Congress of the Comin- national After Lenin", published tern in 1924, but the prestige of this week by Pioneer Publishers. It the makers of the revolution was remains not only his most basic then still so great, and the bureau- work, but the fundamental platcracy still sufficiently doubtful of form of the Fourth International in its control, that Trotsky had been its struggle against Stalinism. A elected a member of the Executive rich theoretical distillation of the Committee of the International. successes and failures of the Com-Between 1924 and 1928 the ap- munist movement since 1917, it is paratus autocratically expelled the an indispensable guide to the rev olutionary strategy demanded by the conditions of our epoch, the period of capitalist decline, of wars

and revolutions.

Document Sees Light of Day In complete violation of his rights as a member of the E.C.C.I. to be heard as the great co-worker mit Trotsky to appear at the Sixth of Lenin-Trotsky's materials were Congress. Not all the delegates never distributed to the delegates were handpicked; not all of them and were not discussed at the conder any and all conditions they of the Draft Programme of the to all the rules and traditions of the lected group of delegates which im-International, only a congress could mediately "settled" the issue with become a tragic reality! confirm or revoke the decision out discussion. The document "What The "Amazing" Course of History issue? Are the labor leaders who this train of events leading up to munist procedure did not make the statement, was never submitted to await the reader who comes afresh ist course.

mitted to bring the materials with at the Congress were numbered and social-patriotic betrayal. required to be returned. Fortunately, they managed to obtain one and

**Prophecy Fulfilled** "The conception of the build-

ing of socialism in one country is a social-patriotic conception."

sheep, it calls upon "Roosevelt and the miners want it; but don't wor- ed off to exile. Although, according "report" on it was made to a se- in 1928! What was then presented false course of national-Bolshevism. as a theoretical deduction has today

Stalinists hesitate for a moment. any of the Congress members; it is to "The Third International After

When Stalin condemned Leon A lesser man than the organizer here published for the first time in Lenin." That reader is truly to be envied: He will find not merely The storm of protest engendered by this decision of the Supreme Court will doubtless rebound to the political credit of Roosevelt and add political credit of Roosevelt and add considerably to his political capital.

In 1928, after having expelled him from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet bureaucracy been fulfilled in the eight years of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union, the Soviet bureaucracy been fulfilled in the eight years of the Soviet Union, the Yet even this suppression did not awe-inspiring prophecies that have Stalinist leaders were seriously delegates in the Program Commis- since this book was written. More with the compromised party of the were deeply impressed with Trot- prophet crying in the wilderness. sky's critique. They were not per- Trotsky was a maker of history, who knew that Stalinism could logthem out of Russia. The few copies | ically lead only in the direction of

Even most of us who read mutilated parts of this work which were years ago.

years of the Stalinist lunacy of the tunate misunderstanding! "Third Period", really believed that This statement excites no sur-the Comintern would inevitably prise when it appears in our press make a swing back to the opportuntoday. It is our major criticism and ism of 1923-28? When the Stalincondemnation of the Stalinist be- ists were breaking up Socialist traval of the interests of the world meeting and declaring the Socialproletariat. Almost every action of ists to be a greater danger than -not to speak of his moral right the Comintern since the Seventh Hitler, it seemed fantastic to many World Congress and the signing of that the same Communist parties the Stalin-Laval pact confirms the would go back to bowing and scrap- its outstanding demands are: (1) social patriotic policy of the Comining before Chiang-Kai-Shek and Lethe disarming and the abolition of tern. The nationalistic theory of on Blum. But in 1928, before the ocialism in one country has led to opportunist policy had been entireocial-patriotism in other countries. ly replaced by third period lunacy, And yet this sentence was not Trotsky was already warning that armaments industry); (3) the convritten recently. It appears in the both the opportunism and the lunacriticism of the Draft Program of cy were alternating phases of the the Comintern, written by Trotsky degenerate Stalinist bureaucracy's To read this work now is to realize how clearly Trotsky grasped this fact, which has now been proven the pensantry); (5) the maintenvelt going to continue to dodge the pletely cover up Roosevelts role in Executive—this violation of com- appeal to the Congress for rein- one example of the surprises that to an even more emphatic opportuning of the rich.

(Continued on Page 4)

# Book Review

By JACK TAYLOR "TROTSKYISM is the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. . . . That is why the attempts of certain litterateurs' and 'historians' to smuggle the disguised Trotskyite rubbish into our literature must encounter determined resistance from the Bolsheviks." - Joseph Stalin, Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism. 1932. International Publishers.

ter-revolutionary Trotskyism" did olution, p. 71.) not, as the documents show, prevent Stalin from taking the road of "counter-revolution" in his earlier interpretation of the revolutionary

#### Who Is Counter-Revolutionary?

the counter-revolutionary bourgeoi- the uprising"? A truthful man sie its intellectual weapon against need not fear saying two different Bolshevism in the form of the thesis things at two different times. Only of the impossibility of building so-falsifiers have the quality of concialism in our country . . .?" In tradicting themselves at every turn looking for the answer to this quest For Stalin, you see, tells us on tion, let us turn to page 48, Stalin's page 71 of the above mentioned "The October Revolution."

by the proletariat occurred under that on page 30 of the same work peculiar conditions, domestic and he tells us the exact opposite: "All foreign, which placed their imprint practical work in connection with on the entire work of the party the organization of the uprising after it seized power. In the first was done under the immediate diplace, Russia is economically back- rection of Comrade Trotsky, the ward, it cannot of its own strength president of the Petrograd Soviet. set aright the transport system, de- It can be stated with certainty that velop industry and electrify the the party is indebted primarily and urban and rural industries. . . If principally to Comrade Trotsky for Russia had as a neighbor a big, in- the rapid going over of the garrison dustrially developed Soviet state or to the side of the Soviet and the several Soviet states, it easily could efficient manner in which the work have established co-operation with of the Military Revolutionary Comsuch states on the basis of an ex- mittee was organized." change of raw material for matechnique pending the victory of International. the proletarian revolution in one or several industrial capitalist countries. . . . Failing these, there is no use even thinking of serious economic construction, of electrify-

ing the country." years of the Revolution, when ideas tween Lenin and the October cen- can prevent the operators from in a flurry of excitement offered the were still fresh in the minds of all, tral committee. Since the central relegating them to the scrapheap when the Stalin falsifiers did not committee was infallible, and hence and from reducing their wages to his public committee on unemployyet find it possible to distort the perspectives of October. The above perspectives of October. The above perspectives of October. The above serious differences arise therefore est organization and the most unrequotation is from an article by between Lenin and the central mitting struggle. The half-million he would not use the state troopers Stalin originally published in Prav- committee on the question of the miners in the U.M.W.A. already to molest the demonstrators in any

#### da, No. 190, August 28, 1921. "Socialism in One Country"

As we see, the question of socialimpossible, especially since "Rus- becomes the burning question of and a progressive leadership. sia is economically backward." But the hour. . . . Were there any difwe are anticipating a bit, for Stal- ferences of opinion within our party we are anticipating a bit, for Stal-in in those days (1921) did not yet in those (1921) did not yet in those (1921) did not yet in approach the question of socialism But they were exculsively of a in one country. Stalin in those practical nature. . . . . (Stalin's days clearly stated: "Russia can- October Revolution, p. 79.) Only not of its own strength set aright slight differences "of a practical the transport system." How far nature"; nothing political involved; removed from Stalin's theory of so says Stalin. And some of us ciency. According to Stalin, in trying to hide now? What is Stalin month. 1921, the economic resources of trying to hide? Russia did not permit the "setting aright" of the transport system tries to hide his own opposition to sons in all walks of life and . . without economic collaboration Lenin in the October days. Stalin interested primarily in promoting with hostile capitalist groups of attempts here to hide his own sa-civic welfare." The organization, the West, "pending the victory of botage of Lenin's directives to the with a fine spirit of thoughtfulness the proletarian revolution in one or central committee in the October too often lacking in this wicked, several industrial countries."

the reactionary theory of socialism power at present, to 'wait,' to addressed a plea to the United in one country. But perhaps this chatter in the Central Committee Rubber Workers of America to "rewas incidental due to "alien" in- . . . means to ruin the revolution. | turn to the principles of the Amerletarian revolution is needed. . . . vanced countries is necessary. So of power-J.T.), a gentle hint at lessen it the Firestone local is pre- the Marcantonio Relief Standards long as this has not been achieved, gagging me and at suggesting that senting the company with a plan Bill, which provides for a \$6,000,our Party must seek circuitous I retire. . . . I am compelled to for spreading the work. Should this 000,000 appropriation to aid in subpaths of cooperating with capital-tender my resignation from the be refused, or even should it be acist groups in the economic arena." (Joseph Stalin, The October Revolution—p. 49.)

How far removed from the theories of 'economic self-sufficiency" and "socialism in one country." The earlier international perspec- central organ of the party, with guish the revolutionary traditions tives of the Bolsheviks as indicated Stalin as editor, "deleted" and de- of Bolshevism. in the above quotations from Stalin layed the publication of Lenin's diare today taboo. Internationalism is labelled "counter-revolutionary with the seizure of power. ideology" and revolutionists are exiled and shot by Stalin's and Yagoda's G.P.U. for refusing to relin- came necessary to falsify the his- "October Revolution," when they quish the international traditions tory of the Russian Revolution. To reach the contradiction point, sim- their conclusions soon enough.

of Bolshevism. In his role of falsifier of the his-sary to slander and to persecute ary Trotskyism"!

tory of the Revolution Stalin says: "Trotsky, who was a relative newcomer in our Party in the period of October, did not and could not have played any special role in the party or in the October uprising." The same Trotsky whom the world knows as Lenin's collaborator and as the organizer of the insurrection of 1917 "did not and could not play any special role in the October uprising."

"Let us," says Stalin, "take the minutes of the meeting of the cen-"Determined resistance" does not tral committee, on October 16, and cannot dispose of the real his- 1917 . . . A practical center is electory of the October Revolution and ted to take charge of organizing of the perspectives of the Bolshe- the uprising. Who is elected to viks when they decided upon the this center? Five were elected to seizure of power in 1917. From it: Sverdlov, Stalin, Dzerzhinsky, many sources and in many ways Bubnov and Uritzky . . . Comrade the Leninist interpretation of rev- Trotsky did not get on the practical olutionary events and perspectives center, which was called upon to of the October Revolution reach the lead the uprising. How can this surface. To label the Leninist in- be reconciled with the current noterpretation of the revolutionary tion about Comrade Trotsky's speevents and perspectives as "coun- cial role?" (Stalin's October Rev-

did not get on the "practical censays—"all the **practical** work in work, that Trotsky "could not and Says Stalin: "The fact of the did not play any special role in matter is that the seizure of power the October uprising," forgetting

History will have its revenge! chines and equipment. However, And when it does, Stalin's role of so long as this is not so, Soviet falsifier and grave-digger of the Russia and our party, . . . are Revolution will meet the fate reforced to seek forms and means of served for it by the onward march economic co-operation with hostile of the international proletariat. capitalist groups of the West in Already we hear the steady tread order to acquire the necessary of the iron battalions of the Fourth

#### Differences with Lenin

bility does away with lots of "ex-This was written in the early plaining" about the differences beseizure of power?

Speaking about the October days, Stalin says: "The question of the operators in most fields. They need ism in one country was considered transfer of power to a new class only a correct class struggle policy Soviet Russia's economic self-suffi- wonder: what are the falsifiers and dues of twenty-five cents per

Behind "infallibility" Stalin days. For proof let us turn to commercial world of ours, deplores How fresh and far removed from Lenin: "To refrain from seizing the sit-downs, and three days ago

fluence upon the mind of Stalin. | . . . Seeing that the Central Com- | ican Federation of Labor for col-Not so. For Stalin in those days mittee has left even without an an- lective bargaining through accredconsidered it necessary to take into swer my writing insisting on such ited representatives and to end account the question of interna- a policy since the beginning of the mass bargaining and intimidation." tional economic cooperation on the Democratic Conference, that the "fraternal principle" between the Central Organ (Stalin was editor— at the instant of writing—is a "re-"progressive (industrial) countries J.T.) is deleting from my articles creation" club designed to make and the backward (fuel and raw references to such glaring errors material producing) countries (in of the Bolsheviks as the shameful beat up trade unionists, who replace of the principle of robbery of decision to participate in the prethe latter by the former'. This is parliament, as giving seats to the formal logic in reasoning with comprecisely why an international pro- Mensheviks in the Presidium of the pany union members. Soviets, etc., etc.,—seeing all that, However, in order to begin (at I am compelled to recognize here the rubber industry is slackening least begin!) instituting a correct a 'gentle' hint as to the unwilling- off; the rubber plants have already world economy, the victory of the ness of the Central Committee even begun to lay off men. Tension in proletariat in at least a few ad- to consider this question (seizure the plants is acute. In an effort to

Central Committee, which I hereby cepted, no one would dare predict

Crystal clear! Lenin wanted to resign from the Central Committee and to hound the "organizer of the in the state. because it tended to "refrain from October insurrection" and those

usurp the power it became neces- ply reek with "counter-revolution-

(Continued from Page 1) the death of the Guffey Bill. They (Continued from Page 1) point to the Supreme Court as the Board members, to lead them in the sole culprit and ignore the role of fight.

Roosevelt and Congress as accomplices in the crime. The Triple Play

Thus the Guffey Bill was put out as the result of a triple play between the President, Congress, and legislature. A relief appropriation the Supreme Court. Rarely has of \$121,000,000 as against the manner in which the executive, leg- Democrats under Governor Earle islative, and judicial arms of the and the \$43,000,000 proposed by the government work together to deceive the workers and deprive them solutely imperative, on the basis of of their demands. What the government appears to give the workers with its left hand, it takes away with its right. Roosevelt proposes, Congress enacts, and the Supreme Court disposes.

The American system of bourgeois democracy must operate in this fashion. The President and Congress, being elected officials, are compelled to yield now and then to the pressure of the masses and con-We are at liberty to ask the fal- cede part of their demands. They sifiers of the history of the Revolu- act as a buffer between the rulers tion how it is that Trotsky, who and the ruled. The Supreme Court, lief Board and to the state WPA appointed for life and practically ter" was able to "direct"—as Stalin irremoveable, can turn a completely deaf ear to popular clamor. They In 1932 Stalin asks: "Who gave connection with the organization of need listen only to their master's

#### What Now?

The lesson to be drawn from this decision of the Supreme Court is had forced the hand of the adminso clear that even William Green, with rare flash of class-consciousness resembling the last flicker of consciousness in the brain of a dying man, could not miss it. "After all," he said, "we must rely on our own economic strength. If we canan orderly way, we will irresistibly be drawn to use our economic power; that can be done only through complete and thorough organization; the more thorough and complete it is the greater will be our economic power.

Green does not of course intend these words to be taken seriously, but he inadvertently hit upon the right note. Only through their organization and militant action, and not by reliance upon the bounty of be able to obtain their demandsand to keep them.

The soft-coal industry is a dying industry. Other sources of power are steadily cutting into its market. The history of the English coal mining industry shows that no amount of regulation or state sub- Gordon, that the \$70,000,000 figure sidy can save it from continued de- was woefully insufficient and was By placing the mystic halo of cline. The manifold social prob- not based upon the actual needs of infallibility upon the head of Lenin lems that arise in the lives of the the unemployed, the organizations the falsifiers hoped to extend that miners out of the decay of the coal of the jobless never having been infallibility to themselves. Infalli- industry can only be solved under Socialism.

Meanwhile, the bituminous miners have enough combined strength to way in the mass meeting they enforce their demands upon the planned at the state house in the

# **At Goodrich**

(Continued from Page 1)

The next is "The Rubber Club." an organization "made up of per-

The last organization—at least, men out of red apple boys and to putedly too often do not rely on

In the meanwhile production in

when a new storm will break.

But the truth will out! Already rectives to the party in connection do the Stalinists find it difficult to stuff the cracks. Here and there How devastating to Stalin! To the real history of October seeps continue to exist politically it be-out. Some of the pages of Stalin's

121 Million Declared Imperative The conference then got down to business, adopting various resoluworkers, to be brought before the Russia from 1923 to 1928. In order dence" and threw out three of the tions affecting the conditions of the there been a clearer case of the \$70,000,000 figure proposed by the the Comintern, then about to be verdict of not guilty for the other Republicans was declared to be abthe cut-to-the-bone budget of 64 years since Lenin died. The story judge are conspiracy to imprison had, "it was probably no more than cents per person per day, to tide the unemployed over until the beginning of next year. The conference unanimously recommended this figire as an air-tight minimum to the governor and the legislature. The presiding committee was instructed fiasco of 1924; the Stalinist alliance its side. The case will probably man answering Bridge's description interview the governor and to presiding committee was instructed demand spokesmen before the legislature, to present the case for the organized unemployed. Committees were also elected to present grievances to the State Emergency Readministration. All the delegates-men, women and children-were housed and fed at the expense of the government during their entire three days' siege. The impressive turn-out and the serious conduct of the conference

On Monday afternoon, the presid-

#### Committee Interviews Earle

istration.

ing committee was received by Governor Earle for an audience. David Lasser, John Muldowney, Sam Gornot enact legislation of this kind in don, Charles Spencer and a Negro woman delegate from Philadelphia, Margaret Johnson, argued the case of the unemployed before the chief executive for more than two hours. The governor was very generous with his typically vague promises and his hypocritical assurances of concern over the plight of the jobless in his state, but would not make any definite commitments. Beneath the thin veneer of his Rooseveltian liberalism penetrated a sight strongly indicative of the real leanings of this latter-day "friend of the capitalist state, will the miners the peepul." Side by side with a portrait of F. D., there was displayed on his mantlepiece, an autographed picture of none other than Engelbert Dollfuss, the butcher of the Austrian workers!

Upon a challenge from delegate consulted as to their estimates which were based on actual contact with the workers' needs, Mr. Earle

#### evening. Crowd Swarms Legislature

up in front of the Farm Show Street"! Building and, headed by the officers paraded through the streets of Senators and representatives with a Lester Heckman, of Allentown, preeral thousand. A spokesman for the gathering that both houses of the legislature had been petitioned to hold a joint session and to hear agreed to submit to the request and the crowd thereupon streamed en

masse into the galleries. Lieutenant Governor Thomas Kennedy opened the joint session shortly thereafter and called upon John Muldowney, the chairman of the delegation, to introduce the spokesmen. Muldowney warned the legislators that unless they provided for adequate relief, unemployed steel workers and silk workers would follow the example of the unemployed miners and start up bootleg steel mills and silk mills just as the coal-diggers had started up bootleg mines.

#### Demands 6 Billion Appropriation

He was followed by Charles Sandwick. Sandwick urged the representatives and Senators to memorialize congress for the passage of sidizing state relief and WPA agencies. Sandwick gave some telling arguments for this measure from the experience of the unemployed year.

seizing the power" and because the revolutionists who refuse to relin- from Philadelphia, told the joint but conscious of the fact that mass session of the tremendous suffering, action was needed more than ever the discrimination and the intoler- to provide adequate relief. They ance which the workers and the pledged their determination to conunemployed of her race were sub-tinue rallying the masses of jobless jected to and warned the legisla- back home and to prepare them for tors that the Negro people of the emergency action. state were watching their action | Steps are now under way to set

delegation, startled the fat-bellied ance.

# The Death of the Little NRA Pa. Relief Revolution Whitewash Lynchers in Tampa Flogging Trial Tampa Flogging Trial

that had been admitted earlier in

"Shirking His Duty"

which the charges were based.

Hillsborough County Solicitor C.

ty. From the beginning, however,

he has been regarded unfriendly to

The alleged defectiveness of Har-

dee's information need not be as-

cribed to ignorance or accident.

Faulty informations which are

thrown out by the trial judge are

a standard device used here to pro-

tect paying or powerful criminals

and at the same time permit the

the motions and avoid criticism.

The state spent its last week in

some vital testimony against Titts-

worth. Whitaker made long fre-

quent and impassioned objections to

admitting this evidence. The court

sustained him on the ground that

"no sufficient overt act" had been

The testimony ruled out included

conversations held by Tittsworth

with Matt C. Beasley, assistant

Beasley testified that Tittsworth

had tried to get him to say that he

had received a telephone call which

led him to order defendent Smitty

Brown and his men to raid the

meeting of Modern Democrats at

Russell testified that when he

told Tittsworth that he was with-

holding the truth from the state

attorney and was afraid of getting

into trouble, his chief told him that

he could not help him if he changed

his story and advised him to "stick

Refuses to Testify

was Manuel Menendez, Tittsworth's

former stenographer who is also

the fact but against whom charges

clined to testify because he might

have incriminated himself. Judge

Dewell did not even allow Menen-

dez's refusal to testify be made be-

against Tittsworth was inadmissible

because "no sufficient overt act"

an afterthought with Judge Dewell.

Round Trip \$ .75

TENNIS

had been established was apparently

He had already permitted much

The fact that such testimony

One of the state's last witnesses

established as to Tittsworth.

sell, a former policeman.

the Herald home.

to" his original lies.

fore the jury.

the prosecution.

the trial.

(Continued from Page 1) This book is no abstract thesis smear of whitewash was applied Whitaker's objections. on the impossibility of socialism in to the Tampa floggings Saturday

to illumine his criticism of Stalin- four counts in the information. Bukharin's draft programme for Trotsky found it necessary to tell rested Tuesday, was denied. the story of the major events of the of the circumstances surrounding falsely, false imprisonment and they deserved anyway." the failure to make the German conspiracy to kidnap. The charge revolution in 1923; the tale of the of kidnaping Eugene F. Poulnot, created by Stalin and which disap- Alliance, remains. peared without even an obituary; The defense is not expected to the American Farmer-Labor party take more than two days to present with the British trade union bur- go to the jury this week. eaucracy-Purcell and Cook were going to defend the Soviet Union as a principal and Tittsworth as an but instead the prestige of the So-accessory in the false imprisonment viet Union covered Purcell and and kidnaping of Dr. Sam J. Rogers Cook's betrayal of the British Gen- and in the second degree murder eral Strike; the development of the of Joseph A. Shoemaker, still stand. Stalinist bureaucracy, leaning for support on the backward peasantry was on trial as accessory after the -all this is clearly sketched. The fact, followed Judge Dewell's reforty pages of explanatory notes fusal to admit damaging testimony round out the historical detail so against the former police chief and that a newcomer to the revolution- was in the face of vital evidence ary movement can follow the argument understandingly.

Special mention must be made of the "Summary and Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution" which, together with the explanatory historical notes, provides the reader with history of the Chinese movement from 1923 to the present time.

The general features of the history of the Communist International since 1928 are given in Max Jay Hardee whose removal was re-Shachtman's fifty-page introduction, commended recently by a grand so that this 400 page book can serve jury on the grounds that he is using traffic cops had never before made as an introduction to the history of bling ring and "is guilty of shirking any raids ond that it was unusual the Comintern up to the present his duty" in the flogging cases. time. Indeed, until the further vol-Works of Leon Trotsky" are publing the preparation of the case and occurred on a Saturday night. lished, this first volume will remain during the unsuccessful attempt to the best study of the Communist obtain a jury in Hillsborough Counmovement that has yet appeared.

## Rebel at Slave Wage in South

(Continued from Page 1) H. L. Mitchell, Executive Secretary, Box 5s15, Memphis, Tenn.

There can be no doubt that once this strike gets under way, lynch ror will be organized in the bailliwick and with the connivance of in office and neglect of duty." He of Lewis, Green, Dubinsky, et al is running for renomination. who support Roosevelt because of his liberalism! And also, by the way, on the Daily Worker, which ascribes all of Roosevelt's reaction-At 6:30 the huge delegation lined ary moves to "pressure from Wall

Harrisburg down to the state house. cutting remark that "boondoggling" was hard work compared to the insided over the open air demonstra- sipid conduct of which they were tion that was staged there and at guilty in their so-called work. which David Lasser and numerous Speaking over their heads to the other speakers addressed the crowd gallery, he hailed the example of which had by then swelled to sev- the Allentown WPA strikers last chief of detectives, and H. L. Rusmonth, who, disgusted with the anthe presiding committee rose on tics of the capitalist parties had the improvised platform to inform marched down to the courthouse in a body from their picketlines to register Socialist. He warned that unless they took immediate action the leaders of the WAA. He anto break the legislative deadlock nounced that both houses had that was threatening the unemployed with starvation, thousands more would be called into the cap-

David Lasser, speaking for the national organization of the Workers Alliance, wound up the presentation with a picture of WAA actions in Illinois, Wisconsin, New Jersey and St. Louis, assuring the politicians that the national organization was wholeheartedly behind this Pennsylvania demonstration and that the WAA would back the under indictment as accessory after unemploped of the state to the limit in their fight for adequate relief have not yet been pressed. On and against their criminal petty Whitaker's advice, Menendez de-

The session was concluded amidst volley of cheers from the unemployed, who filled the gallery to the rafters.

The next day both the house and the senate voted for an immediate appropriation of \$3,300,000 to prevent the shutting off of relief, before continuing their debate on the larger figure for the balance of the damaging evidence against Titts-

The delegates returned to their Margaret Johnson, a young Negress | homes inspired by their achievement

alertly, and that they would draw up a state organization of the unemployed units affiliated with the Sam Gordon, the secretary of the national office of the Workers Alli-

BARTOW, Fla., May 17-The first | worth to get before the jury over

He allowed W. D. Bush, chief of one country. It is, rather, a richly dered the acquittal of R. G. Titts- told Tittsworth what he knew detectives, to testify that when he concrete history of the Communist worth, former chief of police, and about police participation in the movement both inside and outside Robert Chappell "for lack of evi-kidnaping, Tittsworth "blowed up, told me not to let it get to the Mayor and that was the end of it The defense motion for a directed right there."

The judge also permitted Lieut. "submitted" and adopted by the five defendants, made by Pat Whi- J. L. Eddings to tell the jury that Sixth Congress of the C.I. in 1928, taker immediately after the state Tittsworth had assured him that he did not think Poulnot and Rog-The counts knocked out by the ers had been flogged and if they

The jury also heard a series of witneses tell how the badge number preposterous Peasant International Chairman of the Florida Workers of defendant John P. Bridges was changed from 39 to 140 after Tittsworth had learned that the state attorney had evidence that a policetion and wearing badge number 39 The indictments against Chappell was involved in the kidnaping.

Other policemen testified that, although Tittsworth knew they were on duty the night of the kidnaping, they had never been questioned by him about what they saw or knew. The freeing of Tittsworth, who

#### The Bull's Hunch

In the meantime, the testimony revealed. Tittsworth was writing a letter to Mayor Chancey in which he exonerated the police and suggested that Poulnot and Rogers themselves murdered Shoemaker and also making a public statement declaring that his "own investiga-Whitaker, during the course of tion" had "conclusively established" the two-day-argument on his mo- that the police were innocent.

tion, contended that the information Tittsworth's aquittal in the face was "fatally defective" because it of this mass of evidence indicates succinct introduction to the whole failed to specify secret intent as that, as one of the "higher ups," he provided in the Florida statute on testimony had revealed that Smitty received special protection. The The information was drawn by Brown, ex-traffic sergeant who led "the boys" in the raid, was Tittsworth's pet in the department.

Police witnesses also testified that for them to be in the police station Hardee was chief assistant to at all on a busy Saturday night umes of this series of "Selected State Attorney J. Rex Farrior dur- when traffic is heaviest. The raid

Obviously the arrests and the kidnaping were not Smitty Brown's own idea. Tampa is now asked to believe that Tittsworth—Brown's boss and mentor—did not know what his protege was up to. The state closed its case after

four weeks of testimony by 34 witnesses without once touching the question: "Who ordered this whole thing done?"

The state's evidence against all defendants except Chappell is overprosecuting attorney to go through whelming. Even Chappell, who was freed with Tittsworth, was ident-Governor Dave Sholtz has relified among those who arrived at law and mob violence will become fused to act on the 17 specific grand the police station with the arrested a daily routine of the planters to jury accusations against Hardee un. | Modern Democrats and among the crush the sharecroppers. This ter- der the general charge "incompet- men standing outside while Poulnot ency, malfeasance and misfeasance was being kidnaped.

But these defendants, with the Joseph P. Robinson, Roosevelt's has announced he will "let the peo- exception of Tittsworth, are small whip in the Senate. A significant ple decide" through the Democratic fry. Behind them are the citrus commentary indeed on the policy primary elections in which Hardee growers with their machine guns and barbed wire, the phosphate corporations and their convenient. water-filled pits, the shipping maga futile effort to get before the jury gantes and their stool-pigeons, the crooked politicians and their gambling gunmen.

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# France--the Last Week Before the War

By A. Rosmer

The last week of July 1914 was the history of Europe and of the ling and will come to grips.

The ultimatum of the Austroernment wants to impose humiliating conditions on Belgrade. If Serbia refuses, it means war, and then. . . ." The article stressed the gravity of this new phase of the conflict and emphasized the inevitable character of the European complications which would follow. It drew no conclusions.

1

In the same edition a prominent position was given to the "Russian with War!" strikes" under the heading: "The riots continue. Repression has be-

The next day's edition, Sunday, tance; it provided the conclusions which were missing from the ar- jingo provocations. ticle of the day before and provided them in the name of the C.G.T. That is our only salvation. (The trade union federation-Ed.). First a boxed head over the first the catastrophe; let us save our-

two columns under the caption: "WE DON'T WANT WAR"

and the text: "The decisions of the federal congress on the attitude of the working class in case of war become operative at the moment war | day:

is declared. . . . In such a case the declaration of war should be the signal for tions, Thursday, July 30, 9 P.M. 33 every worker to immediately stop Rue la Grange aux Belles. Agenda:

". . . To every declaration of war the workers should immediately reply with a revolutionary general

(Extract from the resolution adopted by the Special Conference of Central Labor Unions and Federations, Oct. 1, 1911.)

#### Youth Against War

of July when the war danger sud- of police was to protect the offices denly reappeared, the Jeunesses of Matin (in anticipation of a work-Syndicalistes decided to call their ing class assault, a hundred police members once more to demonstrate agents had been stationed inside against the military parades of the "red house"), and, by police Bataille Syndicaliste published their streets leading to the Boulevards. appeal and in the evening there to prevent the formation of a single were more demonstrations. The mass demonstration by checking the Bataille Syndicaliste reported them flow of new arrivals. But the workas follows on Sunday:

PROVOKE INCIDENTS

"Cries of Down with War! "The military maneuvers proespecial importance.

"After a year's truce, the Jeunesses Syndicalistes have called on their members to demonstrate when the Place de la Republique. The the military parades passed over to the right bank.

"On one side the shouts were raised: Long live the Republic! Long live Caillaux! Down with war! Down with the three years military service! On the other: Long live the army! After the demonstration, the Jeunesses Syndicalistes, reinforced by numerous spectators, demonstrated on the It was their first step toward war. plication in a Boulevards.'

But during Sunday, other demonstrators, several thousand in number, marched along the Boulevards shouting: "Long live the army! Long live the War! On to Berlin! On to Berlin!" The Seine Trade Union Federation, and the Bataille Syndicaliste decided to reply immediately. They called on the Parisian workers to come out on the streets in their turn and assemble before the offices of Matin. a newspaper especially hated by the workers and the one which at that time most cynically pushed on toward war. The Bataille Syndicaliste renewed the appeal in a special edition printed during the afternoon and sold by newsboys in live peace! Down with war!" the working class sections of the city after 5 P.M.:

#### "ANSWER THE JINGOES "On to the Streets Tonight

"Everything isn't settled yet; the die is not yet cast; but as things are now, only a blunder or a rash move is needed to precipitate the catastrophe.

Remember the women raped and of the morning. disembowelled, the old men and composing corpses abandoned in the who can estimate such a crowd?open to the flies and vultures! "Those corpses, tomorrow, it will

be you! "Those women, those children, those old men, tomorrow they will

be yours! "That is war!

"And that is what the bandits on the Boulevards have been hailing for the last two days.

"And that, mind you, solely bethe last week of peace, the last cause some Serbian peasants and week also of an era in the life and some Austrian soldiers are quarrel-

"So! Unless we are either crazy or corrupt; unless we want to see Hungarian Government was served our country throw itself in a few on Serbia on Friday, July 24. The hours into the worst imaginable ad-French newspapers published it venture; if, comrade, you do not and commented on it the next day, want to be torn from the arms of Saturday the 25th. The Bataille your family to be led into the East Syndicaliste (organ of the C.G.T.— to the firing line, the people of Paris Ed.) gave it the importance that must be immediately aroused. This it deserved; a three-column spread is an emergency. If these criminal announced: "The ultimatum of Aus- fools, who cry: 'Long live war!' tria to Serbia. The Viennese Gov- are not silenced this very evening then the end has come.

> "Tomorrow We Will be Mobilized! "It is the duty of all our readers, of all our friends, of all the trade unionists of Paris, of all the friends of peace to come:

"This Evening After 9 o'Clock on the main streets opposite the offices of Matin.

"And everyone shouting, 'Down

"Belleville, Menilmontant, St. Antoine, Montparnasse, remember your heroic traditions. Let the streaming masses from the fau-July 26, was of paramount impor- bourgs flood the centers of the city and submerge these imbecile and

"That is our only hope of peace. "That is our last hope of avoiding

selves while there is still time. "Time presses.

"Until this evening! "—Bataille Syndicaliste."

Finally the District Committee was convoked for the next Thurs-

"Meeting of the District Committee, joint meeting of both secthe international situation.

'(signed) Jouhaux, Sec'y."

#### The Violence of "Democracy"

These appeals were heard. From 9 o'clock until midnight that Monday an enormous crowd flowed ceaselessly through the Boulevards. Extraordinary numbers of police were During this last part of the month | mobilized; the tactic of the chief Saturday the 25th. In the morning cordons, established in each of the ers who came from the faubourgs into the centers of the city were so "THE MILITARY PARADES numerous that the tactics of the police produced unexpected results: there were soon as many demonstrations as there were voked incidents last evening to streets. The violence and brutality which the present situation gave an of the police could not dampen the fighting spirit of these crowds; all war!" resounded from the Opera to war becomes clear. . . . iste gave of the demonstration: "The government officials? Ah! the great apostles of democracy! They terday they opposed to Paris' will the Federal Congress. for peace the sabres of the police and the guns of the Gardes Mobiles. Yes, they are mobilizing, but mobil-

> izing the police against the workers. . . . Their first victory. . . . No, July 29, at 8:30 P.M., at Wagram they were not victorious." Most of the Tuesday, July 28 is sue was devoted to this demonstration. The front page bore the streamer: "The People Rise Up

Against the War." Then a four-column head:

"PARIS WANTS NO SLAUGHTER

"It proved it yesterday evening. There were demonstrations everywhere yesterday evening in the teeming sections of Paris. The great boulevards were jammed. Officials and jingoes were warned. The podemonstrators who shouted: Long

The following is the text:

"... War... is the unleashing in the name of trade union organof every hideous instinct, the blood- izations called upon the people of iest, vilest and basest instincts. Re- Paris to demonstrate the same eve-

> of the workers of Paris demonstrated on the great boulevards with ters made this unforeseen and be which would take place simultaconstant shouts of: Down with lated decision, orders were issued

> war! Long live peace! given to the rulers of France who the holding of the meetings but any deliberations. Jaures had just been

### INTRODUCTION

France, describes in detail the reaction of the trade

union movement to the problems raised by the war

crisis. In it we note the gradual but perceptible

metamorphosis of the outstanding leaders, some of

whom, like Jouhaux are still at the head of the trade

unions of France and still advocating the same pol-

with threats of general strike, with telegrams of in-

ternational solidarity and even the organization of

finally the acceptance of the war as an accomplished

fact: "It is odious, it is atrocious, it is unbelievable

is exported to "leave for the front without bitter-

ness." to die not for their capitalist fatherland but

Soviet Union). The outstanding trade union leader

ary arsenal. Only by learning the errors and crimes

from the imperialist war.

Beginning with loud pacifist pronunciamentos,

C ONFUSION has its roots in ignorance, and the widespread confusion of the present day on the burning problem of war is in large measure due to ignorance not only of revolutionary policy but of the past. This condition can be principally traced to the studied, sedulous, systematic dissemination of false information and interpretation by the socialpatriots. A disoriented working class, nurtured on lies, is pliant material for the militarists in time of war. To create such a condition is the special job of social patriotism.

What is the lesson of the World War? To read or listen to the Stalinists, reformists or pacifists one would gather that it was a terrible calamity, destroying wealth, body and soul, and that is all. That the World War shattered besides material treasures and the lives of millions of human beings, the policies of the leading circle of the working class movement, is carefully avoided in their press and literature. Why? Because these very same policies, with differences only in degree and emphasis, are being practiced and advocated in the labor movement today. Disaster for the working class followed in the wake of these policies in 1914-1918; blindfolded, it was led to the imperialist slaughter, while at home the iron heel of capitalist dictatorship made a mockery of the shibboleths they were dying for on the battlefields. Certain as death itself the same policies today will lead to the same tragic results.

The imminence of another war, no longer considered even by the skeptical as a fantastic prediction of panic-mongers, makes it imperative that we, the revolutionists, the class-conscious workers, study and assimilate the real lessons of the first World Warimperative if we are not to be caught unawares, with the war coming as an unexpected shock. For this reason we are devoting an entire page of the NEW MILITANT to a chapter of Alfred Rosmer's invaluable book, recently published in France, Le Mouvement Ouvrier Pendant la Geurre-De l'Union Sacree a Zimmerwald (The Workers' Movement during the War-From Civil Peace to Zimmerwald). This chap-

the sentiment of the people in general-on the possible war.

"This warning will be immediately followed by another. Tomorrow the same people will march through the two halls in the Wagram, behold them.

"This time they will again indicate their unshakeable determination to put into practice the decisions of the Trade Union Congress on war. They will show that they are ready for any sacrifice to maintain peace, making common cause with the proletariat of Germany, England, Italy, and elsewhere.

"If on the morrow the rulers are insane enough to ignore the people's will they will be preparing a cruel tomorrow for themselves.

"From now on war is impossible, the people will not permit it! "Our second demonstration to-

The meeting referred to in this article was announced further on in a box:

"A MONSTER MASS MEETING "Trade Unions of the Seine Dist. "To the Workers:

"As the elements are unleashed, evening the cry of "down with events surge on, the possibility of

"Shall we allow this abominable following lines summed up the re- crime to take place, without having even more rapid; on the same day port—an accurate report by a cer- made heard our protest and withtain J-which the Bataille Syndical-out having done everything to prevent it?

"Already our central organizations have appealed to the trade were pacifists at election time. Yes- unions to observe the decisions of

"We will comment on these decisions and we will describe their ap-

**Monster Meeting** which will be held on Wednesday.

Hall, Wagram Avenue. "Speakers: "Jouhaux, Dumoulin, Yvetot (C. G.T.); Chauvin (Building Trades Federation); Merrheim (Metal Workers Federation); Lefevre

(Jewelry Workers Federation); Bled, Minot, Ganbiez (Union des Syndicate de le Seine).'

#### Repression Begins

Thursday, the 30th. Everything had been prepared to make the meeting of Wednesday evening a lice charged violently against the a powerful working class protest against war. A coup de theatre occurred. Late in the afternoon, the meeting announced on Tuesday The report was preceded by an article entitled: "First notice," ment. The circumstance of the prowhose importance was indicated by hibition are noteworthy. The decithe signature of the Bureau of the sion was made at a council of min-C.G.T. and the Union des Syndicats. isters held at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. But this council of ministers "Yesterday morning the Bataille of Poincare, who disembarked at Syndicaliste in its own name and Dunkirk that very morning. What special information could be impart to provoke such an extraordinary read the reports of the correspon- ning against the threat of war. A did he hatch in St. Petersburg with step? Or what plot against peace dents on the atrocities committed in special edition appearing at five his sinister accomplice Tsar Nichothe course of the last Balkan war. ebrated the "holidays" by powerful "And yesterday evening at eight strikes and spirited demonstrations children mutilated, their fingers and o'clock up to the time of this writ- in the streets in all the working ears cut off, their eyes gouged out, ing, despite the police, one hundred class sections of the city. Did he villages burned and the piles of de- thousand, two hundred thousand,- already bring the order for general mobilization?

At the same time that the ministo the police to prevent with what- large cities of France. Suddenly all patriotic processions on the pub-". . . This is the first warning ever brutality necessary not only the telephone rang, interrupting the lic highways. The police chief of from now on are informed of the sort of gathering in the neighbor- assassinated! The discussion was

sentiments of the people of Paris- | hood of the Etoile. All the neigh- hastily terminated, inasmuch as which do not differ in any way from boring subway stations were closed Jouhaux, Merrheim and other memat seven o'clock. But the workers who, because of the late hour at which the government decision was made and posted, could rue Montmartre was thronged with not be prevented from arriving a vast multitude of agitated workfrom all parts of the city in ers shocked by the horrible news. cause both halls are too small to large numbers. All those who But there was not alone grief On the 28th the newspapers anasked for an explanation were immediately beaten up, slugged, arrested, and jailed. Bataille Syndicaliste wrote that the garb of a number was constantly swelling. worker sufficed to provoke a beating The Socialist leaders assembled at Saturday, August 1, the order of to our sense of duty, fastens it to newspaper concluded: "Wherever the workers, there the enemy." De spite this show of police force and the brutal orders conscientiously known, because a voice from one of tion for Sunday morning. While the forts. executed, crowds gathered around the windows of the offices of the even the Etoile and the Place des Ternes, which soon became the scene of bloody encounters. This quarter of Paris kept seething the into the night many groups still

entire evening. Bataille Syndicaliste of Thursmorrow evening at Wagram will day, July 30, carried the following streamer: "... Down with war... despite everything!"

The government did not stop with this brutal prohibition of anti-war meetings and demonstrations: if methodically prepared the minds of "General Confederation of Labor | the people for war and its acceptance. In these critical days it practiced special technique through the medium of the venal press which alternately blew hot and cold: one day it was war, the next day peace. In Paris the rythm was they passed successively from war to peace. By this method the people were rapidly whipped up to a frenzy. On Wednesday, panic was already in the air. There was a run on the banks and on the savings banks and gold was universally demanded in place of bank notes.

the incidents of the panic under the following caption:

"LET THEM STOP AND THINK "A day of anxiety. The government could find only one solution to the international crisis: prepare the repression against the working class.

"This is undoubtedly the guarantee demanded by the Czar, 'our friend and ally.'

"Such measures will save neither national independence, if it were endangered, nor the little statesmen who want to plunge the country into the most catastrophic of adventures.

"The workers have shown their sentiment by the demonstrations on the Boulevards; our ministers know today what they must count with. "The will of the people is clearly against the slaughter.

"Woe to those who ignore this today!

cataclysm! "Woe to the perpetrators of the slaughter and savagery!

"Woe to the powers that be! "The working class alone will decide the fate of these criminal megalomaniacs. Before, during or after the massacre.

"Let them take warning before the die is cast. -B.S."

#### Jaures Assassinated

Friday evening, July 31. The Confederal Committee was meeting. On its agenda was the organization and preparation of a new and powerful demonstration against the war neously in Paris and in all the

of yesterday can we be strong today and tomorrow. bers rushed to the offices of l'Humanite. When they arrived there and a desire for vengeance. Their paper was suddenly heard urging calm. The multitude of workers dispersed slowly, very slowly; late remained discussing. But the crime was to go unpunished.

Saturday, August 1, Bataille Syndicaliste drew the following balance sheet of this fatal day:

#### "A DAY OF TRAGEDY "Mobilization Rumored; Jaures Assassinated."

Under the heading: "A monstrous crime," the paper wrote: "What a sinister omen in this martyred death!" Then Leon Jouhaux:

#### "NO HYSTERIA

"The hour is grave, but not desperate. The cause of peace has still numerous friends in the world, and the working class of all countries are acting in a common thought: to avert the armed clash.

"Above all we must guard ourselves against panic and hysteria, which lead to the worst results. ". . . Our duty is to attentively

scan the news we receive without The B.S. for Thursday reported however placing unlimited trust upon it. "The confederal Committee will

call popular demonstrations, in possible peace. Paris and in the provinces."

On its part the Confederal Committee had adopted the following fighting for the cause of peace.

"The Confederal Committee, meeton Friday, July 31, resolves in view organize in agreement with the Socialist Party a great international demonstration against war on August 9.

"A committee was selected to neet with a committee of the Socialist Party.

to advance the demonstration if international events warrant it. "Indignation Against the Assassination of Jaures.

"The committee learned during its session of the cowardly assassi-"Woe to those responsible for the nation which struck down the noble figure that was Jaures. "It is impossible to transmit the

sentiment of sorrow which gripped the members present. "In Jaures we had the most clair-

voyant, the most ardent defender of humanity's causes. Jaures who is no more. "-For Confederal Committee,

Yvetot, Dumoulin, Marck, Calveyrach." In the issues of the preceding days, the B.S. had published information on the demonstrations which occurred simultaneously in

The Bureau: Leon Jouhaux,

must not be destroyed in the tem-Germany, among them this dispatch pest. from Berlin, July 28: "The police chief has this evening proscribed Munich took similar measures."

And on this day it published a

raine: ter dealing with the last week before the war in

"STRASBOURG, July 31.—The Socialist Party has organized protest meetings against war and against the threat of a universal conflagration in the great cities of Alsace. A meeting was held yesterday evening at Mulhouse and this evening others will be held at Strasbourg, Mulhouse and Colmar. Meetings are also scheduled in the less important centers."

huge anti-war demonstrations, their position begins to veer the moment war is unleashed. The call for a It also makes mention of international working class action. Legien general strike is forgotten, and how else could it be. as the leaders begin to explain: "We have done every- had sent a telegram to the C.G.T.: thing in our power . . ." then a complaint against the Jouhaux replied to him. Here it is working class "for not understanding its duty" and as published in the B.S.:

#### "INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS ACTION

. . . but it is. . . . " With this, the treacherous leaders "In reply to a telegram from com wash their hands of all struggle against war, nay ade Legien, secretary of the Intermore, they join in the struggle for the victory of the national Secretariat, requesting the capitalist fatherland they inveighed against in vague opinion of the C.G.T. on the present rhetorical flourishes the day before. But the ground is even then tested cautiously through a patriotic addressed the following telegram to remark at the Emperor Franz-Josef. From this point him: on the social patriots grow bolder. The working class

"'Legien, Engel Ufer (15 Berlin. "'French Federation of Labor of the evil consummated arise to resolutely against war, demands in- annihilate stifling militarism! for the "revolution" (Modern version: democracy, the ternational proletariat intervene by pressure on governments to obtain enters the unholy coalition of class peace and advises the capitalist class as to how to induce passivity a localization of the conflict.

and quiet in the working class and how to profit most 'Peace is possible, and must triumph, if the workers organized in-Rosmer's book deals only with the French labor ternationally remain united in the movement, but it can be applied almost in detail to same thought: opposition to all conthose of almost every other country before and during | flagration. the fatal years of 1914-1918. Above all, it can and

"This peace lies in the hands of must be applied today. The events of the last world the international working class, if war must become an integral part of the revolution-

'Here pacifist demonstrations are continuing. We firmly believe in peace because we are energetically resolved to avert war.

"'Down with war! Long live peace guaranteed by the Labor International.

"'Jouhaux.'"

The systematic campaign of demoralization of the masses by the circulation of false news continued. among them, there was also anger nounced the assassination of the German representative in Belgrade.

Jaures had been assassinated on this catastrophe which shatters our Friday, July 31 at about 10 P.M. lives and our spirits, recalls us back this time no doubt feared reprisals general mobilization was already those conceptions to us which we against the perpetrators of the posted at four in the afternoon, want to erase, can compromise all crime, all of whom were well which set the first day of mobiliza-Socialists and syndicalists prepared their new demonstrations against war, the war makers had Jaures struck down by a hired thug, and the government, which continued to declare that it wanted peace and that it was making all efforts to avert war, had decided for the general mobilization. It only remained for Poincare to cynically declare that "mobilization is not yet war," although he knew only too well that the Russian general mobilization, then he cried: begun on the 31, in the early hours

flagration inevitable. But Poincare' lie deceived no one. of Sunday, August 2 in this streamer: "Folly triumphs over reason."

#### The Die Is Cast The C.G.T. issued a manifesto to

the workers of France:

#### "A GRAVE HOUR HAS JUST STRUCK

"The evil forces are on the point of triumph. A ray of hope is still visible, but so weak that the worst eventualities must be envisaged. "However swept by the whirlpool, we want to preserve the hope of a

"Up to this hour the Confederal Committee has remained at its post, "Only yesterday it addressed a supreme appeal to the international working class.

"If its efforts do not appear to of the international situation, to have yielded what we have every working class hoped, it is because events have submerged us. And it is our duty to say at this supreme moment, it is also because the proletariat has failed to understand with sufficient unanimity all the "The Committee was instructed consistent efforts necessary for preserving humanity from the horrors of war.

> "Women, you who are weeping at this moment, we have done everything in our power to spare you this sorrow. But sad to say, today we can only deplore the fait ac-

"Can we demand a greater sacrifice from our comrades? "Although we are pained to say it, we will reply: No.

"What we implore of all, is an unshakeable attachment to trade unionism, which must traverse and survive the impending crisis. "As firmly as yesterday, we must

preserve our ideas in their entirety and faith in their final triumph. "The Labor International will always remain the goal of our efforts.

"Because we know that a day will come when the peoples will have olution you are going to fight. more confidence in it and will give the only safeguard of Peace and Civilization."

dispatch from Strasbourg relating In an article entitled: "Maledicto Socialist activity in Alsace-Lor- tion!" Bataille Syndicaliste inveighs not so much against the war in general as the Emperor of Austria in particular. This unexpected malediction occurs in the last line of the article.

"MALEDICTION

"Weeping! "Weeping!

"Weeping!

ished.

". . . A rain of tears is falling upon the city. ". . . It is the general mobiliza-

tion! ". . . May the monstrous crime which is to plunge all of Europe into barbarism, into the abyss of black mourning and ruin be pun-

"May the thrones tumble, may the crowns fall!

"The will of the people has been violated, imperialism is the criminal that has unleashed the tempest. ". . . But if it must be, if the situation, the Confederal Bureau catastrophe is inevitable, if the force of the workers for peace was valiant but futile to save their honor, oh! then may the very extent

> "May this be the end of the nightmare!

> "And a curse upon the name of the senile Emperor Franz-Josef!"

Throughout Sunday, the first day's conscripts were entrained to join their regiments. During this time, the people left behind, undoubtedly looking for booty, sacked the "boches" shops, and abandoned themselves also, here, there and everywhere, "spy hunts." The Confederal Committee held a brief meeting in the early afternoon. Monday's Bataille Syndicaliste said nothing about it. The leading article, captioned "The Irreparable," is signed B.S.:

"The irreparable has now occurred.

". . . The European war is unleashed. "The spirit still refuses to believe

this. "Nevertheless, it is only too true, our hopes, crush all our past ef-

"It is atrocious, it is odious, it is unbelievable.

"But it is. . . ."

#### Social-Patriotism

Of the speeches made at the funeral of Jaures, that of Jouhaux alone must be retained here. The B.S. for Wed., August 5, prints long extracts. Jouhaux first explained why the working class loved Jaures,

"Today, it is still in our minds of the day, made the universal conthat we will draw upon indispenable forces. In the name of those who are about to depart-myself Mobilization is war. Bataille Syn- among them-I declare that it is dicaliste announced it in its issue not hatred of the German people which drives us to the battle fields,

it is hatred of German imperialism." The editor of B.S. adds in his

"Tumultuous applause. Emotion was at its zenith. People wept. M. Maurice Barres applauded vigorously and said to one of his neighbors: Very good! Very good!' one senator, a bitter enemy of the C.G.T., cried out: 'And to think that these are the men we wanted to clap in

jail!"" In the B.S. of Thursday, Aug. 6, new explanation of the war is given in an unsigned but prominently placed article:

#### "... FROM THE CLASH OF LIBERTY LET LIBERTY SPRING FORTH

In the present conflict the ethnical question has its importance. The Germans whose blood is right to expect, what the organized of a coarser strain and therefore more submissive and resigned in spirit, have not our spirit of independence."

Nevertheless the anonymous author will say in his conclusion that it is only the "proud and ferocious clique" which must be conquered.

On Friday, August 7, in an article entitled: "Humanity! Justice!" Ch. Malotta recommends tact to the foreign anarchists and Socialists residing in France, and discernment to the government which had somewhat indiscriminately imprisoned several."

On August 8, another new recruit. Charles Albert, who will become a regular and prolific contributor. Here are the principal passages of

#### his first article: "DEPART WITHOUT BITTER-

NESS "Immense hopes, incalculable hopes are rising in the world. ". . Depart without bitterness. without regret, comrade workers,

"To it all our hopes converge, it front to defend French soil. "Depart without bitterness, leave without any mental reservations, comrade workers. It is for the rev-

you who are being called to the

"And should you fall, all those it strength, when it will constitute closest to you who remain, both young and old, whose hour has not (Continued on Page 4)

# OLSON'S CONFAB A ROOSEVELT RALLY

# Farmer-Labor Party Is Ruse for Political Trades | Browder says: "The conference has the opportunity of working out a program which will be a clear guide for the growing sentiment in spide for the growing sentiment

By ARNE SWABECK

conference at Chicago, May 30-31, people." So says the Daily Worker. Governor Olson himself could not have said it better.

Should there be any doubt of this prophecy, let us recall the example of the Illinois coal miner. He meant well. During the period in which the National Miners Union was created, he had read in the Daily Worker about the various historymaking conferences and when his turn came to attend one of them he arose solemnly just before the hour of adjournment to propose: "Mr. Chairman, I move you that this conference go down in history."

Mr. Olson's Record Certainly the political developments that preceded this conference invests it with an unusual importance, though most likely in the opposite sense of the prophecy mentioned above. A sufficiently wide variety of representatives of the conference? There will be serious common people, so-called, are in- trade union elements like Schlossvited to give it an appearance of a berg and Gorman, the "outstanding new movement. But the signifi- trade union champion for a labor cance to the working class of such party," according to the Daily movements, whether new in reality Worker, Heywood Broun, for whom or in appearance, depend entirely Morris Hillquit once said that Soon their political direction. And it should not be difficult even at this will be there; liberals, amateur rad-

will be represented.

"The date" - Governor Olson's should hardly be necessary to re- main forces in this gathering are mind our readers of the despicable to explore the possibilities of a na- role played by Governor Olson dur- Roosevelt. The trade unions that tional farmer-labor party -- "may ing the strike of local 574 when he prove to be a landmark in the his- declared martial law and had his gressive category are committed to Browder Protects Statue of Liberty tory of independent political action | soldiers throw the .strike leaders and the great battle for the rights into the stockade, not to mention and welfare of the American the police assaults, under the direcstrikers of the Flower Mill Iron tional ticket. Works. The whole history of the Minnesota F.-L.P. leadership is one of disreputable deals with the Democratic Party. In the last election Governor Olson's party lost its control of both branches of the state legislature. It is therefore with the fear in mind of a further possible loss that the Minnesota F .-L.P. leaders have set out to utilize their present unique opportunity of combining a step toward extending their own third party experiences to a national scale with a much bigger deal for support of Roosevelt, all of which is expected to bring returns in a greater populari-

#### Who Will Be There?

cialism was such a nice novelty, time to form an estimate of what icals and third partyites will atrole history will assign to Governor | tend, together with a good sprink-Olson's conference based on the ling of Stalinists and their stooges; Dakota; Farmer-Labor Progresof a combination of the Minnesota Holiday people; Epic Democrats,

Anti-Fascist Leaguers. What will the so-called common people behind quests, economic, political and mili this motley gathering do?

the United States for a national tions. This is the leadership. It Farmer-Labor Party." But the are now generally listed in the prosupport Roosevelt's re-election.

#### Will Back Roosevelt

The Chicago conference will not consider a national third party ticket. Naturally! Why should it? The old method of parliamentary deals still holds true and the Democratic Party will decide the national ticket. But, as has already been amply demonstrated by experience, a Farmer-Labor Party is essentially an institution of parliativities. So also in this case. The mentary maneuvers and election acreal center of attraction in these elections is the presidential ticket; the standard bearer and hs platform determines the character of the election campaign and of the governmental adminstration after Who will attend the Chicago the election victory is achieved. Anything that comes out of this conference can therefore in no sense be anything else in reality but an adjunct to the Roosevelt re-election campaign.

Browder cannot possibly have any illusions on this question. Evidently, he sees no conflict between the Roosevelt and the Farmer-Labor Party sentiment. And how could there really be any according to his But it is very important to knew position of the various forces that Non-Partisan Leaguers from North conception. He says: "We must col-The actual sponsors are made up sives from Wisconsin; Farmers litically with those who are com-Farmer - Labor Party, including Knickerbocker Democrats and in 1936." To collaborate organiza-Governor Olson and Mayor Latti- Townsend people who will support tionally and politically is a very mer, and Stalinist leaders of the anything with pensions in it; Social broad promise. It has all the pos-

Browder says: "The conference already exists and reinforced by appropriations sponsored by Roose-Browder seeks from Governor Olson's conference can have any to the Republican candidate." This prepared to make their deal with meaning. And this is all to be put over in the name of the fight against reaction.

Commitments in this case means claims the Daily Worker, "have stripes beneath it.

"We must make the masses of the country understand," says Browder, "that the victory of the Republican Party-Liberty League-Hearst combination would throw power on to the side of the war makers." By this the masses are also to be made to understand that Roosevelt and his party are not amongst the war makers. What a frightful delusion and deception of these masses of whom Browder speaks with such a glib tongue. Or, could Browder's statement possibly have some other meaning? No, it is clear that these masses are to forget this year's gigantic military budget mounting up to more than one billion dollars, for, says Browder: "We would not do or say anything that would tend to turn Roosevelt support over to the Republican candidate. We distinguish between twins. Even twins are not identical."

#### Roosevelt's War Program Certainly twins are not identical.

people's front Farmer-Labor Party the difference as measured by time, place and objective conditions. Such so much more to be the case. What-limited to . . . "an indispensable laborate organizationally and po- an estimate will place Roosevelt as ever Farmer-Labor Party proclam- minimum"—indispensable defena much more effective and a much ations may be forthcoming from sively—and differently, no doubt! mitted to the support of Roosevelt more progressive defender of cap- this conference, such would really italism and all that it stands for be nothing else but a new way, at and real peace, the P.O.B. advocates than the old fashioned reaction- least for some parts of the country, aries. Roosevelt's program, when to corrall support behind the Rooseofficial party and stooge organiza- Crediters, Share-Our-Wealthers and sibilities of a real national union of stripped of its demagogy and ver- velt standard. piage, is clearly a program for more the home basis for a new onslaught for the actual formation of a reon the world market, for new con- formist Farmer-Labor Party

Roosevelt. Given the premise that tary. The gigantic army and navy

sense that the clear guide which to "do or say anything that would tend to turn Roosevelt support over cannot mean anything else than no befell the leaders of the Belgian prove the social-patriotic policies opposition to Roosevelt and the Labor Party, practically on the eve of Vandervelde and Co. conducting of the election campaign of the praliamentary elections. in such a manner that votes will be These leaders had vowed, and writ-These forces of reaction, pro- garnered for Roosevelt regardless of ten into their platform that they whether or not the C. P. goes more than support of the person or drawn close together to hurl the through the formality of nominat-military budget, or in the military tion of Mayor Lattimer, upon the Strutwear strikers and upon the his program and support of his na- bay." Next we will be informed, have seen from the statements of the Ministry, after they were asin tones trembling with indigna- Browder, any other policy would sured that they need have no fears dropping steadily, the number of tion, that these same forces will bring the forces of reaction down attempt to bury the stars and upon us and "hurl the Statue of Liberty into New York Bay."

#### The Great Deception

What a dastardly deception and delusion of the working masses is being here perpetrated in the name of the campaign for a Farmer-Labor Party. And this is at a particular time and under objective conditions in which certain important strata of the working masses have actually begun to enter a process of awakening, when signs are manifest that point toward a beginning of political consciousness. This is the time and place and condition demanding above all clear and precise efforts toward education of the masses for the needs of in favor of defending the country a new social order-for the needs of a persistent and tenacious struggle for Socialism.

In view of this situation what can Governor Olson's conference not mean in reality that even the ently." idea of a national Farmer-Labor Party is already shelved for 1936? the Laborites will vote only for Appearance and reality after all budgets "with the preponderance of are two different things. In this defensive armaments." As for the particular situation it will be found term of military service, it must be

Apparently the open betrayal of effective and more up-to-date class- the political class interests of the program, only without the Stalincollaboration in order to prepare working masses does not even wait

#### WORLD OF LABOR

Labor Party Leaders Vote Arms Budget in Belgium; Anti-Semitic Riots in Poland

on the question of any increases,

their brazen treachery. The new election platform prepared for the coming June elections is the concentrated essence of jesuitism and gall, which runs second only to that of the Stalinists . . . have evidently learned a good deal in recent days.

The Belgian Labor Party is not for national defense . . . it is only against any "unprovoked attack." It is therefore "in favor of a national defense organized different-

ly. The only complete guarantee for the independence of the country Does this general situation is peace. A peace organized differ-

In the sphere of military defense,

And to guarantee real defense "Public monopoly of the implements of war; nationalization of the industries which produce them." [A regular "People's Front" election

How is peace to be organized dif-

By strengthening the League of Nations, which has hitherto organized peace so well and so "differently": "Above all, the organization of peace within the framework of the League of Nations."

And of course, the lasting efforts of peace are to be secured by disarmament: "To the extent to which the organization of peace is built up, progressive and simultaneous disarmament under the control of he League of Nations.'

While speaking about peace and

It is not at all surprising that a self in the ranks of the P.O.B. Ac- cent months.

cording to reports in the European This column has already carried press, a section of the P.O.B. has the story of the predicament that been expelled for refusing to ap-

POLAND

Behind the wave of anti-Semitism would oppose any increases in the in Poland, and the changes in the government is the story of a frightterm of service; and they entered ful economic debacle. The index of industrial production has been unemployed has been constantly etc. Then the Minister of War pro- growing. According to the official ceeded to demand additional mil- figures the unemployed number belions for defense and an increased tween 600-750 thousand; the unoffiterm of service. These demands cial estimates reach the unprecewere approved by the Socialist min- dented figure of close to 2,000,000. isters, who were then left in need The organ of the Polish Socialist of a proper formula to cover up Party (under censorship) reported early this year that "two years ago, 72% of all the workers in Poland earned less than 140 zloty a month." The paper then goes on to comment that this means that "72% of the Polish workers are undernourished. from whom the Belgian Laborites Their diet consists chiefly of bread and potatoes, and they consume an infinitesimal quantity of meat and dairy products."

Since that time, the wages in Poland have been considerably cut, and the number of unemployed has considerably increased.

The horrible plight of the workers and of the unemployed penetrates even into the semi-official press. The situation among the peasantry borders upon that of chronic famine. Tuberculosis rages. Some reports indicate that there may be as many as five million peasants in Poland without any land or work. The peasants in the Ukrainian districts under Polish control are the worst off.

The deathrate is extremely high. It is hardly surprising therefore that the Polish Socialists report that "Anti-Semitism forms an essential part of the policy of all the Polish bourgeois parties. The parties of the Polish bourgeoisie differ from one another not in whether they are anti-Semitic or not but in the method which they favor for putting this policy in effect. The most ruthless economic boycott . . . keeps the Jewish workers, manual and non-manual, and the Jewish intellectuals out of all the public services, out of all quasi-public institutions and services, out of all

the largest private undertakings." The only difference between the bourgeois parties is how the extermination of the Jews is to be attained: openly, or by a gradual process and under the cover of "legality"? And in the meanwhile, they stage pogroms.

Of course, the drive against the disarmament, the P.O.B. has voted Jews is only a part of the broader new platform unbinds its hands, the workers as a whole. The reaccoming pauperized, with war clouds even of pledges, for further support tion of the workers in Poland, both inspiring. A series of the greatest demonstrations ever held in inde-

# hands off France. That is, in

The editorials on the French elections that appeared in the New York Times, the Herald-Tribune

Anti-Military Propaganda Subsides

The May issue of Living Age the clerical Echo de Paris (by the way, the Moscow Pravda, has also of late been quoting Pertinax approvingly, for he is a sworn enemy

Pertinax notes with great satisfaction the "decline of revolutionary activity in France on the part of the Comintern." Says he, "If the highest military authorities are to a much longer period than the semibe believed, the Moscow propagan- dictatorial governments of all his da in France has subsided, if not predecessors from Doumergue down. disappeared since 1932. I am told The only program for France is that in 1934, 150 cases of incitement that of socialism. The only road to disobedience were recorded in the for France is that of revolution. French army, and that in 1935 the figure has shrunk to less than 10." Pertinax is convinced that as beween revolution and Germany, the latter is the greater immediate threat to France. "The threat (of revolution) would be felt all the same and probably to a greater deof cooperation on the international Published weekly by the New Miligree if hostility instead of a spirit plane were shown to Moscow. And tant Publishing Co., 100 Fifth Ave., let us observe that Moscow never objects to any repressive measure enforced against the Communists. 'Deal with them as you like' is the

The situation in France, however, nas not radically altered. None of the fundamental problems that face France can be solved or even broached within the framework of a capitalist program. Blum is well aware of this. He is hoping for a

turn in the business cycle; for a possible loan from America, a return for a promise to pay the war debts. The old system must be retained. The Sarraut ministry, on which sit reactionaries who have been attacked in both the Commuby the French business men Jennie nist and Socialist press as agents of the Fascists, continues in power while Blum confers with bankers, makes speeches before business men's clubs, and pleads with Herquotes at length the remarks of riot, who sat in Laval's cabinet, ap-Pertinax, veteran contributor to proved all of Laval's economic measures, and disapproves all of the "economic measures" proposed by . the People's Front, to become a

> cialist ministry in France will be its last. In any case, the government of Blum will not endure for Failure to take to that road will mean the triumph of counter-revolution, the assumption of power by the French Fascists.

Like the business men on the Subscription rates: In the United

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

# The Last Week Before the War

(Continued from Page 3)

you by taking the solemn oath to- vival of economic life. day, at the same time that they vance soldiers of the revolution, it

"Depart without bitterness, without regret, comrade workers."

Beginning with Wednesday, Aug. 12, Johaux, who had written noth- as well as that of our ally. ing since the outbreak of the war, started a series of articles, important for the subject matter and the conceptions expressed therein. Gone are the lamentations; our feet are now planted solidly in the war; we cording to the date in our possesmust now study the new problems sion we are guaranteed the mastery ticles, on this day, concerns itself with the widespread unemployment at the present time blockaded, its single fact of the war. The theme off! Why cannot our merchant which he develops, is first and fore- marine cooperating with England's

#### "WE MUST HAVE WORK

"One of the major preoccupations of the present hour must be to be of use.

"To allow idleness to remain master would be a grave error. In industrial activity, at the same time unemployment, spirits are enervated, respond to the least rumour, and reserves which is no small matter. can wander on to passing but nevertheless prejudicial errors.

"If etxernal activity is to correspond to internal calm, there is only | tice can yield, for today and for toone factor capable of giving this morrow, surpass in utilitarian result: work.

"Every day the number of unemployed grows, it would be dangerous to allow matters to proceed in

assistance of suffering; to prevent this misery by the worthwhile employment of the workers is better.

"In favoring the resumption of useful production, we create activity and it is to that end that all farseeing men acquainted with mob psychology must bend their efforts. . . . To make work, wherever it is possible and necessary, to revive

activity, is to fortify against the excesses of mass idleness, is also to favor a rise in the public morale. To aim at these two results in

the present period is far from a negligible thing."

On Friday the 14th, Jouhaux's article this time presents an entire program. It has as its title: "Let us profit from it!" Let us profit from the war, profit from the fact example from England": can no longer communicate with its the Hans Berthold Co. of Manches that Germany is blockaded, that it customers abroad to sell them mer-

#### "LET US PROFIT FROM IT!

think a revival of industrial activ- the factories. If supplementary ority is urgent. We will not return ders cannot be obtained, they will to this, save to add that the more work for stock as long as financial the hour of the emotions, the more imperative it is that the new potent If after all, a reduction of wages gripped by unemployment.

This is to say that we take it rather than by a reduction of perupon ourselves to publicly indicate sonnel.' another point of capital importance

give you the kiss of parting: ad- tary operations, on land and sea, tion, the employer and the worker." and in relation to the position taken is not in vain that you will have in the struggle by England, the Mediterranean Sea, the Channel, the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean are open in almost complete security for our merchant marine

"Our ports can then resume their normal life on the condition that there is a large enough maritime

traffic. "Is this feasible? Yes. For ac-

of these seas. "But there is more, Germany is which arose spontaneously from the maritime commerce is partly cut most that "idleness is a bad coun- | not assume to their own profit part of the German work which is no

longer being carried on? "This would be an initial victory, with an importance that can escape

"Maritime activity will engender that it would permit us to establish "We advance our idea, certain that it is realizable, and that the results which putting it into pracweight all hypothesis which may be

- 11 日曜 expounded. "We must profit from all situations: the German blockade by the this way believing that the entire English fleet gives us commercial question is one of providing charity. | freedom on the seas; let us profit "It is a fine thing to come to the from it first to revitalize ourselves, to assure work and then to establish our primacy in the field of imports and exports for the future."

#### BELLIGERENTS WATCH, LIE

IN WAIT, READY TO LEAP On the 17th, Charles Malato, adiressing himself to the Italian republicans, Socialists, anarchists and trade unionists, issued the cry: "Fuori i barbari":

The place of the Italian people is in struggle on the side of the French republic which is still only statist and bourgeois and which we will develop until it becomes social and libertarian."

the "economic revival," taking "an

"I have before me a circular from ter, which reads verbatim as fol-

"The directors are resolved however, by every possible means, "We have already said that we to employ the entire personnel of resources of the company permit. troubles find a working class not is necessary, this will take the form of a reduction of the hours of work

"Here is an example worthy of Jaures.

yet struck but which will, all of which if realized will permit a re- emulation: it happily harmonizes the three principal interests of the "In the present situation the mili- moment: the interests of the na-

#### A NEW MINISTRY; AT THE FRONT

Here at the same time is announced the resignation of the cabministry. Disastrous events have co-operation with England; a 11). occurred at the front—which have stronger France; a League policy been covered up until this day— that involves the automatic desigwhich are the cause for all speeches and the change in the ministry. Following the official communique tion, unsigned, on the "New Gov-

ernment": the new ministry is the arrival of of the Soviet Union." politically influential statesmen, both former ministers or newcom-

and Thomson make up part of this | mand that the rich should pay . . . ministry of national defense.

"The Socialists, whose parliamentary influence is not insignificant, are represented in this ministry by two of their most reputable leaders:

Marcel Sembat and Jules Guesde. "There can be no doubt that Taures would have been able to play a role of the first water in this ministry whose task-let us have no illusions here—is a formidable

"Dissimilar in their past but reunited by the common will to conquer, the men who assume power in this tragic hour when the frontier is invaded, are going to face many difficulties.

"Only one thought must animate them: to drive back German imperialism which is threatening existng rights and threatens to destroy the future of civilization."

In the first days of the war, the government decided to create a "National Aid"; it was concerned with giving a piece of bread to all those women, old men, unemployed there was complete destitution in Philip, May 17.) the workers' districts). And on the was extraordinary was the collection of names constituting the committee in charge with the administration of National Aid: all high dignitaries of the bourgeoisie. archbishop, grand-rabbi, academicians, industrialists, bankers . . . and then Leon Jouhaux, secretary of the C.G. T. and Bled, Secretary of the Union

police chief, butcher of workers and Laval's 10 percent cut in pay and Ch. Maurras, one of those really pensions. But he does envisage "a implicated in the assassination of large program of public works de-

des Syndicates de la Seine.\*

the People's Front advocates a should be . . . financed by money stronger League of Nations; closer raised locally" (N. Y. Tribune, May

nation of the aggressor nations and ployment growing, with ever larger increased war budgets, and in its wave of class terror aimed against the automatic and universal appli- layers of the petty bourgeoisie becation of sanctions against the agthe paper gives a brief apprecia- gressor. It is also in favor of dis- gathering mere and more threaten- of the Belgian bourgeoisie in its Polish and Jewish, has been very armament and "organized peace" ingly, Blum is able to offer, in the war plans. (collective security). And of course name of the working class parties, ". . . Finally what characterizes the People's Front is the "Friend the "program of capitalism" as a sharp resistance has manifested it- pendent Poland were staged in re-

In his pre-election plea, Thorez stressed the abolition of the Fascist leagues, and summed up all "A. Briand, Millerand, Delcasse other demands as follows: "We de-We are opposed to the depreciation of the currency. . . . We propose an emergency progressive tax on large fortunes over 500,000 francs.'

#### (Daily Worker, May 18.) Not as Radical as Roosevelt

The mere listing of these points and the manner in which they are stressed by the "extreme left" are sufficient to denote that this program is not as radical in the domain of capitalist programs as, say, the program of Roosevelt.

We might point out in passing that such a well known "radical" as Lloyd George is heartily in favor had seen in Paris. Their sympaof "nationalizing the munitions inof soaking the rich in order that the toiling masses may be improved" (Thorez). Even in France, the People's Front has competitors. In the words of the New York Times, an authority on the subject: "The ideal of fair distribution of wealth and opportunity is not spewho because of the war ran the risk | cially socialistic. It is common to of dying of hunger behind the lines. all Frenchmen. Ever since the (Later when the war was put on French Revolution it has been the an industrial basis, there would be objective of successive governments work for all, but at the beginning and successive parliaments." (P. J.

The public debt of France is 333 4th of August one could read on the billion francs, the estimated govern by Jouhaux dealing once again with walls of Paris a beautiful white ment budget needs for 1936 are set poster announcing the initiative of at 16 billion francs, the treasury the government. Up to this point is empty. . . . What then are the nothing extraordinary. But what unemployed, the workers and the ruined peasants to expect from the People's Front in the way of "well being and justice"? Blum to Safeguard Investors

> In his speech at the Salle Wagram, Blum declared that his government would need credit, and therefore no measures would be introduced to "frighten away the investors in state loans." He has yet to make a definitive statement \*There was also Lepine, former about the prospects of restoring

> > signed to relieve unemployment,

With the economic crisis still deepening in France, with unemsolution to the desperate massesthe self-same Blum who, just a few years ago, at the beginning of the leftward surge of the masses was destroy the "machinery of the

bourgeois state." Cheers and Cocktails for Stalinism

"Later we got to talking. I shall see that Hitler keeps his

# People's Front Upholds Capitalism in France and specified that most of these (Continued from Page 1)

crisis, under the pressure of the promising to "seize power," and to

to so successfully pursue his present course, is the abject and infamous role played by the French Lee interviewed in Paris. Communist Party. In the May 8 issue of The New Leader (the British I.L.P. organ), Jennie Lee reports, as an eyewitness, election scenes in France. She observed a group of business men in front of Cafe La Paix, in the heart of the West end of Paris. These crowds were better dressed than any she thies were evenly divided between dustry." Our own President, Frank- the right National Front and the lin D. Roosevelt is certainly a far left People's Front. When a commore radical "soaker" in the realm | munist was announced as leading the poll in one district "a group of "the situation of all categories of well-to-do people gave every evidence of approval and called for champagne cocktails to toast the victory." Jennie Lee engaged the toasters in conversation-but let her speak for herself:

> congratulated them on their conversion to a revolutionary point of view. At that a lively discussion broke out. I had quite misunderstood the French political situation, they assured me. It was not they who had changed their minds. They were good Radicals, and hoped they would always be. But, on the other hand, the Communist Party had seen the error of its ways, and now has changed so drastically that it was possible to vote Communist and still be good 'Frenchmen.' Good Frenchmen they defined as meaning support for law and order, national defense, the family, and the franc. One of them went a stage further. We are business men, he said. We are opposed to Fascism. So are the Socialists and Communists. These people realize that they cannot fight Fascism without our help. We are willing to make a deal with them. If they keep their hands off our property we

practice you will find that the People's Front will amount to."

What made it possible for Blum and other bourgeois papers were a perfect echo of the remarks made

of Germany):

current phrase."

boulevards who toasted the victory States \$1.00 per year; 65c per six of the Communist candidate, Per-| months; Canada and foreign \$1.50 tinax is sure that it is not he who per year; \$1.00 six months. Bundle has changed, he insists that "Stalin rates: Two cents per copy. has turned conservative with the passing years."

The Future of the People's Front

member of his ministry. It may well be that the first So-

#### NEW MILITANT

with which is merged THE MILITANT

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